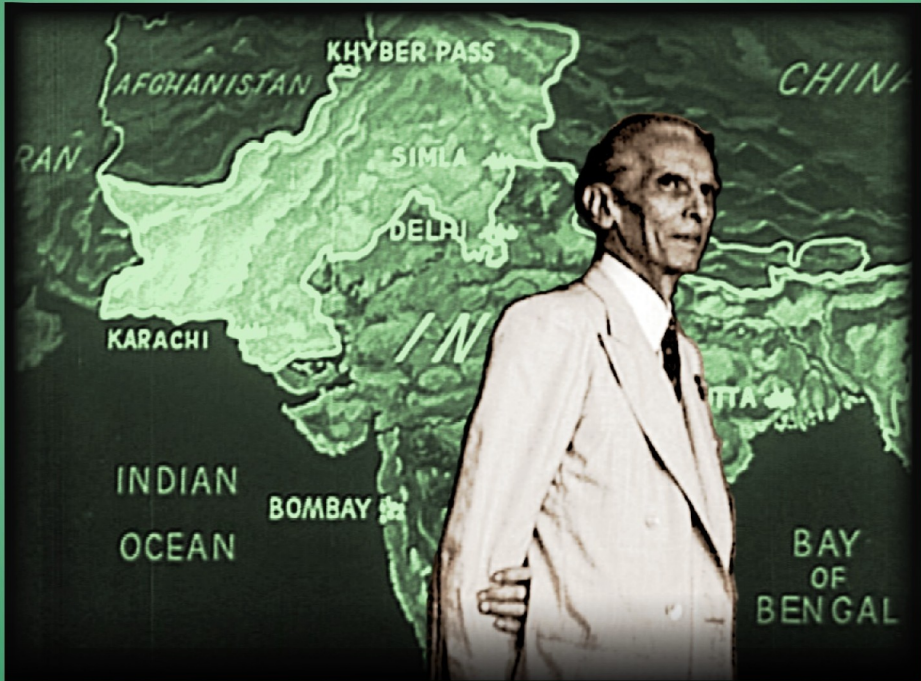


Did

Quaid-e-Azam

Want to Make

Pakistan



a Secular State?

G.A. Parwez

Did Quaid-e-Azam Want to Make Pakistan a Secular State?

G.A. Parwez

Translated and edited by
Saleena Karim & Fazal Karim

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Did Quaid-e-Azam Want to Make Pakistan a Secular State?

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10 AURANGZEB ROAD
NEW DELHI

14th June, 1947.

Dear Mr. Parvez,

I thank you for your letter of
of 13th June. Will you please
send me the names of those who,
you think, will be the real
servants of our future Secretariat?

Yours sincerely,

G. A. Parvez, Esq.,
37, Turkman Road,
NEW DELHI.

M.A. Jinnah to G.A. Parwez, 14 June 1947

About the author

Ghulam Ahmad Parwez was born at Batala, Punjab, British India in 1903. He studied the Qur'an and the classics of Islam under the tutelage of his grandfather, a celebrated scholar and eminent *Sufi* (Muslim mystic). Parwez gained a thorough understanding of the traditions, beliefs and practices of conventional Islam including the discipline of *tusawwuf* (Muslim mysticism) with its arduous meditation and spiritual exercises. His study of the history of Islam, beliefs and practices of pre-Islamic religions and wider knowledge of human thought throughout the ages inspired him to question the prevailing beliefs of Muslims. He moved away from the religious ideas that have accumulated around Islam over the centuries and turned his attention to the pristine beliefs expounded by the Qur'an.

Parwez's immense philosophical work is the result of his deep study of Islam not as a religion but as *deen* – a word that has no parallel in Western languages. It can best be described as a 'Way of Life' and in the Islamic context, a social system based on Qur'anic values and its immutable principles. The exploration of the meaning of *deen* forms the core of more than forty-five books and innumerable essays, articles and lectures. His most famous books in Urdu include:

Mafhoom-ul-Qur'an (Exposition of the Qur'an) in three volumes

Lughaat-ul-Qur'an (Dictionary and concepts of Qur'anic words) in four volumes

- *Matalib-ul-Furqan* (Exegesis - *Tafseer* - of the Holy Qur'an) in six volumes (the seventh volume was printed posthumously)
- *Tabweeb-ul-Qur'an* (Classification of the Holy Qur'an) in three volumes
- *Meraj-e-Insaniyyat* (Biography of Messenger Muhammad - PBUH)
- *Nizam-e-Rabbubiyat* (System of Universal Sustenance)

His writings have inspired widespread awakening in intelligentsia and the public alike in many parts of the world.

Aside from being an author and scholar, Parwez was the founder of *Tolu-e-Islam*, a monthly magazine, which he launched in 1938 at the instance of Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal and under the guidance of Quaid-e-Azam ('Great Leader') Muhammad Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan. This magazine continues to be published from Lahore regularly to this day.

He also took an active part in the Pakistan movement, and as a counsel of Jinnah on matters pertaining to Islam, Parwez was one of the few people who was allowed to visit Jinnah without an appointment. He received the *Tehrik-e-Pakistan* (Pakistan Movement) Gold Medal posthumously for his services to the nation on 14 August 1989 (Pakistan Independence Day).

Maqbool Mahmood Farhat, Essex, UK

Foreword

This booklet is of special significance to me. It is directly responsible for the publication of my first book, and indirectly for my second as well. Indeed, this short publication can be credited for practically launching my writing career.

Avid readers of Pakistani history will know that Chief Justice Muhammad Munir's *From Jinnah to Zia* (1979) is said to be one of Pakistan's all-time best sellers. This is because Munir was the first to openly declare that M.A. Jinnah, founder of Pakistan, was a 'secularist' (i.e. he advocated the separation of religion and state as in modern democratic states). Coming as it did from a former Chief Justice, this declaration carried much weight for Pakistani readership, and indeed, as Munir testified in his book, across the world the as well.

G.A. Parwez, who had known Jinnah personally and had been his counsel on matters relating to Islam, wrote a rebuttal in Urdu in 1980 soon after the second edition of Munir's book was released. The English translation of that text can be found in the following pages. However, the original rebuttal missed one vital piece of information; and since this missing information was the catalyst for some completely new and important research I conducted some twenty-five years later, I would like to share the details for the benefit of the reader.

I originally came to translate this booklet not for Tolu-e-Islam, but for my father. In 2003 he had published a book titled *Qur'an aur Pakistan* (Karachi: Bazm-e-Ilmofunn), containing his own Urdu poetry alongside a collection of G.A. Parwez's writings, and the text of this booklet appeared as one of its

chapters. My father and I worked together on the English translation, and in the course of crosschecking the references, I obtained a copy of *From Jinnah to Zia*. This was when I first noticed a quote not accounted for in Parwez's rebuttal.

Parwez has written that in *From Jinnah to Zia* Munir relied on two pieces of evidence to support his claim that Jinnah was a secularist. They are:

- 1) Jinnah's statements against theocracy
- 2) Jinnah's inaugural address to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, on 11 August 1947

However I found that Munir had actually relied on not two, but three pieces of evidence. The third and most important piece of evidence that Munir produced (and which he cited several times for emphasis) was Jinnah's interview to Reuters, dated 21 May 1947 (dated incorrectly in Munir's book as 1946). In this interview, Jinnah supposedly said that he envisioned Pakistan as a 'modern democratic state with sovereignty resting in the people' (Munir 1980, p.29). He stressed that the words were at odds with the Objectives Resolution, which states that 'sovereignty rests with Allah'. At this point, since Parwez had not addressed the quote, I decided to try and find the original source to look at the context in which it might have been used. When I did obtain it around a month later, it emerged that not only was the date wrong, but the quote was actually a fake. Since that time, I have referred to it as the 'Munir quote'.

This was just the beginning of my journey in learning about the Pakistan story. At first I intended only to write an article on this quote, but I had underestimated the significance of what I had uncovered. Munir's quote, along with the two pieces of evidence that Parwez had highlighted, had long become a formulaic argument copied virtually verbatim time and again by every kind of writer, from the journalist to the historian, and accepted blindly as fact, without question. No one had thought to check on the original source and in fact no one even seemed to know or care as to where it originated. My first book, *Secular Jinnah: Munir's Big Hoax Exposed* (2005) was the

unexpected outcome of my first round of research, and here I wrote that the original source was probably Munir's *From Jinnah to Zia*. But I was later to discover that this was not the original source of the quote. At any rate, my book was short and it hardly touched on Pakistan's founding history. Over the next five years, my research continued and intensified, and I resolved to release a revised edition containing, among other things, updated information on the misconceptions about Jinnah and the Pakistan story. Instead I ended up writing an entirely new book. This was a complete political biography on Jinnah which also covered my updated research on the Munir quote. By the time I released *Secular Jinnah & Pakistan: What the Nation Doesn't Know* in 2010, I had learned that the Munir quote had its origins not in Munir's 1979 book, but in another famous publication authored by Munir: *The Report of the Court of Inquiry Constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954*. It is better known as the Munir Report, since it made Munir a celebrity and he became Chief Justice of the Federal Court soon after the inquiry ended. Following the Munir Report, the first time that the fake quote was used as supporting evidence for a secular Pakistan was in Pakistan's Constituent Assembly in August 1954. This quote had never been cited before, simply because it didn't exist; and so this was the first time that the secularist politicians of Pakistan succeeded in silencing their opponents outright. Thereafter Munir's quote was accepted as a legitimate piece of evidence for fifty years.

As for *Qur'an aur Pakistan*, although we began its translation in 2004, we were unable to publish it due to technical issues, and subsequently this also delayed the publication of this booklet for a long time. I am happy to know that the booklet at least is finally going into print. It may be one of Parwez's lesser known works, but without it, the Munir quote may not have come to light for another fifty years. For that reason, it certainly has great historical value; but to me personally, for my own reasons, its worth is immeasurable.

Saleena Karim, Nottingham
23 August 2012

Did Quaid-e-Azam want to make Pakistan a secular state?

In 1979 the former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, Muhammad Munir published a book titled *From Jinnah to Zia*. The second edition of this book is out now, and in it he has repeated what he said in the first, namely that Quaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah intended to make Pakistan a secular state.¹

In 1964 in the daily newspaper *Pakistan Times* (Lahore) Munir wrote an article titled *Days to Remember*.² At the end of the article he wrote a statement to the effect that when Muslim India gained independence it was never in anyone's mind that Pakistan would be an Islamic state. A rebuttal of this article was published in the August/September 1964 issue of *Tolu-e-Islam* magazine. At this point I had never given much thought to the Chief Justice's book, because as far as I was concerned, saying that Mr. Jinnah wanted a secular state was like saying that he wore a *dhoti*³ and joined Gandhi in prayer at his local temple. This claim about Jinnah therefore was really a denial of a self-evident fact.

However an old friend of mine said of Justice Munir's book that it is damaging to Pakistan. The original opponents of

¹ See Munir, M. (1980 edition) *From Jinnah to Zia* Lahore: Vanguard Books, p.29

² M. Munir, 'Days to Remember', *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 23-24 November 1964.

³ A dhoti is an Indian loincloth; it was famously worn by Gandhi.

Pakistan's formation, he said, are now influencing the new generation of Pakistanis by citing Justice Munir as support to their claim that Jinnah wanted a secular state.⁴ As Justice Munir was a prominent figure in Pakistan it makes the propaganda that more powerful. Consequently there is a general consensus forming among Pakistani youth that Pakistan was only meant to be a secular state, making the fight for independence from India seem futile. My friend has said to me that it is extremely important that this misconception be rectified. I agree with him, and this is what has compelled me to write this article. Before I go further however, I should stress that everything I have ever said – and continue to say – pertaining to the Pakistan movement in general, and in particular everything regarding Jinnah, is from firsthand observation and experience. None of it is hearsay. I always say that I have been a Pakistani since 1930.⁵ In 1930, during his presidential speech in Allahabad, Dr. Iqbal⁶ said that Islam as 'a living force'⁷ is only

⁴ The extent to which Munir's work did indeed become a major source for the 'secular Jinnah' thesis is explored in detail in Karim, S. (2010) *Secular Jinnah & Pakistan* Ireland: Checkpoint Press. (Also published by Paramount Books, Karachi, 2010)

⁵ Pakistan formally appeared on the map in 1947, but the Muslims of India had declared themselves a separate nation by the 1930s, which is why Parwez has called himself 'a Pakistani since 1930'.

⁶ Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) was a philosopher, a poet, a prominent member of the Muslim League, and the 'spiritual founder' of Pakistan. He sought to 'reconstruct' Muslim thinking after centuries of intellectual stagnation, and so raise the Muslims of India from post-Mughal humiliation back to a status of dignity. He was also a contemporary of and guide to M.A. Jinnah. A few years after Iqbal's death, Jinnah delivered a speech in which he summed up the philosopher's achievements with these words: 'Although a great poet and philosopher, he was no less a practical politician. With his firm conviction and faith in the ideals of Islam, *he was one of the few who originally thought over the feasibility of carving out of India such an Islamic state in the North-West and North-East Zone which are historical homelands of Muslims*' (emphasis added). (Tribute to Iqbal, Lahore, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 9 December 1944. *Nation's Voice* Vol. IV, p.24. For full bibliographic details, see References)

possible in a free state, and hence Iqbal planted the idea of having a separate state into the minds of the Indian Muslims.⁸ Later when Jinnah took up the torch from Dr. Iqbal and led the movement to independence, I aided him to the best of my ability – either at his side or under his leadership – for around ten years, and at the same time I held down a regular job.⁹ The Tolu-e-Islam files of that period are a testament to the contribution I made to the Pakistan movement.

In 1948 after Pakistan's independence, Tolu-e-Islam was re-launched in the new country. Its objective was to preserve the truth of the ideals and the intentions behind Pakistan, and over time it has gained nationwide fame for its efforts. Hence when I say that I speak from experience, I can also provide solid proof from Tolu-e-Islam's records. After all, without proof, the facts of history are usually mutilated. Everything that I will tell you here about Jinnah is taken from his speeches and lectures, which have been recorded in print for all to see.

Justice Munir has made his claims in the following words:

(Quaid-e-Azam) wanted a secular democratic government. ... [in which] religion would be an affair of the individual and will have nothing to do with the administration of the state.¹⁰

That the object was to establish a religious state in that region was neither in Quaid-e-Azam's mind nor in that of Allama ['Learned'] Iqbal.¹¹

⁷ Muhammad Iqbal, Presidential Address to the 21st session of the All-India Muslim League: Allahabad Session, 29 December 1930. Sherwani, L.A. (ed.) (2008 reprint) *Speeches, Writings & Statements of Iqbal* New Delhi: Adam Publishers, p.6

⁸ Iqbal: '... the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India'. (Ibid. p.11)

⁹ Parwez joined the Central Secretariat of the Government of India in 1927 and worked in the Home Department: Establishment Division.

¹⁰ Munir 1980, p.32

¹¹ Ibid. p.34

On 25th March, 1949,¹² Khan Liaquat Ali Khan [*sic*] moved in the Constituent Assembly a Resolution which is called as [*sic*] the Objectives Resolution. If the Resolution had been moved in the lifetime of Quaid-e-Azam and had been endorsed by him much of the confusion that appeared subsequently would have been avoided. But Liaquat Ali Khan knew that the Quaid-e-Azam would not agree to any such Resolution as it was directly opposed to the views he had publicly expressed more than once, and it was a complete contradiction of his idea of a modern democratic secular state.¹³

He has corroborated his claims with the following two pieces of evidence:¹⁴

- 1) Jinnah had repeatedly said that there would not be a theocracy in Pakistan. From this Munir infers that Jinnah sought a secular state¹⁵
- 2) Jinnah's speech of 11th August 1947, which Munir has described as 'one of the clearest expositions of a secular state'¹⁶

Before I continue I need to make clear what Jinnah's vision was for Pakistan. With all due respect to Chief Justice Munir, I am compelled to say that the above statements are based on a weak premise. Theocracy is as much an antithesis to Islam as

¹² The date supplied here by Munir is inaccurate. The Objectives Resolution was actually moved on 7 March 1949 and adopted on 12 March 1949.

¹³ Ibid. p.36

¹⁴ Munir actually relied on three pieces of evidence, in what S. Karim calls the 'three-piece argument' (Karim 2010). The third and most important piece of evidence produced by Munir was an interview in which Jinnah supposedly said that Pakistan would be a state with 'sovereignty resting in the people', but the quote has since been exposed as a fake. For details, see Karim (2010) and also the Foreword to this publication.

¹⁵ See *ibid.* p.30, 32, 35

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.29

secularism is. Hence Jinnah was just as opposed to secularism as he was to theocracy. In fact he described what theocracy is in a speech that he delivered to the United States in February 1948, in his capacity as Governor General of Pakistan:

The constitution of Pakistan *has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly*. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this 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 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of men, justice and fairplay 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.¹⁷

In the last sentence of that broadcast Jinnah clarified that theocracy is a system in which political control is handed over to the religious elite so that they can fulfil what they believe to be God's mission. Jinnah opposed this political system because it is un-Islamic; indeed, the Qur'an was revealed for the very purpose of abolishing theocracy.

The most saddening part is that Chief Justice Munir cited the very same broadcast above; but only up to the sentence: *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*. The very next sentence, in which Jinnah clarified the definition of theocracy, was conveniently omitted.¹⁸

Chief Justice Munir's high social status makes it difficult for me to criticise him; but what would be the outcome if Munir's handling of the evidence came up in a court? Who besides a Chief Justice is in a better place to judge?

¹⁷ Broadcast talk on Pakistan to the people of United States of America, Karachi, February, 1948. (Yusufi 1996, Vol. IV p.2694)

¹⁸ Munir 1980, p.30-31

Like Iqbal, Jinnah was heavily opposed to theocracy. This is because the theocratic system and the Islamic system are diametrically opposed. Unfortunately there is insufficient room here to go into the details of what Dr. Iqbal wrote in opposition of theocracy, but there is one statement he made that deserves some attention. In one of Lahore's daily newspapers, *Roznama Inqalab*, Iqbal made a nationwide statement:

The great potential of your *Deen* is trapped inside the old, decaying superstitions of the Mullahs and theologians, and is desperate to be set free. Spiritually we are imprisoned behind the wall of our circumstances and emotions, which we ourselves have built up over the centuries. It is shameful for us elders that we are failing to prepare our youth to deal with future economic, political, and even religious crises. It is necessary that the whole nation immediately change its present mentality, so that once again it may have fresh dreams and hopes for achieving their goal.¹⁹

Iqbal also made it clear that this sort of revolutionary change requires an immense intellectual struggle, and this will only be possible if 'the world of Islam approaches it in the spirit of Omar²⁰ – the first critical and independent mind in Islam who, at the last moments of the Prophet, had the moral courage to utter these remarkable words: The Book of God is sufficient for us.'²¹

¹⁹ Iqbal's Presidential Address at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim Conference, Lahore, 21 March 1932. (Sherwani 2008, p.44) (Parwez took the Urdu translation from *Roznama Inqalab*, 23 March 1932)

²⁰ Omar Ibn al-Khattab was the second Caliph of Islam (634-644 AD) and also the most important historically. He led the swift and crucial advances of the fledgling Islamic state which set it firmly on its way to becoming an empire. Within ten short years Omar had taken Islam from Syria to Persia (the latter being present day Iraq and Iran) before he was assassinated.

²¹ Iqbal 1988 (reprint), p.162

On 5 February 1938, Jinnah addressed the student union of the Muslim University of Aligarh with the words:

What the League has done is to set you free from the reactionary elements of Muslims and to create the opinion that those who play their selfish game are traitors. It has certainly freed you from that undesirable element of Maulvis and Maulanas.²²

From the above it is clear that Jinnah opposed theocracy. On 10 April 1946 he made this point even more clear when he gave a speech at the conclusion of the Muslim Legislators Convention:

What are we fighting for? What are we aiming at? It is not theocracy, not for a theocratic state.²³

Jinnah was in fact aiming for an Islamic state, not a theocratic one. What constitutes an Islamic state is a vast subject, and I have already written hundreds of pages on it. However the bottom line is that in an Islamic state no human being has the right to govern another. Jinnah made this same point whilst attending a conference held with students at Osmania University in Hyderabad, Deccan, in 1941. In fact he made the point so firmly and succinctly that no further explanation was necessary:

There is a special feature of the Islamic state that must not be overlooked. Here obedience is due to God, and in practice this means observing Qur'anic principles and injunctions. In Islam, authority belongs neither to a king, nor to a parliament, nor to any individual organisation. Qur'anic injunctions determine the limits of our civil liberties and obligations in the political or social context. In other words, the 'Islamic state' is the name of the authority

²² Speech delivered at the Meeting of the Muslim University Union, Aligarh, 5 February 1938. (Yusufi 1996, Vol. II p. 727)

²³ Speech at the conclusion of the Muslim Legislators Convention, Delhi, 10 April 1946. (Yusufi 1996, Vol. IV p.2277)

that enforces Qur'anic principles and injunctions, and this in turn requires a territory.²⁴

From this statement we hope that Chief Justice Munir will have realised what type of state the Jinnah wished to establish rather than theocracy.

So what was the reason for the struggle for independent Pakistan, and why was there so much opposition against Jinnah? The only reason for the opposition was that Jinnah sought to establish an Islamic state, whilst his opponents (i.e. the Hindus and the Muslim nationalists) were in favour of a secular state. Once again there is insufficient room to cover the history in detail here, so I will provide only a few examples.

When Jinnah demanded the formation of a religious state (i.e. one based upon the *Deen*), the well-known leader of the Congress of the time, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai declared during speech to the Indian Legislative Assembly:

I desire at once to repudiate the correctness of one statement which I have read out to you, that religion, race or language raise differences which have a disruptive effect in human society as is claimed. The histories of the world of to-day and of its greatest democracies are evidence to the contrary. The only things that unite the national consciousness of a people are political and economic interests. ... I am therefore one of those who do not believe that diversity of language or race has got any relation whatever to the necessities of a political and economic unity; and, coming to the last point, I hold that religion should have the last place in creating any diversity in the matter of Nationality. I have always held, Sir, with a faith which nothing has shaken, that religion is a matter between man and God, and that it cannot be debased for

²⁴ Jinnah's interview to the Student Union, Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan, 19 August 1941. As reported by Orient Press. Reproduced in Urdu in *Roznama Inqalab*, Lahore, 8 January 1942. **Translators' note:** Despite our best efforts, we have never located the original English transcript of this interview as reported by the Orient Press news agency (where it was no doubt reported in English). We have translated the Urdu text back into English.

purposes of the division of spoils of a mundane nature that religion has its proper place and should be kept in its proper place, and that if religion is ever used for the purpose of dividing man from man, dividing Indians from Indians in order only that political domination may be maintained, sustained or confirmed, I hope and trust that every single Indian present here, whatever may be his faith or creed, will give a unanimous lie to that proposition, and that he will not allow himself to be, or used as an instrument of our own subjection.²⁵

A commentary piece appeared some time later in the *Hindustan Times* on the same issue. It stated that the concept of God's government is obsolete, and that the Muslims of India would be making a grave error if they tried to establish such a state in India, or to try and divide a country into pieces, when so many mixed communities were living throughout the subcontinent and could not justly be split up. Fortunately, said the article, there were some responsible Muslim leaders who were not chasing this mirage.²⁶

²⁵ Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the motion to consider the Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, New Delhi, 4 February 1935. (Desai, Bhulabhai Jivanji (1938) *Speeches of Bhulabhai J. Desai, 1934-38 Madras: G. A. Natesan*, p.139-40.) It is worth mentioning that Jinnah himself responded to Desai's remarks that same day. He essentially said that it wasn't enough to overlook religious difference in forging a common nationality: 'I ask him to consider this – is this a question of religion purely? Is this a question of language purely? No, Sir, this is a question of minorities and it is a political issue. (*Some Muslim Honourable Members: "Civilisation and culture."*) ... Now, what are the minorities? Minorities mean a combination of things. It may be that a minority has a different religion from the citizens of a country. Their language may be different, their race may be different, their culture may be different, and the *combination of all these various elements ... makes the minority a separate entity* in the State ...' (Cited in Karim 2010 p.173-4. Emphasis added.)

²⁶ *Hindustan Times*, 14 November 1939. Original not obtained; translators have paraphrased from Parwez's Urdu text.

Soon after the Lahore Resolution was passed in 1940, Gandhi commented:

If religion is allowed to be, as it is, a personal concern and a matter between God and man, there are many dominating common factors between the two [communities, Hindu and Muslim] which will compel common life and common action.²⁷

In 1946 Gandhi stated along similar lines:

If I were a dictator, religion and State would be separate. I swear by my religion. I will die for it. But it is my personal affair. The State has nothing to do with it. The State would look after your secular welfare, health, communications, foreign relations, currency and so on, but not your or my religion. That is everybody's personal concern!²⁸

Gandhi had made the above statement in response to a letter he had received from Jinnah on 21 January 1940,²⁹ in which Jinnah had written:

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 social, or political, said: "Purely religious!" This was the question asked me by the

²⁷ Letter written in village Sevagram (where Gandhi was resident), 4 June, 1940 (appeared in *Harijan*, 8 June 1940). CWMG, Vol. 78 p.288

²⁸ Talk with a Christian Missionary, *Harijan* 22 September 1946. CWMG, Vol. 92 p.190.

²⁹ For Gandhi's original letter dated 16 January 1940, see CWMG Vol. 77, p.230.

late Mr. Montagu³⁰ when I accompanied a deputation which was purely political. "How you, social reformer," he exclaimed, "have found your way into this crowd?" [*sic*] My reply was that it was only an extension of my social activity. I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight 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'.³¹

As we have already seen, Jinnah made it clear that authority cannot belong to the people, only to the Qur'an. An Islamic state has a constitution based on Qur'anic law. Jinnah made numerous references to the magnificence and power of the Qur'an during the entire time of the Pakistan Movement. For instance in 1943 in the province of Sarhad (NWFP), the Muslim Students Federation asked Jinnah to give them an inspirational message. He said to them:

You have asked me to give you a message.
What message can I give you? We have got the

³⁰ Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary of State of India who along with Viceroy Lord Chelmsford co-authored the *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* (better known as the Montagu-Chelmsford report) of 1918. The report led to the Government of India Act of 1919 which gave Indians increased responsibility in government (A. S. Ahmed 1997, p.64).

³¹ Pirzada, S.S. (ed.) 1977, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*. Karachi: East and West Publishing Company, p.97. (Parwez in the original Urdu cited a shorter portion of the text than we have in English)

greatest message in the Qur'an for our guidance and enlightenment.³²

On 13 November 1939 Jinnah gave an address to the Muslims for Eid. At the time there was great political tension in India. He addressed his community with the words:

I shall ask you ... to reflect for a while if we could not avoid them [i.e. the communal conflicts] in the light of the guidance given to us by our Qur'an ...³³

In Karachi in December 1943, on the last day of the annual conference, Jinnah himself raised a question and supplied an answer for it at the same time.

What was it that kept the Muslims united as one man, and what was the bedrock and sheet-anchor of the community, asked Mr. Jinnah. 'Islam,' he said, and added: 'It is the Great Book, Qur'an, [sic] that is the sheet-anchor of Muslim India. I am sure that as we go on and on there will be more and more of oneness – one God, one Book, one Qibla, one Prophet and one Nation.'³⁴

On Eid Day in 1945 he gave another profound statement:

Every Musalman knows that the injunctions of the Qur'an are not confined to religious and moral duties. 'From the Atlantic to the Ganges,' says Gibbon, 'the Qur'an is acknowledged as the fundamental code, not only of theology, but of civil and criminal Jurisprudence, and the laws which regulate the actions and the property of

³² Message to N.W.F.P. Muslim Students Federation, 4 April 1943. Yusufi 1996, Vol. III p.1687

³³ Speech broadcast from All-India Radio, Bombay on Eid Day, 13 November 1939. (Yusufi 1996, Vol. II p. 1062)

³⁴ Concluding Speech at the Karachi Session of the All-India Muslim League, Karachi, 26 December 1943; as published in *Dawn*, 27 December 1943 (Yusufi 1996, Vol. III p.1821.)

mankind are governed by the immutable sanctions of the will of God.’³⁵

Then Mr. Jinnah said:

Everyone, except those who are ignorant, knows that the Qur’an is the general code of the Muslims. 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 (S.A.V) [sic] has enjoined on us that every Musalman should possess a copy of the Qur’an and be his own priest.³⁶

Earlier I referred to a conference held with students at Osmania University in Hyderabad, Deccan in 1941. During this same conference it was asked of Jinnah what in his view were the essential elements of religion and a religious government. Jinnah’s reply was:

When I hear the word ‘religion’, it conjures up in my mind the English usage, of a private relationship between man and God. But I know full well that according to Islam, ‘religion’ does not carry the connotations that it does in English. ... I am neither a maulvi nor a mullah [Muslim cleric], nor do I claim expertise in theology. But I have studied the Holy Qur’an and the laws of Islam by myself. This great Book contains guidance for every aspect of human life, whether spiritual, or social, or political, or economic, and nothing [of these aspects] is excluded. The Qur’an’s principles and injunctions are not only in the best interests of Muslims; in fact in an Islamic state, non-Muslims will be treated better and accorded more rights than can be conceived anywhere else.³⁷

³⁵ Eid Message to the Muslims of India, Karachi, 8 September 1945. Ibid. p.2052-3

³⁶ Ibid. p.2053

³⁷ See fn 24.

Jinnah emphatically reiterated his message so often that eventually there was not even a child in India who did not know exactly what type of state he was campaigning for.³⁸

On 1 January 1941 during the Akhand Hindustan Movement Conference in Ludhiana the famous political leader Mr. Munshi³⁹ asked in his presidential address what Pakistan means. He then answered his own question with the words:

First: Muslims all over India are a separate and single nation.

Second: Muslims from all over India are entitled to one or more homelands where life and government are to be moulded according to Koranic principles, and where Urdu will be the national language.⁴⁰

³⁸ For example, Jinnah once said: [The Congress] say, they do not understand Pakistan. If you do not understand it, then what is it you are opposing? On the contrary, I find that even a child of 12 or 13 understands it. ... I very often enquire from them as to what Pakistan is, and believe me, I am not exaggerating, they give me perfect answers. ... Even Muslim children understand it, but here is this great leader [Nehru], a great internationalist, who says he does not understand Pakistan! Pakistan means partition, Pakistan means division ... (Speech at a meeting held under the auspices of Baluchistan Muslim Students Federation, Quetta, 18 October, 1945. (Yusufi 1996, Vol. III p.2074-5)). See also Jinnah's Urdu speech at the Concluding Session of the All-India Muslim Students' Union, Nagpur, 28 December 1941 (Yusufi 1996, Vol. III p.1501), Jinnah's speech at a ladies' meeting at Calcutta, 25 February 1946 (Yusufi 1996 Vol. IV p.2207) and at another ladies' meeting at Shillong, 4 March 1946 (Yusufi 1996, Vol. IV p.2219).

³⁹ KM Munshi (1877-1971) was a Congress member and one time Home Minister of Bombay. He set up the Akhand Hindustan Movement in 1941.

⁴⁰ KM Munshi's Presidential Address at the Akhand Hindustan Conference, 1 November 1941, Ludhiana (Munshi, Kanaiya Lal Manek Lal (1942) *Akhand Hindustan* Bombay: New Book Company, p.94-95). However it should be noted that Munshi (a one-time Congressite who vehemently opposed Pakistan) went on to suggest that Pakistan would be an 'Islamic institution' (meaning theocracy) in which non-Muslims would be treated poorly (op. cit. p.95). Here it is also

Incidentally, at the Pakistan Association's celebrations of the centenary anniversary of Jinnah's birth, German Professor Dr. Krahn⁴¹ said in his address that the Qur'an was the model for Jinnah.⁴² Hence it seems that while Mr. Munshi of India and the German scholar Professor Dr. Kranhan knew exactly what type of state Jinnah was striving for, our own Chief Justice Munir did not.

In October 1948, after Jinnah's death the *Hindustan Times* published an article in which it was said that the minorities of Pakistan, and in particular of East Bengal were living in fear, because the Pakistani authorities had said several times that

worth mentioning that a similar statement made by Munshi again in around October or November 1941 (according to a *Dawn* article dated 9 November 1941, this was a speech delivered at Lahore) received a rejoinder from none other than Jinnah himself: '[Mr. Munshi] is reported to have said: "The State under the Pakistan scheme would not be a civil government responsible to a composite legislature consisting of all communities, but a religious State pledged to rule according to the teachings of that religion thus by implication excluding all others not following that religion from a share in the government. One crore and thirteen lakhs of Sikhs and Hindus would constitute a minority under the protection of the religious State of the Muslims. These Hindus and Sikhs would be on sufferance in the Punjab and would be foreigners in Hindustan." Is it not an incitement to the Sikhs and Hindus? Telling them that it would be a religious State excluding them from all power, is entirely untrue. He seems to suggest that non-Muslims in Pakistan will be treated as untouchables. Let me tell Mr. Munshi that untouchability is only known to his religion and his philosophy and not ours. Islam stands for justice, equality, fairplay, toleration and even generosity to non-Muslims who may be under our protection. They are like brothers to us and would be the citizens for the State.' (Speech at Muslim University Union, Aligarh, 2 November 1941. Yusufi 1996, Vol. III, p.1470)

⁴¹ Prof. Dr. Krahn was then Honorary Consul of Pakistan. He delivered his address in Frankfurt at a function arranged by the Pakistan Association, in cooperation with the Pakistan Consulate, on 30 January 1977.

⁴² As reported in *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 3 February, 1977

the country would be based on Islamic principles and tenets. The article went on to say that if the issue of Kashmir could be peacefully resolved, and Pakistan abandoned its objective to establish an Islamic state, resolving instead to become a modern democratic state, then friendly relations might be renewed between Pakistan and India, and thus between Hindus and Muslims.⁴³

Has Chief Justice Munir realised the actual nature of the struggle between Mohamed Ali Jinnah and his opponents? Jinnah sought an Islamic state, and his opponents sought a secular one. As mentioned before, the Hindus were prepared to compromise on many unresolved issues as long as Pakistan abandoned its claims to being an Islamic state.

I have already mentioned that Jinnah came up against opposition both from the Hindus and the Muslim nationalists when he campaigned to obtain an independent state. At the top of the list of his opponents were the Nationalist '*Ulama*. If we examine the motive behind their opposition, it will provide an insight into what Jinnah's objectives were as compared with theirs. The vast majority of the '*Ulama* – with the exception of a minority – belonged to the Dar-ul-Aloom Deoband school of thought. The well-known united-India nationalist newspaper, *Madina* (published in Bajnor) printed an article by the Muslim scholar Asrar Ahmed Azad Deobandi, which outlined the Dar-ul-Aloom Deoband philosophy. Dated 17 April 1963, it reads:

There are no grounds to allege that the Indian '*Ulama* were vying for an Islamic government in this country. Since at least the beginning of this century, the Indian '*Ulama* who belonged to Dar-ul-Aloom Deoband in India made it clear that their aim was for a democratic and secular state.⁴⁴

⁴³ *Hindustan Times*, 19 October 1948. Original not obtained; translators have paraphrased from Parwez's Urdu text.

⁴⁴ Asrar A. Azad Deobandi, 17 April 1963. Bajnor: *Madina*. Translated from Urdu.

The above statements provide solid proof that the Muslim *'Ulama* were strongly in support of a secular government whilst Jinnah opposed it; and this was the root cause of their dispute. A secular system is one in which people of all faiths can practise their beliefs, worship, customs, rituals, and personal laws freely. Religion is thus separated from politics. This was the secular state that the Muslim *'Ulama* advocated. At the time, the late Muslim scholar Hussain Ahmad Madni, who was the Sheikh Al-Hadith of the Dar-ul-Aloom Deoband, and was also the president of the Jamiat-ul-Ulama-e-Hind (Party of *'Ulama* of India), stated:

In order to establish a democratic government, the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians must work in union with one another. This united freedom is in accordance with Islamic principles, and in Islam this type of freedom is permitted.⁴⁵

He also stated:

Proposals which safeguard Islam's honour and status are continually being put to the (Indian National) Congress and being approved.⁴⁶

Contrary to this, as we have seen before, Jinnah understood that in Islam the state is based upon *deen*; therefore the stance of the Muslim *'Ulama* was in opposition to Islam. As Dr. Iqbal once wrote in verse:

*Since the mullah in India has the liberty to prostrate,
The fool thinks that Islam is free.*

Because of the dispute between Jinnah and the Muslim *'Ulama*, Hussain Ahmad Madni issued a fatwa against Jinnah which declared him an unbeliever, and stated that joining the Muslim League (of which he was the leader) was prohibited.

⁴⁵ Hussain A. Madni, *Muthhida Qawmiyat aur Islam. Zam-Zam*, 7 July 1938. Translated from Urdu.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

The rejoinder to this fatwa came from Shabbir Ahmed Usmani in 19 October 1945 in the publication *Rahbre Dhakan* (Deccan Guide).

Jinnah's speech of 11 August 1947

We now move to Jinnah's speech of 11 August 1947, particular parts of which have been used deceptively by Jinnah's opponents to suit their arguments. Chief Justice Munir has done the very same thing, but he hasn't stopped there. Not only did he manipulate Jinnah's speech to provide biased evidence that he sought a secular state; he was even bold enough to use that same evidence to imply that Jinnah defied the Two-Nation Theory. Hence not only has he denied the notion of Pakistan as an Islamic state, but he has also attempted to destroy its foundational basis.

The reality however, is that when Jinnah was appointed as the President of the first Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, he gave a speech in which he briefly explained the events leading up to the partition of India, such as the enmity between the Hindus and Muslims. In India the Muslims had been a minority and the Hindus had represented the majority, and this was the reason that Muslims had been frequently targeted. In Pakistan the situation was reversed; here it was the Hindus in the minority whilst the Muslims were in the majority. Hence there was apprehension amongst the Hindus that in Pakistan they might be subjected to the same treatment as the Muslims had in India. In any case Indian historians have painted such a disturbing picture of the period of Muslim rule⁴⁷ in India that the Pakistani Hindus feared a repeat of history in the new Muslim state. I have already referred to the *Hindustan Times* article (19 October 1948) which expressed these fears. Jinnah was mindful of this issue when he reassured the Hindus that they had no reason to fear.

Then he addressed the Pakistani people with the words:

⁴⁷ Muslim rule, i.e. the Delhi Sultanates and the Mughal Empire

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. As you know, history shows that in England conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. 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 this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state. The people of England in [the] course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country and they went through that fire step by step. Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain and they are all members of the Nation. Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that 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 each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.⁴⁸

These are the words that Jinnah's opponents use to try and convince us that Jinnah abandoned both the Two-Nation Theory and the concept of an Islamic state soon after independence and set his sights upon secularism instead. Had Jinnah arrived from some other planet and made this statement as part of his very first speech, then it might have been possible to draw this conclusion. However, since we have a record chronicling ten years of the Pakistan movement, and

⁴⁸ Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Karachi, 11 August 1947. (Yusufi 1996, Vol. IV p.2604-5)

have hundreds of articles, speeches etc. before us (to prove his dedication to the Two-Nation Theory and Islam), to accuse him of turning his back on his ideals is unjustified. The sad part is that whenever these people are confronted with the facts, and they do not have an explanation for it, then they have the nerve to suggest that whilst Jinnah claimed to fight for an Islamic state, it was actually a political stunt to win public favour. They claim that as soon he achieved his objectives there was no further need to continue with the strategy. These opponents do not even care to consider about whom they are making these accusations. I'm not saying this because I respect him, but because the truth is that whoever knows Jinnah's character will not dare to make such ludicrous accusations. Jinnah was an openly honest individual. It was such a distinctive feature of Jinnah that even his enemies recognised and acknowledged it. *The Times* printed a tribute to Jinnah after his death that testifies to his character and achievements:

... [Jinnah] provided in his own person the best illustration of his contention that the Muslims constitute a separate nation. There was nothing in him of the subtle flexibility of intellect which seems to the Englishman characteristic of the Hindu; all his ideas were diamond-hard, clear-cut, almost tangible. His arguments had none of the sinuosity of Hindu reasoning ...⁴⁹

To fully understand the actual meaning of Jinnah's 11 August 1947 speech to the Constituent Assembly, we need to take a look at the state of the country at the time. As Chief Justice Munir himself describes it:

⁴⁹ Obituary, 'Mr. M.A. Jinnah Creator of Pakistan', in *The Times*, 13 September 1948, As reproduced in full in Qureshi, S. (ed) (1998,) *Jinnah: The Founder of Pakistan in the eyes of his contemporaries and his documentary records at Lincoln's Inn*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, p37-8

After Partition the smouldering volcano⁵⁰ burst into a conflagration. Hindus and Sikhs in the East Punjab, [and] Muslims in West Pakistan, killed each other as if their victims were no better than animals. Retaliation followed retaliation till the whole Province turned into a seething cauldron of hate, and humanity, among Muslims and non-Muslims, sank to the lowest depths of degradation and savagery. ... Escorted caravans and trains proved illusory and unsafe means of transport. Sometimes the whole caravan was practically slaughtered and it arrived in Pakistan with more dead than the living. Abduction and rape flourished on both sides of the border ... and hundred [sic] of children were transfixed with spears and their bodies were publicly carried on the spikes.⁵¹

Obviously the barbaric chaos in India had caused a backlash in parts of Pakistan, and subsequently non-Muslims, and in particular Hindus, were uncertain about their future. Bearing in mind that this was a country that was not a day old, with no army, and which had no economy as such, what must have been going through the mind of its founder under these difficult circumstances? Mark also that within Pakistan itself there were forces bent on destabilising the new state, by fuelling the fears of the non-Muslim minorities as well as provoking them to fight back against the Muslims. At the same time there were some newspapers in India spreading propaganda relating to Pakistani cruelty against its Hindu minority. Hence it was vital for the Pakistani minorities to be assured that they were safe and would be protected from harm, and would not face discrimination based on their religious beliefs. These were the circumstances in which Jinnah had to deliver his first speech. For the most part Jinnah had a very balanced, rational personality. He rarely let his emotions get the better of him. However, considering the state of the country and the enormous responsibility he had to bear, for him to be at least partially emotional was understandable.

⁵⁰ Here Munir is referring to the violent clashes between the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs prior to Partition (see Munir 1980, p.17).

⁵¹ Ibid. p.17-18

As I mentioned earlier, Jinnah wanted to assure the minorities that they were entitled to the same civil protection as the Muslim majority. His speech was styled purely to reassure the public and prevent civil unrest (though I accept that he was uncharacteristically emotional, and thus he was not as careful with his choice of words as he normally would have been.)⁵². Hence to conclude that Jinnah fought a ten year battle for an ideal, only to throw it out the moment he achieved Pakistan's independence, is a grave injustice. No rational human being would ever accept such an idea.

Now let us take a look at how this speech was received by the non-Muslim minorities. Did they perceive that Jinnah sought to bring together the non-Muslims and Muslims in a secular state, or did they perceive the speech to relate merely to protecting the minorities? Mr. Joshua Fazal-ud-Din

⁵² The original Urdu version of the above text 'I accept that he was uncharacteristically emotional, and thus he was not as careful with his choice of words as he normally would have been' was cited in an article by Sayed Nasir Shah, in the magazine *Nia Zamana*, in 2004. Incidentally Mr. Shah had taken the Urdu text from *Qur'an aur Pakistan* (2003), a compilation of *Tolu-e-Islam* articles compiled by Fazal Karim (See Sayed Nasir Shah's feature column, 'Yaadeh Yaadgare' in *Nia Zamana*, Lahore, June 2004, p.35). Mr. Shah's article broadly discussed the history of pre-Partition India and the Pakistan movement. On the subject of M.A. Jinnah, Mr. Shah referred to the speech of 11 August 1947 as proof that Jinnah was a secularist. He then cited the aforementioned text in a bid to show that even G.A. Parwez found it difficult, in the face of this evidence, to stand by his contention that the speech does not imply a secular state. Aside from the fact that Mr. Shah has clearly taken Parwez's words out of context, we can state with authority that neither did Jinnah make a Freudian slip, nor were his words 'uncharacteristically emotional'. Here we respectfully disagree with Parwez. Contrary to the common myth, Jinnah's speeches were frequently 'emotional' – witty, funny, dry, passionate, and sometimes heated. In *Secular Jinnah & Pakistan* (2010) Saleena Karim has also explained in detail what Jinnah's words actually meant and why they are widely misunderstood. The relevant section of that book has been reproduced in full at the end of this pamphlet (see Appendix).

(deceased) was a very famous Christian leader. When President Ayub (deceased) appointed the Law Commission for Pakistan, Mr. Fazal-ud-Din questioned the basis upon which the constitution would be formulated, and produced a pamphlet thereof titled *Rationale of Pakistan's Constitution*. In this pamphlet Mr. Fazal-ud-Din outlined the two requisites of the Pakistani constitution. The first was that the constitution would be based on religion, because it provided the common values that would hold the East and West arms of Pakistan in unity. The second was the protection of the minorities within Pakistan. Mr. Fazal-ud-Din went on to state that in laying down the laws of the constitution, President Ayub would need to fulfil both requisites. Mr. Fazal-ud-Din then extracted references both from the 11 August 1947 and 14 August 1947 speeches to emphasise his point: Anyone who assumed that Jinnah's words: *Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims* meant that he sought a united government (which ultimately would make it a secular state), was making a grave mistake. Mr. Fazal-ud-Din writes that to suggest that Jinnah destroyed the foundations of Pakistan in his very first speech after Partition is ludicrous, and that Jinnah had only said that Pakistan's citizens would be treated equally regardless of their religion.

After 11 August 1947

I would also like to add that had this speech been Jinnah's last, and hence accepted as his final testimony, there may well have been room for doubt as to whether after ten years of campaigning Jinnah had indeed abandoned his ideals. However it happens that Jinnah lived for another year following his speech. Although he was very ill during his final year, in the early part of 1948 he said:

This Dominion which represents the fulfilment, in a certain measure, of the cherished goal of 100 million Muslims of this subcontinent, came into existence on

August 15, 1947. Pakistan is the premier Islamic state and the fifth largest in the world.⁵³

I have already shown that Chief Justice Munir omitted a part of the above broadcast in which Jinnah had defined what theocracy is on p.30-31 of his book.⁵⁴ It saddens me to have to say that once again, on the same page, Chief Justice Munir failed to include Jinnah's direct reference to the 'Islamic state'. He made these omissions because he knew that these parts of the speech would have damaged his own argument.

In the same month of that year, Jinnah addressed the Australian people with the words:

West Pakistan is separated from East Pakistan by about a thousand miles of the territory of India. The first question a student from abroad should ask himself is – how can this be? How can there be unity of government between areas so widely separated? I can answer this question in one word. It is "faith":⁵⁵ faith in Almighty God, in ourselves and in our destiny. But I can see that people who do not know us well might have difficulty in grasping the implications of so short an answer. Let me, for a moment, build up the background for you.

The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Mohammad (peace be on him). We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in rights, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. *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 themselves 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,

⁵³ Broadcast talk on Pakistan to the people of United States of America, Karachi, February 1948. (Yusufi 1996, Vol. IV p.2692)

⁵⁴ See also Ibid. p.2694

⁵⁵ Quotation marks appear in original.

outlook and instinct which go to make up a sense of nationality.⁵⁶ (Emphasis added)⁵⁷

Had we successfully based the constitution of Pakistan on Qur'anic values and at the same time ensured a widespread education (on the implication of these values), then East Pakistan⁵⁸ would never have become separated. The fundamental reason that East Pakistan became independent is that the Qur'anic ideals that unite the *Ummah* were forgotten, and the concept of race and nationalism was imposed in its place.⁵⁹ The result of this was disunity and hence the division of Pakistan followed. Faith – in Allah, in oneself, and in the future – was the firm foundation upon which Pakistan was built. Again I should mention that Chief Justice Munir cited the above speech to the people of Australia on page 31 of his book, but he omitted the part in which Jinnah mentions 'faith'.

On 7 April 1948 at the Government House in Peshawar, Jinnah said to the Tribal Jirga (Tribal Jury):

⁵⁶ Broadcast talk to the people of Australia, 19 February, 1948. (Yusufi 1996, Vol. IV p.2687-8)

⁵⁷ The emphasised portion of the above citation does not appear in G.A. Parwez's Urdu text. As he gave no indication at all that he had skipped that part in his citation, we must conclude that the book of speeches he quoted from had omitted the text. We are certain that Parwez would not have knowingly omitted a passage that happened to be so crucial in supporting his own argument, especially since it explicitly referred to theocracy. For an example of a very similar situation in which an oft-quoted speech has been similarly edited by omission, see Karim 2010, p.162 fn.

⁵⁸ East Pakistan became Bangladesh in 1971.

⁵⁹ Bangladeshi independence is not, contrary to popular opinion, proof that the Two Nation Theory has failed. Provincialist and language controversies had been stirred up since 1947 birth in what was then East Pakistan, which gradually served to increase distrust on both sides and eroded political unity. For further discussion, see Karim 2010, p.237

We Musalmans believe in one God, one book – the Holy Qur’an – and one Prophet. So we must stand united as one Nation.⁶⁰

On 14 February 1948 in Sibi Darbar (Baluchistan) Jinnah said in part of his speech:

... I have had one underlying principle in mind, the principle of Muslim democracy. It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, [*sic*] the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundation 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 discussions and consultations”.⁶¹

Following the Partition of India, when the British, Hindus and Sikhs conspired heavily against us,⁶² the whole Pakistani nation was feeling dejected and disheartened. It was around this time that Jinnah delivered an uplifting speech at Lahore University Stadium on 30th October 1947, which gave the Muslims a much-needed morale boost:

We have been the victims of a deeply-laid and well-planned conspiracy executed with utter disregard of the

⁶⁰ Address to the Tribal Jirga at Government House, Peshawar, 17 April 1948. (Yusufi 1996, Vol. IV p.2759)

⁶¹ Speech at Sibi Durbar, Sibi, 14 February 1948. (Ibid. p.2682). The last sentence in the above citation, in which Jinnah refers to a passage in the Qur’an with the words ‘Our Almighty has taught us that ...’ were not cited by G.A. Parwez. They are included here, as cited in Karim 2010 p.163, for emphasis.

⁶² The ‘conspiracy’ mentioned here was a widespread propaganda that the Muslim League’s acceptance of the 3 June 1947 plan (in which Partition was announced) was a mistake on their part, not only because of the violence that ensued with the mass-migration between the two countries during Partition, but also because (it was claimed) Pakistan was not economically viable and it was bound to fail. See the full text of Jinnah’s speech at Lahore University Stadium on 30 October 1947 (referenced fully in next footnote).

elementary principles of honesty, chivalry and honour. We thank Providence for giving us courage and faith to fight these forces of evil. If we take our inspiration and guidance from the Holy Qur'an, the final victory, I once again say, will be ours.⁶³

Now I ask any intelligent person: Are these the words of an advocate of a secular state? There is much more that can be said on this subject, and I have spent the past thirty years writing about it. However I will not discuss this subject much further, except to provide one more case in point.

The Chief Justice wrote:

The Quaid-e-Azam never used the words "ideology of Pakistan"⁶⁴ ... For fifteen years after the establishment of Pakistan, the Ideology of Pakistan was not known to anybody ...⁶⁵

The basic premise of Jinnah's ten year campaign (as he stated repeatedly) was to establish an Islamic state. Taking this fact into account, the question of whether or not Jinnah used the specific phrase 'Ideology of Pakistan' is irrelevant; for in any case, it happens that Jinnah did use these words.⁶⁶ For

⁶³ Speech at a Rally at the University Stadium, Lahore, 30 October 1947. (Yusufi 1996, Vol. IV p.2642)

⁶⁴ Quotation marks appear in original.

⁶⁵ Munir 1980, p.28

⁶⁶ Munir wrote that Jinnah never uttered the words 'Ideology of Pakistan' in that exact order, but this argument is based on mere wordplay as shown in detail in Karim 2010, p.154-60. Contrary to Munir's contention that the word 'ideology' is 'never used with reference to a country' (Munir 1980 p.29), Jinnah directly attached the word 'ideology' to the call for an 'independent state' which would one day be known as Pakistan (See Jinnah's Presidential Address at the 28 Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League, Madras, 14 April 1941. (Yusufi 1996, Vol. III p.1386). Several examples of

example he said during an interview with a representative of the Associated Press America on 8th November 1945 that Pakistan would be 'a Muslim State'.⁶⁷ In the same speech he also referred to the 'theory of Pakistan'.⁶⁸

On 15 June 1945 he addressed the Frontier Muslim Students Federation with the words:

Pakistan not only means freedom and independence but the *Muslim ideology*, which has to be preserved, which has come to us as a precious gift and treasure and which, we hope, others will share with us.⁶⁹ (Emphasis added)

This should be ample proof that he used terms like 'Islamic Ideals' on more than one occasion.⁷⁰ The Chief Justice's claim that Jinnah never used this term (and that no one had even heard of the idea until fifteen years after independence) is

Jinnah's own direct references to 'ideology' are also on record, sometimes with reference to Muslims, at others to Hindus, and others still with explicit reference to the state of Pakistan. Other individuals, including Liaquat Ali Khan and Jinnah's sister Fatima, also used the word freely. Furthermore, Karim also shows why Jinnah actually preferred the word 'ideal' to 'ideology' (op. cit. p.159-60). Suffice it to say that if enough people understood the difference between the two terms it could help to settle the debate in Pakistan on whether the word 'ideology' should be removed from its constitution.

⁶⁷ Interview to a Representative of the Associated Press of America, clarifying various aspects of Pakistan, Bombay, 8 November 1945. (Yusufi 1995, Vol.. III p2098)

⁶⁸ Ibid. p.2099. See also Karim 2010, p.154-60, which cites Jinnah using a variety of other phrases including 'Pakistan ideal', 'ideal of Pakistan', 'Doctrine of Pakistan', and 'Pakistan Scheme'.

⁶⁹ Message to the Frontier Muslim Students Federation Conference (Peshawar), Matheran, 15 June 1945. (Yusufi 1996, Vol. III p.2010)

⁷⁰ See also fn 66.

hence baseless.⁷¹ However if people wish to verify this fact for themselves, they can always consult the records which have been archived by Tolu-e-Islam, which contain numerous pieces on the subject of Islamic ideology.

The purpose of this article has been to refute the false claims about Pakistan and its founder that have damaged their reputation. Unfortunately, my voice alone is not enough to be heard above the very loud propaganda broadcast in every corner of the country. The letter of lament I received from a Tolu-e-Islam Magazine reader gives us an insight into how widespread that propaganda is. (It was printed in the weekly magazine *Al-Fatah*, page 2, Issue 28, September week 11th – 18th, 1980). The letter reads:

Someone recently sent me a copy of an article titled
Quaid-e-Azam Kaisa Nizam-e-Hakumat Chahte te? (What
Sort of Political System did the Quaid-e-Azam Seek?)

⁷¹ Munir claimed that the phrase 'ideology of Pakistan' was not known to anyone until 1962, when 'a solitary member of the Jamaat-i-Islami for the first time used the words when the Political Parties Bill was being discussed', though he himself conceded to having used the words 'ideology behind the demands' in his own famous Report into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953 (Munir 1980, p.28). With reference to this statement the renowned biographer of Jinnah and founder of Quaid-e-Azam Academy Prof. Sharif al Mujahid has raised an amusing point. He writes: 'But Munir himself cites Fareed S. Jafri ("Pakistan's Growth of Ideology – VII", *Pakistan Standard*, Karachi, January 30, 1955), and Javed Iqbal whose work on the ideology of Pakistan was published in 1961.' (Mujahid 1999, p.18). The point, of course, is that both these titles were released prior to 1962 and both are on the subject of the 'ideology' of Pakistan (and contain the word). We should mention that Jinnah's own sister Fatima Jinnah also used the very words 'ideology of Pakistan' in a speech at least as early as 1954 ((Khan, S. (ed.) (1976) *Speeches, Messages and Statements of Madr-i-Millat Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah (1948-1967)* Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, p.70), around a decade before her presidential campaign in opposition to Field Marshal Ayub Khan. In the same speech she referred also to 'Islamic ideology' as the basis of the 'freedom fight [the ideals of which] have to be translated into the terms of a state, a society and an economy' (Ibid. p.71).

written by the well-known political leader, the late Abdur Rahman Siddiqui. I shall quote part of it here as received:

A few days before Partition, there was an incident at 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi. At the dinner table, Raja of Mahmudabad⁷² asked of Quaid-e-Azam, 'What type of constitution will Pakistan have?'

Quaid-e-Azam countered with the question 'What form of constitution do you think Pakistan should have?'

Raja Sahib replied, 'A man who understands Deen, is God-fearing, practises his religion, and is most virtuous, should always be appointed as the head of state.'

Quaid-e-Azam said, 'You are in the twentieth century, but your mindset belongs in the Middle Ages. Pakistan will be a secular democratic state.'

Raja Sahib then said, 'Sir, for many years I have understood that the Muslim League's struggle was for an Islamic state and constitution.'

'What type of Islam?' asked Quaid-e-Azam. 'In Islam there are 72 sects.'

Raja Sahib fell silent.⁷³

Unfortunately, neither is Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, nor Raja of Mahmudabad, nor even Jinnah alive today. Ms Quratul Ain Haider fled to India and there she blatantly wrote that she didn't believe in the Two-Nation Theory. Now how can anyone confirm that this dinner conversation did indeed take place as described? The truth is that history is often mutilated because of stories such as this. This is why I said in the beginning of this article that only those statements of Jinnah (or of anyone else for that matter) which have been properly recorded during his lifetime should ever be cited as historical evidence.

The account of the above incident alone can effectively throw all legitimate books containing Jinnah's statements and correspondence out to sea. After all, fiction is always far more

⁷² Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan was the Raja of Mahmudabad's real name. His article 'Some Memories' was published under his formal title in the book, *The Partition of India: Policies and Perspectives* (1970).

⁷³ Letter from a Tolu-e-Islam magazine reader (date unknown), referring to Quratul Ain Haider's anecdotal report in *Kare Jahaan Daraaz Hai*, Vol. II p.271-2. Translated from Urdu.

appealing than reality, and hence more compelling. The final surah of the Qur'an contains a prayer that asks for God's refuge against evil forces.

Say: I seek refuge with the Sustainer of men, / the Sovereign of men, / the God of men, / from the evil of the whispering, elusive tempter / who whispers in the hearts of men (114:1-5)⁷⁴

The use of anecdotal evidence is an effective strategy in putting doubts in people's minds and hearts. Not only individuals but entire nations can be ruined. Ever since Pakistan came into being there have been ongoing attempts to do just that. Consequently some people say that Pakistan came into being simply because of the Hindus' narrow-minded approach towards Muslims with regards to independent India. Others say that the motivations behind Pakistan's formation were economical.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Muhammad Asad translation.

⁷⁵ For an example see the late sociologist Hamza Alavi's paper 'Pakistan and Islam: Ethnicity and Ideology' in Fred Halliday and Hamza Alavi (eds.) (1988) *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan*. He wrote that the landlords of the Punjab joined the Pakistan movement only because they were threatened with effective extinction due to Congress' commitment to abolishing feudalism. Thus in their view moving to Pakistan would be 'the guarantee of their survival as a landlord class which was threatened by the Congress commitment to land reform.' In Jinnah's mind however, Pakistan was also supposed to be committed to abolishing feudalism, and indeed capitalism. In the years before Pakistan appeared on the map he said: 'Here I should like to give a warning to the landlord and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. *They have forgotten the lesson of Islam.* ... I have visited some villages. There are millions and millions of our people

A professor from Karachi, Qamar-ud-Din Khan, has taken his argument as far as saying that there is nothing in the Qur'an referring to an Islamic state or polity. According to him the Prophets only came to teach people how to perform ritual worship. This account appeared in *Dawn* (August 1980) in the special edition celebrating Pakistan Independence Day.⁷⁶

This type of propaganda is extremely prevalent in Pakistan today. What is left to say? May God protect this land, which we

who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilisation? *Is this the aim of Pakistan? Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day!* [sic] *If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it.*' (Presidential Address delivered at the 30th Session of the All-India Muslim League, Delhi, 24 April 1943. Yusufi 1996, Vol. III p.1720. Emphasis added) After Pakistan attained independence, at the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, Jinnah reminded its Research Organisation, a body formed to work on the economic system of the new country, that capitalism was not on the agenda for Pakistan: 'I shall watch with keenness the work of your Research Organisation 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 [the] 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. ... 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 [the] true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace, which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and *prosperity of mankind.*' (Speech on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, Karachi, 1 July 1948. (*Nation's Voice* Vol. VII p.428. Emphasis added)

⁷⁶ The author of that article thus writes: 'The truth is that none of the prophets mentioned in the Qur'an are made to declare that the object of their mission is the establishment of an Islamic state in the world. They only invite mankind to worship one God, the Creator and Supreme Ruler of this universe, and do good deeds and shun evil. And this message certainly does not embody any political theory.'

obtained in order to build a fortress of Islam.⁷⁷ This fortress has not been built to date, yet those few who remain from the time of the struggle are still hoping to see the dream come true. However if (God forbid) this land is not safeguarded, then any hope of building the fortress will vanish. This is the ultimate objective of its opponents.

⁷⁷ Masjid: An Arabic word synonymous with mosque, used here in the context of 'House of God', or fortress.

Appendix

On Jinnah's Speech of 11 August 1947

(The following is excerpted from Karim, S. (2010) *Secular Jinnah & Pakistan: What the Nation Doesn't Know* Co. Mayo: CheckPoint Press, p.151-4)

Myth no. 5: Jinnah's speech of 11 August 1947 was the 'clearest exposition of a secular state', since Jinnah advocates the protection of the minorities. (Munir 1980, p.29)

We have just seen in the previous myth that Jinnah stressed the importance of minority rights as a matter of Muslim duty. The speech of 11 August is famous for the fact that it was made extempore, without notes. Writers from all camps have noted that Jinnah words were spontaneous and spoken from the heart.⁷⁸ Pro-secularist commentators have stated that in this speech he revealed his preference for a 'secular' Pakistan. They quote the 11 August speech primarily because of the following statements (the following passage is taken from Munir's book):

⁷⁸ Bolitho contradicts this by claiming that Jinnah worked 'for many hours' on the speech (Bolitho, H. (1954) *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*. London: John Murray, p.197). Jinnah's speech itself however is self-evidently delivered extempore ('I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me'; Jinnah Archive Doc. No. 01471108), and so Bolitho's information is incorrect.

You may belong to any religion or caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the State (Hear, hear). ...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 or another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State (Loud Applause).

... Now I think you should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that 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 each individual but in the political sense as citizens of the State.⁷⁹

In fact Jinnah made this statement because in the past history of many countries the religion of the majority has led to discrimination against other religions and minorities; the same is true of some countries even today:

As you know, history shows that in England conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class.

... Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen⁸⁰ of Great Britain and they are all members of the Nation.

He spoke of the dangers of sectarian discrimination, and this of course is the known history behind the development of the secular state which is designed primarily to prevent sectarian tyranny. However, whilst today's secular states may or may not enforce this principle depending on the mindset of their peoples, in a systemic expression of Islam the

⁷⁹ Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Karachi, 11 August 1947 (as quoted by Munir 1980, p.30). Quotation marks in the original text have been omitted here.

⁸⁰ Jinnah Archive Doc. No. 01471108

enforcement of the principle of universal civil rights is mandatory, since it is a core principle of the Qur'an. A bona fide 'Islamic state' is duty bound to protect the rights of all human beings, whatever their colour, caste or creed:

We have conferred dignity⁸¹ on the children of Adam⁸² ... (17:70)⁸³

Jinnah may have referred to the history of Europe, but this does not automatically mean that he was inspired by dualist secularism. Looking at his speeches in toto, we can safely say that it was the Qur'anic principle that inspired his call for toleration and equality. Even in his pre-partition speeches he had linked so-called secular or humanist principles e.g. 'fairplay' and 'justice' to Islam on numerous occasions:

The acid test of success of any government of a representative character is that the minorities must feel that they will have *fairplay and justice*. ... I am confident that when the time comes, the minorities in our homelands will find that with our traditions, and our heritage and *the teachings of Islam, not only shall we be fair and just to them but generous*. ... We believe in action, we believe in statesmanship and in practical politics.⁸⁴

The words 'justice' and 'fairplay' are in fact the English equivalents of the Qur'anic words *adl* (justice) and *ihsan* (indemnification):

⁸¹ 'Conferred dignity', i.e. they are worthy of respect by virtue of being human.

⁸² The 'children of Adam' means obviously 'humankind' and therefore means all human beings regardless of religious persuasion.

⁸³ Muhammad Asad's translation.

⁸⁴ Presidential address at the ML Annual Session, Madras, 14 April 1941. (Yusufi Vol. III, p.1386) For another example, see Presidential address delivered at the ML Annual Session, Delhi, 24 April 1943 as reviewed in Myth no. 4.

Allah enjoins justice and kindness, and giving⁸⁵ to kinsfolk (16:90)⁸⁶

Here again Jinnah refers to Islamic teachings as his inspiration for the treatment of non-Muslim citizens:

The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in rights, dignity and self-respect. *Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity.* 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 themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan.⁸⁷

Jinnah has spoken out against theocracy and reminded his audience that equality and tolerance are part and parcel of Islam. This passage is particularly significant since it is taken from a speech made well after partition, and well after 11 August 1947. Here is yet another example that Jinnah claimed to be inspired by Qur'anic rather than secular idealism. In 1943, the *Morning News* reported:

'As far as we are concerned,' Mr. Jinnah said, 'we make this solemn declaration and give this solemn assurance that we will treat your minorities not only in a manner that a civilised government should treat them *but*

⁸⁵ See Chapter 14, subsection 'Socio-economic justice' for further information on *adl* and *ihsan*.

⁸⁶ Pickthall modernised. (Pickthall, M.W. (1980 reprint) *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an*. London: Ta-Ha Publishers)

⁸⁷ Broadcast talk to the people of Australia as Governor General, 19 February, 1948. (*Nation's Voice* Vol. VII, p.190)

*better because it is an injunction in the Qur'an to treat the minorities so.*⁸⁸

It seems rather inconceivable that someone who had taken his beliefs on human rights from Islam and the Rasool⁸⁹ would suddenly announce that he was a secularist. Furthermore, it is significant that the word 'secular' never once appears in any of his speeches on Pakistan. The speech of 11 August 1947 is no exception. It is only due to a confused understanding of secularism and Islam that so many people have misconstrued it. The most controversial line in the whole speech is the one in which Jinnah said:

... 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 each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.⁹⁰

Some commentators believe that this is a secular statement because of an implied separation of religion from politics. However this is entirely untrue. For one thing, read the sentence properly and we find that Jinnah has not separated 'religion' from politics (i.e. in the sense of separating spiritual

⁸⁸ Address to the students of Ismail College, Bombay, 1 February 1943; as reported by *The Morning News*, 2 February 1943. (Ibid. Vol. III p.1674). Another version of the same speech reported in *Times of India* on 2 February 1943 reads: 'He was prepared to give a solemn assurance that the Muslims would treat the minorities even better than any other civilised Government treated their minorities, because that was the injunction of their highest religious authority – the QORAN.' See Harris, M.A. (ed.) (1976) *Quaid-e-Azam*. Karachi: Times Press, p.175. (Spellings and capitalisation retained from original)

⁸⁹ Rasool – word for Messenger of God; can be used for any prophet but is generally used to denote the final Prophet of Islam.

⁹⁰ Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Karachi, 11 August 1947. (Jinnah Archive Doc. No. 01471108)

or Qur'anic law from politics). He has simply said that people would be equal irrespective of faith.⁹¹

It appears that Jinnah was also answering a statement made that day by Mr. Kiran Shanker Roy, leader of the newly established Pakistan Congress Party. The *Pakistan Times* reported Mr. Roy's speech as follows:

Speaking about the minorities, Mr. Roy said that if Pakistan meant a secular democratic state, a state which would make no difference between citizen and citizen irrespective of caste, creed or community, he would assure him that he (Mr. Jinnah) would have their utmost cooperation.⁹²

Roy also admitted that he and his Congress colleagues were 'not very happy' about either the 'division of India' or the 'partition of the Punjab and Bengal', but they would 'accept the citizenship of Pakistan with all its implications'.⁹³ He was evidently seeking an assurance from Jinnah that Pakistan would be a state in which there would be no discrimination based on religion. It could also be that he was pushing for Jinnah to explicitly confirm that Pakistan would be a 'secular state'. Jinnah did indeed assure all minorities of equality before the law, and this was enough to satisfy Roy and other non-Muslims. But Jinnah nevertheless did not say that Pakistan would be a 'secular democratic state'. He had always said that it would be an 'Islamic democracy', and he never moved from this position.

⁹¹ S.M. Burke, a Pakistani Christian commentator, has written: '[When the 11 August speech] is read with the Quaid's other pronouncements it becomes quite clear that he was recommending generous treatment to non-Muslims not as a commendable secular principle, but as a mandatory Islamic injunction' (S.M. Burke's introduction to M.A. Jinnah, in Burke, S.M. (ed.) (2002) *Jinnah: Speeches and Statements 1947-1948* Karachi: Oxford University Press, lxi). See also our brief discussion of the *Misaq-i-Medina* in Chapter 12.

⁹² As reported in *Pakistan Times*, 13 August 1947 (*Nation's Voice* Vol. VI, p.358-9 fn)

⁹³ *Ibid.* (p.359 fn)

To further understand this point requires a deeper understanding of a number of Qur'anic principles. There is insufficient room to discuss these in detail here, but in Chapter 12 we will review the principles of the Qur'an that help make sense of Jinnah's supposedly controversial words. In the meantime, it is worth noting how one biographer of the Quaid-e-Azam has interpreted the speech. In his *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, Hector Bolitho produced Jinnah's passage above and commented:

The words were Jinnah's: the thought and belief were an inheritance from the Prophet who had said, thirteen centuries before, 'All men are equal in the eyes of God. And your lives and your properties are all sacred: in no case should you attack each other's life and property. Today I trample under my feet all distinctions of caste, colour and nationality.'⁹⁴

Bolitho here has quoted from the well-known final *khutba* (sermon) of the Rasool shortly before his death. Either this means we should accept the Prophet of Islam as a secularist, or this means we need to rethink what the Qur'an teaches about the treatment of fellow human beings socially, economically and politically.

⁹⁴ Bolitho 1954, p.197

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EXPOSITION OF THE QUR'AN

The celebrated Urdu expositional translation of the Qur'an by G.A. Parwez, titled *Mafhoom-ul-Qur'an*, is now available in English. In 1983 Parwez began this translation himself, but managed to complete just over half the text (up to the 18th surah) before he passed away in 1985. Some time after his death, the Tolu-e-Islam Trust resumed the editing and publication of this work.

It is well known that translating the Qur'an into any language, let alone English, is a most challenging task. Many Qur'anic terms represent entire concepts and so are impossible to faithfully translate using one equivalent English word – and sometimes an English word doesn't even exist for it. For this reason Parwez did not translate word for word as with most traditional translations, but presented his as an 'exposition'. To avoid making the text cumbersome and repetitive, he also chose not to translate certain Qur'anic terms at all but instead retained them in the text, e.g. *deen*, *hamd*, *kafir*, *momin*, *mushrik*, *nabi*, etc. and explained their full meanings in a specially-prepared glossary.

This is a work of English translation quite unlike most efforts of the past, and a scholarly attempt to convey the pristine concepts of the Qur'an. However, as Parwez himself acknowledged, the original Arabic text of *Wahi* is eternal and so no human interpretation can be treated as the final word on the subject.

The book is complete with footnotes, Arabic and Biblical names, bibliography, index and a comprehensive glossary of around 140 important Qur'anic terms.

ISLAM: A CHALLENGE TO RELIGION

The very name of the book appears paradoxical, for it is universally accepted that Islam is one of the major religions of the world. So how could a religion challenge the very institution to which it subscribes? The author has indeed made a successful bid to prove this strange aphorism for the first time in the history of Islamic thought and his research deserves careful study. It is thought-provoking; it is revolutionary, opening new vistas and horizons for fresh intellectual endeavours. It is the outcome of a life-long study of one of the renowned Qur'anic thinkers of our times.

The author has not, however, taken a negative attitude towards Islam. Having proved his claim that Islam is *not* a religion, he has lucidly explained what it really is, and how it offers the most convincing and enduring answers to those eternal questions which even thinking man asks about the meaning and purpose of life and how it can be achieved. The book is thus a unique attempt at the rediscovery of Islam: Scholarly written and exquisitely presented.

THE QUR'ANIC SYSTEM OF SUSTENANCE

This is the translation of *Nizam-e-Rabbubiyat* (1955) by the Pakistani thinker G.A. Parwez, a powerful treatise on the subject of economics, and possibly his most important work. Originally written to address communism as well as capitalism, its warnings and recommendations remain wholly relevant to the prevailing economic conditions of the twenty-first century.

Parwez presents an alternative economic solution to capitalism and socialism, taken directly from the Qur'an. In outlining the Qur'anic 'system of sustenance', he boldly challenges the accepted norms regarding the individual and society. But this alternative goes far beyond the pale of economy. It claims to meet both the material and spiritual needs of human beings – thereby encompassing their entire individual and social existence. He argues that the Qur'an alone offers humanity material advancement without decadence, and spiritual advancement without dogmatism.

A must-read for all students of economics and religion.

Translated and edited by Saleena Karim & Fazal Karim, UK.

THE BOOK OF DESTINY

Originally appearing in Urdu under the title *Kitaab-ut-Taqdeer* in October 1971, this scholarly work addresses a philosophical subject that has confounded Muslim thinkers for centuries. It deals with age-old theological questions such as: Does God decide every individual's fate and destiny *before* one is born? Is there a pre-determined collective or individual destiny for mankind? Can an individual, or a group, change its destiny? If one's fate is preordained and inescapable, what are the implications for the question of 'reward and punishment'? And how does all of this affect humankind's freedom of choice and free will?

Parwez has ably explained these and other related puzzles in everyday language for the average reader and has successfully removed the confusion that has surrounded this subject for the better part of the last millennium and a half. What is more important from an academic perspective is that the author has dealt with this topic in light of the Qur'an itself.

Translated by Khalid Sayyed, UK.

QUR'ANIC LAWS

Qur'anic Laws was written to meet pressing demands. It provides the code of laws for an Islamic state, and as such it may be considered a precursor of *Tabweeb-ul-Qur'an* – a grand, magnificent, and marvelous classification of the Qur'an by the late Ghulam Ahmad Parwez in three large volumes.

There is no denying that in this book, Parwez has given the purport of Qur'anic verses in prolific detail. In places he has also drawn some inferences of his own, though he acknowledges that these represent his own suggestions and that in practice this right belongs to the Legislative Assembly of an Islamic State.

Although this collection of Qur'anic laws shall be beneficial to all Muslims in general, it will be particularly useful to those involved in jurisprudence, i.e., judges, advocates, members of the legislature, the constituent assemblies, those working with other legal sections of the government, and those concerned with the media. The chapters of this book deal with topics such as state affairs, government agencies, justice, general injunctions for family life, inheritance and testament, protection of life and property. Other chapters pertain to economy and basic human rights, etc.

Translated by late Dr. Syed Abdul Wadud,

REASONS FOR THE DECLINE OF MUSLIMS

For the last two centuries or so, the Muslims have been emotionally and mentally preoccupied with their own rise and fall, and have lamented and wailed endlessly about their glorious past. Others have become disgusted at their present state to the extent that they now reject it altogether in the name of modernity. The Muslim world at large remains traumatised by events of the recent past: The disintegration of the Mughal Empire, leading to the dethronement of Bahadur Shah Zafar in the last century, followed by the self-destruction of the Ottomans and dethronement of Sultan Abdul Hamid II during and after the First World War.

Even a cursory glance over history makes it abundantly clear that the collapse of a civilisation does not happen suddenly. It is usually preceded by a prolonged phase of decay, with Nature watching, as if hoping against hope that humankind may yet see the edge of the precipice and turn back. In Qur'anic terms this is the 'period of respite'.

The fact remains that the decline of Muslims occurred because, as with others before them, they had reached the point of no return. G.A. Parwez is one of the few who objectively and scientifically attempted an analysis of the causes of the fall of Muslim civilisation from the Qur'anic perspective of history. This little book is available in both Urdu (original title: *Asbaab-e-Zawal-e-Ummat*) and in English.

Translated by Ismail Atcha, UK.

LETTERS TO TAHIRA

Letters to Tahira is essentially a collection of letters written to a mature and inquisitive young lady. They represent the responses to queries the author had received from many female readers of his earlier book written for young men, *Letters to Saleem*.

These letters address the trials, tribulations and the vexing problems that the unfortunate and helpless girls of our society have to face today. Some letters highlight the maladies that are currently rampant amongst our modern educated class, and which have resulted from following Western cultural values blindly. The nation is gradually pushing towards destruction, and if the orthodox section of the society needs reform, then so do the liberal modernists. It is imperative that both extremes be brought to the middle path, in light of the Qur'an.

It is a stark fact that women can train, discipline and build a society more easily and effectively than men. The publishing of these letters will hopefully initiate the reformation process at home.

Translated by Mrs Surraya Alvi, USA.



This booklet is Ghulam Ahmad Parwez's rebuttal to Chief Justice Muhammad Munir's bestseller, *From Jinnah to Zia* (1979), containing ample evidence from Jinnah's written statements and speeches to counter Munir's claims that Jinnah was a secularist. As one-time counsel to Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah on matters pertaining to Islam, and as one of the few who could visit him without an appointment, Parwez was in a position to speak with authority on the founder of Pakistan's political convictions.



More about Parwez and his work can be found at www.toluislam.com



G.A. Parwez (1903-1985) was born in British India. The grandson of a Sufi master, Parwez possessed expert knowledge in the beliefs and practices of traditional Islam. Through his own independent study he came to understand that the Islam of today has little to do with the Islam presented in the Qur'an. His numerous titles bear testimony to a man who was open-minded, a rationalist in his approach, who genuinely cared about humanity, and above all, was absolutely committed to finding the truth.

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