

QUAID'S IDEOLOGICAL CONVICTION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN: A THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

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The creation of Pakistan is unique in itself. It is the only country created on a particular ideology, which is known as, 'The ideology of Pakistan'². This ideology stand for both religions as well as for policy, as Islam stands as a creed of life.

The Pakistan movement was inseparably linked with Islam as a religion because the claimants of the new state belonged to one other than the Muslims community living in the Indian sub-continent. The religious under-currents appeared to have relevance with the struggle for Pakistan as the Muslims firmly believe that Islam, unlike other religions, in not merely confined to performing certain rites and rituals, but infect encompassed the entire actions and interactions of life.

The Pakistan movement based its ideology on Islam and Islam provides a complete system of cognitive assumptions and effective identification, which manifested themselves in the speeches, aims, interests, and ideals in short in the behavior, of Muslim India. And the conception of history in Islam is bound up with the ideology of Pakistan.

The 1947 division of the sub-continent was based on the concept of Muslim nationalism and Hindu nationalism. Muslim nationalism was embodied with the spirit of Islam and the ideology stood paramount in her creation.

The Pakistan movement and its ideology i.e., Islam thus became the driving force in the foreign policy of Pakistan. However to some critics, it was a slogan only and no one was quite sure what was meant by the Islamic state or the Islamic way of life. After her creation on 14th August 1947, there was speculation among the intellectual of South Asia regarding the nature and the function of this nascent state in her domestic and foreign affairs with the orientation of Islamic ideology.

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According to Arif Hussain, “Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan was not religious from the point of view of Islamic dogma, and Quaid had no conviction of ideological role as an element of foreign policy. And the successor what did in the field of foreign policy after his death on 11 September 1948, was a grave violation of the principles of Quaid’s secularism.” (Hussain, Arif. 1966:2)

Discussion

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the Quaid’s ideological conviction in the field of foreign policy of Pakistan, under the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis

“Quaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s secularism is not contradictory to his ideological conviction of Pakistan’s foreign policy”.

Pakistan’s Ideology and Foreign Policy

In the ideology and foreign policy of Pakistan, one would see the aspects of ‘Two Nation theory’, which could be characterized in terms of, ‘Pan-Islamism’ and ‘Pak-Islamism’. The ‘Two Nation’ theory as a part of foreign policy of Pakistan played the same role as it did on the ideological frontiers of Pakistan and this term could be defined as the national interest of Pakistan in her foreign policy. ‘Pan-Islamism’ as factor of foreign policy served a dual character. First it boots moral support for her ideology. Second she maximized her national interest at world level generally and at Islamic level particularly. In net shell the policy was to stick to the interests of Pakistan and yet not give up the hope of Muslim unity.

The ideological factors in the foreign policy of Pakistan are based on:

- A. Those prominent characteristic, which stood out during the struggle for Pakistan and,
- B. The power of Islam as a force in history, which cannot be destroyed and will always come to those who believe in it and,
- C. Quaid’s conviction in Islam as a guiding principle in the foreign policy of Pakistan.

The critics to Quaid-I-Azam generally are of the opinion that he is secular minded and in their support they usually quote his speech which he delivered on 11 August 1947 in the first constituent assembly of Pakistan. It stated, “ ... in the course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be

Muslims not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of the individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the state".(Debate1947:19-20)
In view of ideology, one has to attach the statement of Dr. Mahmud Hussain, a professor of history, ex- vice-chancellor and at that time a Deputy Minister, "We (Muslims and Hindus in Pakistan), possess common nationality which is legal concept but we are not the same nation, which is a sociological concept: we are not one nation and yet we are citizens of the same state". (Hussain, Arif.1966:23). According to Muhammad Munir, in his book, 'From Jinnah to Zia', "the secularists have quoted it and nausea to prove that Jinnah stood for a secular state". (Munir, Muhammad.1980:18-19).

In the process of arriving at an identification of the ideology of Pakistan and foreign policy, the position of 'Quaid', as Arif Hussain wrote in his book, Pakistan: Its Ideology And Foreign Policy, that, "the ideology and foreign policy of Pakistan, proved to be very different from the popular conception of his role. It is clear that he 'Quaid' was wholly unaware of the ideological implications of the Pakistan movement. He was representative of a minority group who wanted Pakistan to be secular state; whereas the common man supported the Pakistan notion mostly for ideological reason". (Hussain, Arif.1962:6).

Stating on the role of Muslim League, Arif Hussain further wrote that, "the ideology of the Muslim League, the party responsible for the Pakistan movement, mainly resolved around the 'Two Nation theory', with Islam as a slogan rather than a programme". (Hussain, Arif.1962:18)

Further he noted that, "Even in the movement of Pakistan he 'Quaid-I-Azam' provided the tactics and not the thought behind it, Jinnah asked the people to be Pakistani first, It is clear that he conceived of Islam only as a religion". (Hussain, Arif.1962:18).

Nevertheless, it seems that in reviewing the ideology behind the creation of Pakistan, Arif Hussain has perhaps missed the very contents about Quaid's ideology. For this reason let us analyze Quaid's ideological conviction and its various phased with regards to the creation of Pakistan.

Quaid's Ideological Conviction and Pakistan

Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah lived about thirteen months after the creation of Pakistan. Due to bad health, he left foreign affairs to Sir Zafrullah Khan, the trustiest friend. Although Jinnah did give the impression that he thought of Pakistan in a similar way to other states based upon nationalistic sentiments,

but he was also aware that Pakistan was founded on the spirit of Islamic ideology; a sentiment and fraternal attitude towards the Muslims in the outcome of Pakistan's belief in Islam.

No one can deny the fact that under the United India Quaid was representative of minority group and on many occasions he said that there were three powers in the sub-continent: One Britishers, the other Hindus and the third Muslims. No doubt Muslims were in a minority but they were a big minority sufficient to prove to be a big nation. Quaid visualized that once this big minority would acquire sovereignty it would emerge as a world biggest Islamic country.

Generally there is anomaly between intellectuals, common man and the leadership, on the notion of Pakistan. Intellectuals visualized the Pakistan movement as a struggle of minority groups based upon the modern nations i.e., 'right of self-determination', 'the right of secession', etc. So their vision could not cross the boundaries of secularism, whereas the common man supported the Pakistan notion mostly for Islamic principles, and for ideological reason. On the other hand the leadership of Muslim League under the banner of Quaid-I-Azam very successfully bridged between the intellectuals and the common man.

It is true that the concept of an Islamic state was not seriously mooted on the intellectual plane, but cogently the public was aware by its concepts and motives. Moreover, Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a political leader and not a systematic thinker, a leader of men rather than of thought. On Islamic principles, once Quaid said that, "today, they [Islamic principles] are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have thought us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice, and fairly to everybody, we are the inheritors of these glorious traditions" (Ahmed, Jamil-ud-din.1964:2).

According to Sardar K.M.Pannikar, "Jinnah being an advocate, could not therefore, possibly define, Pakistan in philosophical terms, nor in dialectics; but like Lincoln, in the simple and straight forward language of the common man" (Johnson, Campbell. 1951:269).

Quaid's talks on Pakistan were not vague, but were clear in tangible terms, Quaid repeatedly said. "We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature ... and traditions, aptitude and ambitions, in short; we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life". (Jinnah-Gandhi Talks, 1944:22).

On the concept of Pakistan, in a speech at Aligarh in March 1944 Quaid asserted; “ ... Pakistan started the moment, when the first non- Muslim was converted to Islam in India long before the Muslims established their rule, As soon as a Hindu embraced Islam, he was out casted not only religiously but also social, culturally and economically. As for the Muslim, it was a duty imposed on him by Islam not to merge his identity and individuality in any alien society throughout the ages. Hindus had remained Hindus and Muslims had remained Muslim and they had not merged their entities, and that is the basis of ‘two-nation theory’. (Ahmed, Jamil-ud-din.1964:24).

A few months earlier in 1943 in Karachi, League session he told, “It is the Great Book, Quran that is the sheet-anchor of Muslim India”. (Ahmed, Jamil-ud-din.1964:162). This statement clearly manifests that Quaid based his ideological conviction on Islam and its principle written in Quran.

In March 1944, Quaid told the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, that “Our bed rock and sheet-anchor is Islam. ... Islam is our guide and complete code for our life, and he had spelled out his reason for reaching towards Pakistan in his Lahore address 1940. (Ahmed, Jamil-ud-din.1964:23).

Thus: We wish our people [i.e., Muslims] to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. (Ahmed, Jamil-ud-din.1964:575).

The Muslims [he said further in November 1945] demand Pakistan, where they could rule according to their own code of life and according to their own cultural growth, traditions and Islamic laws”. (Ahmed, Jamil-ud-din.1964:20).

After the creation of Pakistan, the Quaid-I-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, while addressing the members of the First Constituent Assembly express his views to protect the geographical and ideological frontiers of Pakistan.

Later in its last session held on 13 December 1947, The Muslim league Council adopted a resolution emphasizing on:

1. To protect the geographical and ideological frontiers of the state.
2. To mold Pakistan into a democratic state based on the Islamic principles of social order, (Sayeed, Rubina.Dawn.1997).

To be sure, a close study of these random quotations, as indeed of Jinnah's other speeches and writings reveal that Jinnah was constantly aware of the role of Islam in Pakistan and in her foreign policy, once it was established. Indeed Islam figures quite prominently in most of his speeches and writings.

The founder of the state, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah firmly believed that politic is part of the religion, Islam, as he had many a time spoken of the virtues of Islamic ideology and favored the introduction of Islamic Laws. (Sayeed, Rubina.Dawn.1997).

One could summaries the whole hypothesis with one question that, why Quaid-I-Azam did not use the word 'Islamic State' as an ideological factor?

The answer is very simple as Dr. Sharif-Al-Mujahid in his book, "Quaid-I-Azam: Studies in Interpretation", gave the following three reasons.

1. Jinnah was not only laying systematically Muslim's allegiance to the Pakistan ideal, but also pleading the cause of Pakistan before the bar of Hindu and British public opinion.
2. His task was crucial and demanded successful completion of his supreme mission. This called for among other things, prudence and elbow-room for future adjustment in her pronouncements and policy statements, last they become instrumental in building up.
3. Quaid forwarded his demand for Pakistan in terms of modern political parlance and phraseology in terms of modern universally accepted principle of nation hood, i.e., 'nation', 'the right of self-determination', 'the right of secession', 'cultural home ' and 'nation state'. (Mujahid, Sharif Al-, 1981:237).

Due to Congress and Hindu's propaganda against the idea of Pakistan Quaid has become more cautious; as Sharif-al-Mujahid states, "Jinnah was, no doubt, fervidly sincere ... because of Hindu blackmailing and recourse to the technique of slander by association, he probably (perhaps deliberately), avoided using the phrase, 'Islamic State'(Mujahid, Sharif Al-,1981:239). He thus used the phrase: 'Secular State based upon Islamic principles'.

Sometime leaders called upon to lead nationalist coalitions covering a wide spectrum of political opinion are bound to be little vague as to the full implications of their goals, if only to retain the allegiance of divergent schools in their drive for the supreme goal.

Such consideration might as well have influenced Jinnah in not unequivocally defining Pakistan as an Islamic state. What, however, is more important is the connotation in which the phrase was understood by his Muslim audiences. Testimony provided above shows that the Hindus understood 'Pakistan' as a synonym for, or on equivalent of an 'Islamic State'. The Muslims did no less. The usual equivalent of 'Muslim State' in Urdu proffered by Speakers and writers was, 'Islami Riyasat or Hukumat' and the Muslim masses understood, 'Pakistan' largely through the Urdu medium. (Mujahid, Sharif Al-, 1981:240)

The Kenneth Cragg feels that his (Quaid) speeches, while concentrating "with most effective skill on the achievement of a given purpose ... raise no final issues. Direct references to the Prophet (SAW), are rare in extreme even the I'd (I would) speeches turn the fast to political profit Future historians may well pause to wonder that the protagonist of Pakistan succeeded with so scant an Islam in the spirit. But a closer study of his pronouncements, we feel, would show that compared to other political leaders in India or the rest of the Muslims world, his (Quaid's) were the most frequent references to Islam. The reasons behind his somewhat cautious approach in going into details or raising ultimate issues are explained later; but it may be remarked that both statesmanship and strategy demanded of the leader of a nationalist coalition to, concentrate with most effective skill on the achievement of a given purpose rather than fritter away the energies of the nation, engaged in a life-and- death struggle, on issues or controversies which could better await the completion of the struggle for discussion, debate and clarification".(Cragg,Kenneth.1965:22)

Conclusion

The Pakistan movement was inseparably linked with Islam as a religion because the claimants of the new state belonged to none other than the Muslim community living in the Indian sub-continent.

Islam as an ideology in Pakistan's foreign policy has remained a constant factor, Sometime it acted as 'particular' ideology when it seeks help from the West, but also as a 'general' ideology, when follows the policy of alignment or neutral. This flexible attitude in the foreign policy of Pakistan is due to the ideological elements, which force him in these regards.

Religion has been proved to be effective with the interests of individual states which manifest divergence between myth and national interests, e.g., in September 1948, on Palestine question before the UN Assembly, Pakistan side with Arabs more over Pakistan voted against the Partition of Palestine and

creation of Israel. This shows Quaid's vision in Islam and his inclination toward the ideological consideration. Moreover Pakistan emerged more vocal state in the Defence of the cause of Palestine and Islamic world. (Bakhat, Naudir.1997:33-41) To understand Quaid's earlier quoted statements of 11 August 1947, where he said that, "Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslim would cease to be Muslim". In review of ideology, one has to quote the statement of Dr. Mahmud Hussain, "We (Muslims and Hindus in Pakistan), possess common nationality which is legal concept but we are not the same nation, which is a sociological concept: we are not one nation and yet we are citizens of the same state". (Hussain, Arif.1966:18)

Furthermore, as the Quaid knew that his opponents were two very clever nations: Britishers and Hindus, so instead of highlighting/ Islamic state, he highlighted political profits for Muslims of India. He knew that the word 'Islamic State' will make both of his opponent nations very reactionary. But, in his mind he had already made all the links of Muslims of India directed to an Islamic state. This proves that there was no difference between his secularism and ideological conviction of Pakistan as one of the base of the foreign policy of Pakistan.

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Also see Maulana Usmani's other addresses and statement in *Khutbat-i-Usmani* (Lahore: 1946).

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End note

1. The word, 'Quaid' stand for leader. Here it donate to Muhammad Ali Jinnah, The father of Nation.
2. It is unique from Israel and erstwhile Soviet Union, where the former is created on the basis of religion Jew, where her policy is based on western style government, with minimum role of religion in the politics, and the latter is based on the ideology communism, where polity lacks the element of religion.