

## Jinnah: The Creator of Nation

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The nation remembers with gratitude the leaders of the freedom movement which led to the creation of Pakistan. 'The movement was started by sir Syed Ahmed Khan, strengthened by Maulana Mohammad Ali Jaohar, enriched by the vision of Allama Iqbal guided and led by Quaid -i- Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and supported by the great men'.<sup>1</sup> Jinnah-the founder of Pakistan, a legitimate Muslim leader and as a global figure, he is believed to be a model not only for Muslims but also for non Muslims. 'The understanding of why Jinnah wanted Pakistan, the nation he created is crucial to an understanding of the nature of South Asian Pakistan even today.'<sup>2</sup> 'Like other fathers of the nation-Washington for USA, Lenin for the Former Soviet Union, Mao for communist China and Khomeini for Islamic Iran-Jinnah is central to Pakistan'.<sup>3</sup> 'Indeed his impress was greater as he created actually a country that did not exist'.<sup>4</sup> The words tell the whole story. "Few individuals significantly alert the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly any one can be credited with creating a nation-state. Mohammad Ali Jinnah did all three"<sup>5</sup> so begins Professor Stanley Wolpert in his sketch of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, setting the incisive tone of his biography, which fittingly puts into words the versatility of the man that was Jinnah. As far as the role of the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in the partition of India is concerned many historians hold him to be the primary historical force, suggesting Pakistan to be a 'one man achievement'. Leonard Mosley argued. 'what magnified Jinnah's role was the fact that the platform of Muslims separatism which he represented had no one else to match his stature or even qualify to be his shadow'.<sup>6</sup> It was brilliant strategy and will power of Jinnah which made Pakistan. Hence Michael Brecher in his book 'Jawahar Lal Nehru: a political biography', (London) has even gone so far as

to suggest that 'had Jinnah died earlier there would not have been Pakistan'.<sup>7</sup> In the history of Indian Muslims life and thought, Mohammad Ali Jinnah is one of the striking and distinctive figures. At one time or another, he was one of the greatest legal luminaries India had produced during the first half of this century, an ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity, a great constitutionalist, a distinguished parliamentarian, a brilliant and strategist politician, a tireless freedom fighter, a dynamic mass leader, man of integrity and character, a truly civilized human being and above all one of the great nation builders in modern times.

The Quaid-i-Azam focused, for the most part, on achieving Pakistan and the historical struggle that led to the partition of subcontinent. 'The earlier part of his life is significant nonetheless'.<sup>8</sup> 'From his first appearance in Indian politics in 1904, membership of the Indian National Congress in 1906, and election to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1910, he espoused national causes with a unique conviction all his own, such as compulsory primary education, freedom of association, of expression and of the press, curbing of executive power-from bureaucracy to democracy-recruitment of Indians in civil services as well as in the army'.<sup>9</sup>

Even though his brilliant advocacy of such all-India causes made him acceptable to all sections of the people, he spared no pains to advance the interests of Indian Muslims from the platform of the Indian National Congress and other representative bodies.

Motivated by a deep sense of history, Jinnah concluded early in his life that the British would one day depart from India and leave the management of the country to the native population. Therefore, he was all the more convinced of the need to bridge deep and abiding difference between the major religious and cultural communities, especially the Hindus and Muslims. So, between 1906 and 1920, he gave the best years of his life to forging unity between Hindu and Muslims and between the Congress and the Muslim League. Jinnah without abandoning his membership in the Congress joined the All India Muslim League in October 1913 in a display of Muslim solidarity, but his instincts

were aimed at identifying moderates in both parties who, like himself, wished to neutralize the extremists. He had the League's constitution amended to incorporate "attainment of a system of self-government" which would be in compliance with the Congress goal as well. In the pursuit of this goal, the 1916 Lukhnow Pact was one of the momentous achievements of Mr. Jinnah which won him the title of Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity from Sarojin Naida, an eminent Congress party leader'<sup>10</sup> 'The Hindu-Muslims concordat of Luknow was the high-water mark of Hindu Muslim unity'.<sup>11</sup> This pact provided a formula for the Congress and the Muslim League work to gather for the accomplishment of a common ideal.

Quaid-i-Azam also steadfastly championed the objectives of the home rule League movement started by Ms Annie Besant in 1916.

'What distinguishes Jinnah from his contemporaries is that he was essentially a modern man-one who, above all, valued reason, discipline, organization and unity.'<sup>12</sup> He was a staunch believer in achieving objectives through constitutional means. Jinnah had more knowledge of the law than any minion in government bureaucracy. When the British Indian government hurriedly enacted the Rowlett Act in March 1919, Jinnah blasted it in the sharpest language in the Imperial Legislative Council and resigned from membership of this legislature in protest. He was aware of the fact that the act will have disastrous effect on the relations between the government and the people. He fought his political battles with British on the legal ground. From the Minot-Morley and Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, through the RoundTable Conference, the statutory commission. The Government of India Act unit the dawn of independence, he had waged a ceaseless struggle for a voluntary transfer of power to a representative government.

'Jinnah was a man of political instincts and political skill'.<sup>13</sup> His balanced approach convinced the British Government of his reasonable attitude forever. In March 1929, Jinnah put forward his famous fourteen points as the minimum Muslim

demands to be incorporated in the future constitution of India. These demands confirmed his political insight because through them he succeeded in safeguarding the constitutional rights of the Muslims. During the Roundtable Conferences held in London, Quaid -i-Azam argued that no constitution can be framed without safeguarding the rights of people. He continued to look for a sound and permanent basis to guarantee the fundamental rights of the Muslims. But due to unfair attitude of Hindus towards Muslims rights, the Quaid devoted himself to the cause of Muslim nationalism. Looking back on how his political outlook evolved from an ambassador of communal unity to an advocate of Muslim nationalism, the Quaid-i-Azam succinctly remarked: 'The Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude led me to believe that there was no hope for unity. Hindu leadership was responsible for the parting of ways.' Through the Nehru report, published in August 1928, Hindu leaders not only rejected separate electorate but also weightage for minorities. It vested the Hindu majority with absolute power. 'The interests and demands of minorities were relegated with relegated to limbo.'<sup>14</sup> Quaid-i-Azam moved the amendments to the Nehru report but they were rejected by Congress. 'Jinnah did not want the Nehru Report o be rejected outright but to be amended in way to accommodate the essence of his 14 points which were seen as an instance of Jinnah's masterly grasp over ground realities. Unfortunately they too were rejected by the Congress.'<sup>15</sup> 'There was now nothing for the Muslims to do but to move towards the demands for a separate Muslim State.'<sup>16</sup>

At long last the Muslims had taken the final plunge and committed themselves to complete separation. Muslim nationalism had come to full maturity and now demanded a territory of its own-with the adoption of the Pakistan ideas by the Muslims League in 1940, Muslim nationalism had come into its own. It had taken the Muslim three quarters of a century finally." V.D. Mahajan in his book *History of Modern India* provided the comments of Dr. Lal Bahadur, that the Resolution was the highest culmination of aspiration roused by leaders from Syed Ahmed's times. But it was never put so boldly as in 1940. According to Dr. I.H Qureshi, 'The

struggle for Pakistan' that 'From now onwards the Muslims League policy was clear and unmistakable. It did not want one India with a clear and inescapable Hindu majority, which through a parliamentary system of government and so-called democratic process would nullify Muslim rights and interests'.<sup>17</sup> After the passage of Lahore Resolution on March 23, Muslims set a definite goal before them. Hence forward Jinnah emerged as the national hero and Muslims throughout flocked under the banner of Muslim League for the final march towards the achievement of Pakistan. But the British continued its policy of keeping India united.

'At the end of the second world war, the British government decided to send a mission comprising some members of its cabinet (the Cabinet Mission) to India to devise a plane for the future constitutional setup of country and inter alia settle the Hindu-Muslim question.<sup>18</sup> The Cabinet Mission, with the approval of the British Government put forward its own proposals in May 1946. These proposals, known as 'the Cabinet Mission Plan', contemplated a constitution with a weak centre, empowered to deal with only the external affairs, defence and communication and envisaged the creation of three autonomous groups of provinces as 'A', 'B' and 'C'. The group 'A' included Hindu India, 'B' comprised Sindh, Punjab, NWFP and Balochistan and group 'C' consisted Bengal and Assam. The Cabinet Mission Plan brought back the concept of united India' which was introduced by Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942 and rejected by Jinnah. He was therefore, disappointed with the plan as his demand was Muslim State in the Sub-continent as envisaged in Lahore Resolution. However, despite his predicament Jinnah, as consummate statesman that he was, accepted the Cabinet Mission plan, which though fell short of his original demand to recognize the Muslims of India as a separate nation instead of looking upon them as one of the major communities in India. Jinnah was satisfied that his two nation theory was duly reflected in the compulsory grouping of the Muslim provinces and therefore, the Cabinet Mission Plan could be accepted as the first step on the road to Pakistan'. Accordingly, while accepting Plan in question, on June 5, 1946, Jinnah declared

that it was not only the end of the struggle for Pakistan. Infact, on the very next day the Muslim League Council adopted a resolution which reiterated that the attainment of the goal of a complete sovereign Pakistan remained the unalterable objective of Muslims of India. Therefore, Jinnah once again embarked upon his mission to carve out a separate independent and sovereign state for the Indian Muslims and ultimately succeed in establishing on August 14, 1947. His Two Nation theory became a concrete fact of history.

Jinnah's position as the founder of the state was unique. "He was the first and only Governor-General who derived his ultimate authority neither from the power of the army nor the support of the bureaucracy nor from any constitutional prerogatives, but from the political support that his people gave him in an abundant measure".<sup>19</sup>

Jinnah was elected as president of the constituent Assembly. This was the highest honour that any assembly confer on its Members 'But Liaquat ali Khan, the first prime Minister of Pakistan thought that Quaid-i-Azam was bestowing an honour on the constituent Assembly by agreeing to become its President.<sup>20</sup> 'Liaquat Ali Khan said, 'Sir you have been rightly described as the architect of Pakistan and what greater fortune could we have than to have you as the President of this sovereign body, to build the state which we have got through your devotion, untiring zeal, selfless service and unshakeable determination.<sup>21</sup>

Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz (West Punjab Pakistan) said 'Our nation is lucky in having you as the one who is guiding our destinies, the like of which I have never seen anywhere in the world'.<sup>22</sup> On this day Jinnah made his famous speech. He said "I shall say a few things as they occur to me."<sup>23</sup> He laid stress on three things:- firstly, maintenance of law and order, secondly, rooting out of bribery and corruption, thirdly equal rights of citizens be they Hindus, Muslims or Christians.

His belief in equality, tolerance, freedom of worship and protection of minorities is reflected in his famous words that people were free to go to their place of worship in Pakistan as

religion was the personal faith of each individual which had nothing to do with the business of state.

Jinnah clearly established his legendary position as a statesman with a vision of Pakistan as a progressive, liberal and modern Islamic state. Infact, till his death in 1948, whenever the Quaid-i-Azam was asked; he kept insisting that Pakistan would not be a theocracy. He was a life-long believer in secularism and there was nothing in his political career that suggested that he would opt for state in which religion would take primary in state matters.

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