

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Islamic State of Pakistan

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Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah decided to establish the state of Pakistan as an Islamic state for which formal announcement was made in March 1940 when the AIML in its Lahore meeting demanded that the areas of the Indo-Pak subcontinent where the Muslims happen to be in majority such as in the North-West and the North-East should be grouped together in order to establish Islamic State of Pakistan. The words "Islamic State" have been taken in Pakistan in three angles. One is the Ulama belonging to a particular school of thought who think that Islamic *shariat* should be established in the old classical sense. The other are the liberal minded scholars and leaders who think that Pakistan should be a modern, democratic, progressive, liberal and Islamic state which should not appear to be like a theocratic state. The Quaid also proposed this type of state. The third school is of secularists with whom also the Quaid disagreed. In this paper we will analyse various sayings of the Quaid in order to reflect upon his true ideas on the state. It will be seen as to how the constitution of Pakistan reflects the Quaid's views.

Pakistan was not created without any purpose. Certainly it had a purpose to fulfil. The State's character was definitely to be Islamic. For all practical purposes it was to behave as an Islamic State because the majority of its people were Muslims. The creation of Pakistan was, no doubt, a great achievement. Still it was not to be considered the final goal. Actually it was the beginning and not an end as explained by the Quaid himself:

No doubt we have achieved Pakistan, but that is only yet the beginning of an end. Great responsibilities have to come to us, and equally great should be our determination and

endeavour to discharge them, and the fulfilment thereof will demand of us efforts and sacrifices in the cause no less for construction and building of our nation than what was required for the achievement of the cherished goal of Pakistan.¹

Explaining the purpose of establishment of Pakistan on 11 October 1947, Quaid-i-Azam said:

The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving for the last ten years is, by the grace of God, an established fact today, but the establishment of a State of our own was means to an end and not the end in itself. The idea was that we should have a State in which we would 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 freeplay.²

He was not paying a lip service to the cause of Islam as some writers made their readers believe. He knew the real spirit of Islam which required that we should "take our inspiration and guidance from the Holy Quran".³ In Islam there is no dichotomy between theory and practice. What we believe, it should be given practical shape. For this one has to struggle hard. That is why the Quaid required us to "develop the spirit of the Mujahids" who are "not afraid of death" because "our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death". The Quaid reminded the Pakistanis that "we should face it [death]⁴ bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam".⁵ Thus he called upon "every Mussalman to make his or her fullest and best contribution and make the greatest sacrifice and work ceaselessly and selflessly in the service of our nation and make Pakistan one of the greatest nations of the world".⁶

In Pakistan social justice was required to be done to all citizens so that fruits of life could regularly be enjoyed by all of its citizens. Not only the equal opportunities to life should be provided to all categories of the people, but steps were required to be taken by the state to help the downtrodden, deprived or poor

people to participate in all walks of life. This should be done with a respect for human dignity and human rights. Delivering his speech at Chittagong on 26 March 1948, he said:

You are only voicing my sentiments and sentiments of millions of Mussalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasis equality and brotherhood of man. 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 traditions and genius. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man — these are the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human right in this sub-continent. We aspired for these great-ideals because of centuries of dual domination by the foreign rulers and by a caste-ridden social system. This domination continued for over two hundred years until we realized that it would ultimately mean complete extinction of Mussalmans individually as human beings and collectively as a nation. After all, the story of Pakistan, its struggle and its achievement is the story of great human ideals struggling to survive in the face of odds and difficulties.⁷

Terming his own government as an Islamic government, the Quaid, in his address at Peshawar, said:

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. Now, we have much more difficult task ahead – how to reconstruct, how to build it up and how to revolutionise and re-model the past legacies from which we are suffering, namely, mentality, the character and the evil customs of which we have been the victims for a century or more as slave people⁸

The Quaid's companions in the Pakistan Movement were even more vocal in expressing the purpose for which Pakistan was demanded in March 1940. Amir Ahmed Khan, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad (1914-1973) presided over a conference of Bombay Presidency Muslim League convened at Hubli on 24-26 May 1940. In his presidential address the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad termed the Pakistan Resolution of March 1940 as one of the important events in the annals of Muslim history wherein the Muslims of British India demanded establishment of Islamic state, a matter to be attained at any cost. He categorically expressed:

... The creation of an Islamic state-mark my words gentlemen – I say Islamic and not Muslim, is our ideal. The greed, the lust for power, the self-seeking ambition of those calling themselves Muslims, but not practising the commandments of their noble faith will not be allowed to have sway in the state we contemplate to bring into being. The State will conform to the laws as laid down in Islam. It will deal justly and fairly with every community and every section of its constituent members. The unchangeable laws of Islam will *ipso facto* be applied and enforced. There will be no fresh legislation in regard to them because Islam has already legislated for them for ever and ever.

There will be prohibition absolute and rigorous, with no chance for its being withdrawn. Usury will be banished. Zakat will be levied. Why shouldn't we be allowed to make this experiment. In treading over this path, we will not be crossing the path of any right minded individual. Sikhs, Hindus, Christians will benefit equally from the beneficent all pervading activities of this democratic – theocratic state.

The problem of Muslims being a separate nation is not only a theoretical one but on the other hand it is a very living and practical problem. If the Muslims do not want to share the fate of Muslims of Spain, Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, if Muslims want to save their culture and political thought, if they want to revive Islam, then the establishment of an Islamic state is the only course open to them.⁹

In this long address, he also made it clear that Islam believes in equality of all human beings without any distinction of race or colour.¹⁰ Other companions of Quaid-i-Azam like Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Liaquat Ali Khan were also vocal in speaking in favour of the ideals expressed by the Quaid.¹¹ It was in line with this thinking pattern that Liaquat Ali Khan, first Prime Minister of Pakistan, got the Objectives Resolution passed on 12 March 1949 "which underlined the aims and objects of the Constitution" of Pakistan.¹² The Resolution recognised the Sovereignty of God Almighty over the entire universe which was to be exercised by the State and the people through its elected representatives. The elected representatives forming the government were to exercise their authority for the purpose of making the Muslims to mould their lives individually and collectively "in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam".¹³ Liaquat Ali Khan, in his speech, made it clear:

Sir, I consider this to be a most important occasion in the life of this country, next in importance only to the achievement of independence, because by achieving independence we only won an opportunity of building up a country and its polity in accordance with our ideals. I would like to remind the House that the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam, gave expression to his feelings on this matter on many an occasions, and his views were endorsed by the nation in unmistakable terms. Pakistan was founded because the Muslims of this sub-continent wanted to build up their lives in accordance with the teachings and traditions of Islam, because they wanted to demonstrate to the world that Islam provides a panacea to the many diseases which have crept into the life of humanity today. It is universally recognised that the source of these evils is that humanity has not been able to keep pace with its material development, that the Frankenstein Monster which human genius has produced in the form of scientific inventions, now threatens to destroy not only the fabric of human society but its material environment as well, the very habitat in which it dwells. It is universally recognised that if man had not chosen to ignore the spiritual values of life and if his faith in God has not been weakened, this scientific

development would not have endangered his very existence. It is God-consciousness alone which can save humanity, which means that all power that humanity possesses must be used in accordance with ethical standards which have been laid down by inspired teachers known to us as the great Prophets of different religions. We, as Pakistanis, are not ashamed of the fact that we are overwhelmingly Muslims and we believe that it is by adhering to our faith and ideals that we can make a genuine contribution to the welfare of the world. Therefore, Sir, you would notice that the Preamble of the Resolution deals with a frank and unequivocal recognition of the fact that all authority must be subservient to God. It is quite true that this is in direct contradiction to the Machiavellian ideas regarding a polity where spiritual and ethical values should play no part in the governance of the people and, therefore, it is also perhaps a little out of fashion to remind ourselves of the fact that the State should be an instrument of beneficence and not of evil. But we, the people of Pakistan, have the courage to believe firmly that all authority should be exercised in accordance with the standards laid down by Islam so that it may not be misused. All authority is a sacred trust, entrusted to us by God for the purpose of being exercised in the service of man, so that it does not become an agency for tyranny or selfishness. I would, however, point out that this is not a resuscitation of the dead theory of Divine Right of Kings or rulers, because, in accordance with the spirit of Islam, the Preamble fully recognises the truth that authority has been delegated to the people, and to none else, and that it is for the people to decide who will exercise that authority.¹⁴

Let us examine various Islamic provisions in this regard. The objectives resolutions passed by the first legislature of Pakistan in March 1949 which has been made part of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973 being its preamble, declared that the "principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed".¹⁵ Article two of the Constitution declares that Islam shall be the state religion of Pakistan".¹⁶ This does not mean that non-Muslims are

not equal citizen like others. As a matter of fact all citizens without any reference to their creed, colour, caste, region, religion or sect, are to be treated as equal citizens of Pakistan. That is why under article 20 of the Constitution "every citizen" has been allowed to "have the right to profess, practise and propagate his religion."¹⁷ At the same "every religious denomination and every sect" has been allowed "to establish, maintain and manage its religious institutions".¹⁸ Equality of citizens without any kind of discrimination, has been ensured by article 25 of the Constitution by which "all citizens" are not only "equal before law" but at the same they are "entitled to equal protection of law".¹⁹ In this article it has also been mentioned that "there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone".²⁰ At the same it has been made clear in the same article that if the State wants to make any "special provision for the protection of women and children" nothing will prevent it to do so.²¹

Under article 31 of the Constitution it has been made incumbent on the State to take "steps" for the purpose of enabling the Muslims of Pakistan "individually and collectively" to order their lines in accordance with the fundamental principles and basic concepts of Islam and to provide facilities whereby they may be enabled to understand the meaning of life according to the Holy Quran and Sunnah".²² Regarding the "steps" to be taken by the State there is a difference of opinion before the two segments of the society. The radical groups belonging to Deobandi and Wahabi school of this kind are of the view that the State should implement Islamic laws by force, but the liberal minded people belonging to the Brelvi and Shia school of thought think that by taking "steps" it does not mean that State should force its people, rather, it should allow congenial atmosphere by which the individuals are free to understand the tenets of Islam on volunteer basis. It should be left on the free choice of the people as to what extent they want to adopt principles of Islam. They are also free to adopt any sectarian pattern they would like to adopt. The State has no right to impose any particular brand of Islam on the people of Pakistan. People

should be given free choice. Explaining this concept further the Section 2 of article 31 of the Constitution stipulates that the State shall endeavour to make "the teaching of Holy Quran and Islamiat compulsory" for the Muslims. It will also endeavour "to promote unity" amongst various sects of the Muslims.²³ By article 33 of the Constitution, it has also been stipulated that the State shall discharge its responsibility to "discourage parochial, social, tribal, sectarian and provincial prejudices amongst its citizens"²⁴

Notes and References

1. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches as Governor-General of Pakistan 1947-48*, Karachi, 1948, p.16.
2. Address to the Civil, Naval, Military and Airforce officers of Pakistan Government at Karachi, *Ibid.*, p.22
3. Address at the Punjab University, Lahore, 30 October 1947. *Ibid.*, p.30.
4. Author's parenthesis.
5. *Ibid.*, p.30.
6. Speech broadcast from the Radio Pakistan, Lahore, 30 October 1947. *Ibid.*, p.33.
7. Speech at a Public Reception at Chittagong, 26 March, 1948. *Ibid.*, pp.98-99.
8. Address to the teachers and students of the Edwards College, Peshawar, 18 April 1948. *Ibid.*, p.129.
9. *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, NAP, F. No.383, pp. 49-50.
10. *Ibid.*, For text of this speech see Appendix A.
11. Liaquat Ali Khan, as first Prime Minister of Pakistan, expressed his views in a comprehensive manner in his speech in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 7 March 1949 when he introduced the Objectives Resolution for approval of the Assembly. Liaquat's speech is given herein Appendix B.
12. Riaz Ahmad, *Constitutional and Political Developments in Pakistan 1951-54*, Rawalpindi, 1981, p.6.
13. *CAPD*, V, 1949, pp.100-101.
14. *Ibid.*, pp.1-2. Full text of this speech is given in Appendix B.
15. M. Rafiq Butt, *The Constitution of Pakistan 1973 with Commentary*, Lahore, Mansoor Book House, 2004, p. 47.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
24. *Ibid.*