Iqbal and Quaid's Vision of Pakistan Zamir Akhtar Khan^{*}

Abstract

Our thesis, in brief, is that it was the dream of a philosopher (Iqbal) the interpretation of a statesman (i.e. Quaid-e-Azam) and the blood of a nation (Sacrifices offered by the Muslims of the Sub-Continent) that added one more colour to the multicoloured map of the world. In the subsequent pages we will try to examine as to how we realized this goal.

Key Words: Allama Iqbal, Quaid-e-Azam, Pakistan

Introduction

The Muslims ruled Indian Sub-Continent for centuries; but eventually they were dethroned by British traders and invaders. The Battle of 1857 was the turning point of their fortune as it was the culmination of their struggle for the retention of their socio-political control over the subcontinent. Their defeat in this war, however, sealed their fate for nearly a century. In August 1947 they were able to reclaim and regain their independence from British Imperialism. This intervening period was extremely critical and crucial for their survival. The main principles which were apparently supposed to inspire the Freedom Movement of the Sub-Continent were all meant to militate against the interests of the Muslims. For instance, the Movement was supposed to be inspired by nationalism (or the nation-state philosophy). Contentions of the Hindu leadership were that as Modern States were emerging in the name of their respective nations, India too has one nation, that is, the Indian Nation. Hindus and Muslims are an integral part of this nation. Muslims so to say, were denied the right and status of a distinct and separate nation. Obviously this thesis was meant to militate against the independent identity of the Muslims.

The second principle that apparently provided the life-blood to the Movement was an all-out allegiance to Secularism. Religion was marginalized as a source of socio-political and moral inspiration of a State and Society. It was condemned to the purely private affairs of the individual. Human reason (further guided and supplemented by human

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experience) was considered to be self-sufficient for running the affairs of the state. If individual reason is per chance found faulty, it can be rectified by the collective wisdom of the State and Society at large. It was relentlessly insisted that the state could legislate for itself on the basis of the majority opinion. Religion should not be allowed to interfere in matters of the state. Obviously this principle was also meant to rob Muslims of their religious identity and their fundamental moral ethos.

The third principle was the so-called allegiance to democracy whereby brute majority of population was supposed to govern the state regardless of whether or not the legislation enacted by it is morally desirable or reprehensible. (Say for instance, the Uni-Sex marriages in the Western Societies). Needless to emphasis that Islam does acknowledge the sanctity of human life and gives high value to freedom of thought and conscience. But both of our thoughts and actions (or intellect and freedom) are very carefully hedged by moral constraints. The general principle followed by Islam is that where clear injunctions of the Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet (PBUH) are available, compliance is imperative and obligatory. And where these inspirational sources are somehow silent, consultation and collective thinking is obligatory and compulsory. But these human efforts should not transgress the basic spirit of the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet (PBUH).

Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam both were alive to the dangers lurking underneath these principles. Their struggle for a separate homeland for the Muslims of the Sub-Continent was prompted essentially for preserving the socio-political and ethico-religious and cultural identity of the Muslims.

Initially, the Muslim Leadership, especially Quaid-e-Azam, was anxious to remain an integral part of the joint struggle for the independence of the Sub-Continent. Of course, he was eager to safeguard the socio-political rights and Islamic identity of the Muslims. Gradually he realized that Hindus were hell-bent to marginalize the Muslims (on the basis of new allegiance to nationalism, secularism and the brute majority – or democracy) and reduce the Muslims to a second rate citizens in their own homeland. Iqbal in his famous Allahabad address presented the idea of Pakistan as a separate homeland for the Muslims as a permanent solution to Hindu-Muslim communal tensions. The same idea was later made vibrant in Lahore Resolution in 1940. This demand was given a legal format on the basis of two-nation theory. Pakistan so to say, was inspired by the Ideology of Islam which was in turn naturalized under the name of Ideology of Pakistan.

Ideology of Pakistan

It seems incumbent here to give an operational definition of ideology which was likely to serve as a warp and woof of our struggle for a separate homeland for the Muslims of the Sub-Continent.

Definition of Ideology

"Ideology may be defined as a cluster of beliefs, ideals and concepts that has become deeply ingrained in the social consciousness of a people over time. Ideology touches the hidden springs of emotions of the people as nothing else does, including an almost instinctive allegiance to causes inspired by the beliefs, ideals and concepts encapsulated by it. The ideology, people are committed to, come to acquire an organic relationship with, and becomes integral in a real sense, to the core ethos of that people. In the ultimate analysis, the cluster of overarching values and ideals a nation subscribes to provides quintessentially the prime rationale for its growth and development. It is these values and ideals, especially those that have stood the test of time, that alone help endow a nation with a profound sense of high purpose."¹

In short ideology incorporates those fundamentals and moral / spiritual principles which are at the root of a nation's ideals and its ethos. To Muslims, Islam is their ideology which encompasses entire life, individual as well as collective. It starts from beliefs, goes through modes of worships and culminates as a socio-politico-economic system with an aim to please Allah, serve humanity and provide Divine justice at door steps of every individual whether believer or not.

In the following paragraphs, an overview of two prominent personage of Pakistan movement namely Allama Iqbal and Quaid Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah will be presented with an aim to show that both these giants agreed on the vision of Pakistan.

Iqbal – a visionary (First Phase of his life)

Iqbal was lucky that he got Religious atmosphere at home. His father and mother were practicing Muslims. They have employed an eminent scholar Maulana Mir Hassan to teach Iqbal basics of Islam. He left lasting impressions on young Iqbal which later on proved decisive in shaping the entire personality of this poet philosopher. After completing his early education he started participating in social and literary activities. Initially he was an ordinary intellectual who was under the influence of prevailing environment. From 1899 to 1905 he proved to be a proponent of Indian Nationalism. During these years his poem Taranae-Hindi (the Indian anthem) became very famous wherein he says:

*Our Hindustan is better than the entire world. It is our garden and we are its nightingales.*²

Iqbal's Urdu poetry before 1906 and specially poems such as "The New Temple" and "The Indian Anthem" bear ample testimony to the fact that during his student days Iqbal was an adherent of the concept of a composite Indian Nationalism. In the following verses he appears to be an extremely patriotic and nationalist:

"O Brahman! If you don't mind I shall tell you the truth. The idols of your worship have gone obsolete. You think that God is there in the stone idols. To me every particle of my homeland is an idol for me."³

Evolution of Iqbal's thought (Second phase of his life)

Iqbal went to Europe to pursue higher education and stayed there from 1905 to 1908. He directly observed/experienced the Western Civilization and declared that:

He admits that due to the challenge of Western culture he came to know the reality of his own Faith.⁴ When he returned from Western world he was a changed person all to gather. He very categorically states that:

"There is no doubt that my ideas about nationalism have undergone a definite change. In my college days I was a zealous Nationalist that I am not now. The change is due to a mature thinking. It is unfortunate that my later writings are all in Pakistan which is little understood in this country".⁵

The gradual transformation of Iqbal's political beliefs started during his stay in Europe as a student of philosophy. It was particularly due to Iqbal's insight into the nature of the conflict and strife between the European nation states, which he could foresee, was leading Europe to world-wars, and partially due to the developments within India, such as the Hindu Communist's agitation against the partition of Bengal in 1906, which had come about on purely administrative basis but had accidentally yielded some benefits to the Muslim of East Bengal. The Urdu poem to Abdul Qadir signifies his renunciation of the concept of a composite Indian nationalism and his adoption of a new concept of Millat i.e. Muslim unity. He says:

"Arise! See that a new darkness has engulfed the Eastern horizon, Let us spread light with the flames of our voice. Look! In the holy land, the lover's way of life has been renounced.

Let us inspire other Qais (the lover) with new dreams."⁶

Reawakening of Muslims through poetry (Third Phase of life)

Iqbal returned from Europe with renewed ideas and changed perceptions. Next 20 years he totally devoted himself to the cause of Islam as he understood the true message of Qur'an. He became an exponent of Quranic Message. He very confidently states that he uses poetry as a tool and does not say any thing which contradicts the Holy Qur'an.

In the next poem entitled "Territorial Nationalism" Iqbal rejects the prevalent concept of territorial nationalism. He considers this concept as a modern form of idolatry and hence incompatible with Islam:

This era has a different cup, different wine and another Jamshed.

The Saqi has adopted new ways to charm the drinkers. Western civilization has fashioned new idols and the Muslim has created a new Haram (sanctuary) where these new idols are being worshiped. Country is the supreme among all the contemporary idols.

Its cloak is the shroud of Religion.

This idol of country as fashioned by the contemporary civilization,

Destroys the home of the Prophet (Islam)

Your arm obtains strength from the power of Tauheed (monotheism).

Islam is your home, and you are the follower of the Prophet.

Show to the world a glimpse of the old days? O followers of Mustafa (the chosen one i.e the Prophet of Islam)! Crush this idol in the dust.

If one were bound with a place, the result will be utter destruction.

You should live like a fish in the ocean independent of country.

In the parlance of politics "country" means some thing different and according to the saying of the Prophet country is something else.⁷

The nations of the world are at odds with each other because of the concept of territorial nationalism. The aim of commerce has become the conquest of other nations because of territorial nationalism. Because of this concept politics has divorced itself from truth and the destruction of the house of the poor.

Justified by the idea of territorial superiority; God's creation is divided into nations by territorial nationalism. The roots of Islamic nationality are destroyed by it.⁸

Negation of Territorial Nationalism

This forceful and moving poem presents Iqbal's main arguments against the modern Western concept of territorial, racial or linguistic nationalism as well as arguments in favour of a separate Muslim nationalism which springs from the spiritual homogeneity and a common world-view. In his Stray Reflections which he penned down in the year 1910, Iqbal has observed:

> "Islam appeared as protest against idolatry. And what is patriotism but a subtle form of idolatry- a deification of material object. Islam could not tolerate idolatry in any form. It is our eternal mission to protest against idolatry in all its forms. What was to be demolished by Islam could not be made the very principle of its structure as a political community. The fact that the Prophet may peace be upon him prospered and died in place not his birthplace is perhaps a mystic hint to the same effect."⁹

Exploring the nature of Muslim solidarity he wrote in the same notebook, in the same year:

> "Our solidarity as community rests on the religious principle. The moment this hold is loosened we are nowhere. Probably the fate of the Jews will befall on us. But our educationists are still groping in the dark: they are perhaps too much dazzled to realize the difference between Islamism which constructs nationality out of a purely abstract idea, i.e religion and "Westernism", the very life blood of whose concept of nationality is concrete thing, i.e country."¹⁰

This difference between Islamism and Westernism on the question of nationality is further elaborated by Iqbal in his detailed analytical essay entitled: "Political thought in Islam", which appeared in Hindustan Review (vols. XXXII and XXXIII, 1910-1911). Iqbal asserted:

"The law of Islam does not recognize the apparently natural difference of race, nor the historical differences of nationality. The political ideal of Islam consists in the creation of a people born of a free fusion of all races and nationalities. Nationality, with Islam, is not the highest limit of political development. For the general principles of the law of Islam rests on human nature, not on the peculiarities of a particular people. The inner cohesion of such a nation would consist not in ethnic or geographic unity, nor in the unity of language or social tradition, but in the unity of the religious and political Or, in the psychological fact of "likeideal. mindedness". The membership of this nation, consequently, would not be determined by birth, marriage, domicile or naturalization. It would be determined by a public declaration of "likemindedness", and would terminate when the individual has ceased to be like-minded with others. The ideal territory for such a nation would be the whole earth. The Arabs, like the Greeks and the Romans endeavoured to create such a nation or the world-state by conquest, but failed to actualize their ideal, the realization of this ideal, however, is not impossible. For the ideal nation does exist in germ."¹¹

Once the ideal became crystallized, he started transmitting it through the powerful medium of his Urdu and Persian poetry. In his poem answer to the compliant, Allah commanded to the faithful to realize that:

Religion is the basis of nationalism. If the stars are not bound to each other, There is no star-lit sky. Arise! Emancipate the wretched of the earth by the power of Ishq And enlighten the world with the name of Muhammad. (Peace be upon him). Be you faithful to Muhammad (peace be upon him), and we yield our self to you;

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Not this world alone – the Tablet and the pen your prize shall be).¹²

In his short poem entitle Religion he addressed his fellow Muslims on the subject of nationalism in a moving melodies tone:

> Do not compare your nation with the nations of the West because, the nation of the Prophet of Islam is of a different mould. Western nationalism is based on territory or race But your nationalism gets its strength from the power of religion. With the loosening of the religious hold Your unity as a distinct nation will be lost.¹³

In his reawakening of the Muslims through poetry Iqbal accurately identifies the causes of downfall of Muslims. He says it is due to neglecting the Quran:

Your ancestors were dignified and honoured because they were true Muslims and you have been humbled due to neglecting the Holy Qur'an.¹⁴

Like a true reformer he creates awareness amongst Muslims and reminds them of their lost glory. He says:

> *The Caliphate has been ruined due to foolishness of Turk. See the simplicity of so called Muslim and shrewdness of others as well.*¹⁵

Iqbal's approach is so pragmatic that through his reawakening efforts calls for action:

*Try to get the courage of your forefathers so that the caliphate could again be established in the world.*¹⁶

Despite absolute darkness prevailing in the Muslim society Iqbal had always been optimistic. Along sides reawakening efforts through poetry Iqbal started revitalization process. He strongly criticized Western thought enabling Muslims to regain confidence. In a taunting way he states the weaknesses of Western civilization. He declares Western civilization as baseless and predicts that shortly it will disappear because it is not based on reality.¹⁷ He seems to be very bitter in his criticism and calls fake western thought as dazzling exterior of Western civilization:

*The glittering exterior of present day civilization is just an artificial style with no firm foundation.*¹⁸

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Two Nations Theory

In the 18th century new concepts were introduced in Europe. The nation state concept developed. According to this concept people living in a particular state are a nation irrespective of their faith or religion. This concept gave birth to Secularism, a philosophy which declared religion outside the purview of state. Accordingly religion has to be confined to private life only. Iqbal rejects these concepts and comes up with his idea of state which is in conformity with Islamic Ideology. For the Muslims of subcontinent who were struggling to get rid of British imperialism he gave the idea of "Two Nations theory". He became a staunch advocate of this theory and reminded the Muslims that their Nationhood is based on Hazrat Muhammad's Prophethood. He strongly condemned a great scholar of his time Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani who opined that nations in the current era are founded on the bases of territory. His poetic response immediate and spontaneous:

"The Ajam has not yet mastered the secrets of the faith; otherwise we would not have seen the strange spectacle of Deoband producing a Hussain Ahmad. He sermonized from the top of the pulpit that it is the territory that makes a nation; How ignorant he is of the standpoint of Muhammad of Arabia! You must reach out to Muhammad (peace be upon him), the chosen one, for he personifies Islam; If you do not reach out to him, you follow the Father of the Flame (Abu Lahab)".¹⁹

Iqbal and separate homeland for Muslims

In his Persian Masnavies entitled Secrets of the Self and Mysteries of Selflessness first published in 1915, Iqbal rejected the political creed of territorial nationalism by citing examples from the teachings and the practice of the Holy Prophet:

> "Our Master, migrating from his fatherland, resolved the knot of Muslim nationhood, His wisdom founded one community – The world its parish. Those who adopted country as the basis of nationalism have shattered the fabric of human fraternity. By making country an object of veneration they have divided human unity into tribes. Your nation is above the considerations of colour and blood."²⁰

The price of one black man is a hundred red men. Reject blood relationship as a principle of human superiority and follow the way of Salman Farsi who had exclaimed: "I am the son of Islam. Become a destroyer of Idol like Abraham. If racial pride is the basis of nationalism then forget about the concept of human brotherhood. I do not belong to Rome and Arabia, nor do I take pride in the concept of racial superiority. Follow the way of your Prophet and get united. Love of the Prophet is the source of your unity. Make this love as the cementing force of your nationhood."²¹

It was for his spiritual ideals that the Prophet of Islam migrated from the land of his birth and adopted Medina as his permanent abode. The Muslims of India must follow this example from the life of Prophet Muhammad in their refusal to sacrifice their religious identity on the alter of the territorial nationalism i.e. composite Indian nationalism. In his historic presidential address, delivered at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad on the 29th December, 1930 he rejected the Western concept of a composite Indian nationalism in an unapologetic manner. He argued with full emphasis on his command that:

"The religious ideal of Islam is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore, the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. I would like to see the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self government within the British Empire appears to me the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North West India – I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interest of India and Islam".²²

When Muhammad Ali Jinnah returned from London and initiated the task of the reorganization of the All-India Muslim League, Iqbal extended his total support to Jinnah and worked as his loyal soldier. This was the time of the closest political cooperation between these two greatest leaders of Muslim India.

These new ideas concerning the destiny of Muslim India, in particular, and Muslim world in general, which had stirred the mind of young Iqbal, way back in the year 1907 continued to grow over the years and finally culminated into a clear cut ideology in 1938.

Notwithstanding the advocacy of Indian nationalism on the basis of Islam by the leading Ulama, the overwhelming majority of the Indian Muslims adopted the path of a separate Muslim nationalism as the only way leading to their salvation. Less than two years after the death of Iqbal, All-India Muslim League resolved to struggle for the creation of separate Muslim homeland on the ideological foundations laid by their poet-philosopher, Allama Muhammad Iqbal.

Raison d'être for a separate state

According to Iqbal the raison d'être for creation of independent homeland is as follows:

"For Islam it will be an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its laws, its education, its culture and bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times."²³

Response of masses to Iqbal's thought

Iqbal invoked Islamic Concept of state which moved the masses. They rallied around the flag of All India Muslim League. Muslim league turned popular party instead of elite class group. The response of masses at grass root was so effective that very soon it was realized by both Hindus and British that division of India was inevitable. The Muslims started their struggle with a single aim to establish an independent homeland wherein they will be able to order their lives in accordance with the dictates of Islam. The most popular slogan which united majority of Muslims was:

"What is the meaning of Pakistan? It means to establish the Sovereignty of God (& the Vicegerency of man) in this world."

Quaid-the Founder of Pakistan

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was born in 1876 at Karachi. He got his early education at Karachi from Sind Madrasa tul Islam. Then he moved to London to pursue his legal education from Lincoln's Inn. After completing his Bar at Law he returned to Karachi to practice law but could not establish himself as successful lawyer. Then he went to Bombay to start his legal profession there. He was basically a Statesman and a staunch Indian nationalist and an advocate of a united India for many years. At the very beginning of his career, even when he was practicing law full time, he strongly associated himself with the All India National Congress party and quickly became one of its brightest young stars. He was not religious in the popular sense. He had a secular bent of mind. That is why his mentors were non-Muslim liberal politicians such as Hindu Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Parsi Dadabhai Naoroji.²⁴

Living though he was in British India, in which the social and intellectual divisions between Hindus and Muslims were manifest, Jinnah believed that India's freedom would only be possible if the two communities worked together as equals.²⁵

At the same time he actively demonstrated his concern for safeguarding the interests of his own community. In his very first speech in Congress in December 1906, in which a resolution was moved on the issue of Waqf-i-ala-aulad (Muslim law dealing with inheritance and trusts) he expressed his appreciation that a question affecting solely the Muslim community was being raised by the Congress. It showed, he said, that the Muslims could stand 'equally' on the Congress platform. Jinnah voiced this sentiment again the next day at the same session: 'The Mohammedan community should be treated in the same way as the Hindu community.²⁶ Later he also took on the Waqf issue himself, sponsoring the Musalman Waqf Validating Bill through the Viceroy's Legislature in 1913. In 1913 he joined All India Muslim League on the request of Maulana Muhammad Jauhar. Thereafter it was through his membership of both parties that he worked for a political union of Hindus and Muslims. He cemented his reputation as the 'ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity' in 1916, when as the presidet of the Muslim League he was the chief actor in rallying the two major communities in a cooperative agreement which became known as 'Lucknow Pact'.²⁷

Through this pact the congress formally recognized the right of Muslims to have 'special' electorates, and implicitly recognized them as being on an equal footing with Hindus. In return the League was to support the national aims of the congress.

Meanwhile, the Khilafat issue was the main concern of Indian Muslims. They wanted to prevent the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire by Europeans including the British, and they wanted to save the Caliphate of Turkey in order to retain the Caliphate's control on Islam's holy places. They were also motivated by their anxiety to preserve the last symbol of the declining political Muslim world. Jinnah had been the first Leaguer to bring up the Khilafat issue in the 'Lucknow Pact' Session in 1916, but otherwise Indian Muslims lacked organization in expressing their grievances. In November 1919, Muslims held a conference presided by Fazlul Haq, where they formed a Khilafat Committee. Jinnah and Gandhi both attended, and both were also amongst the deputation of Indians led by Mohammad Ali Jouhar who presented the Khilafat Conference's grievances to the Viceroy on 19 January 1920.²⁸

The loss of faith in the British Government and new zeal for revolutionary activism had initially brought the Muslims and Hindus together, but now it began to drive them apart. The Congress' support of Gandhi's revolutionary approach conflicted with Jinnah's methods and so the Lucknow Pact was effectively abandoned. Some Hindu groups were now increasingly promoting Hindutva, an exclusivist Hindu nationalism. The militant Hindu Mahasabha in particular opposed the Lucknow Pact and separate electorates. Meanwhile Congress antipathy towards Muslim political demands and a growing anti-Muslim religious movement at a social level would lead to Hindu Muslim riots over the coming years.²⁹

Although communal tensions continued to rise over the next decade, Jinnah did not give up seeking a possible rapprochement between the two communities. He focused on building up the League (which had become sidelined with the dominance of the Khilafat Committee) and by the mid 1920s its standing was somewhat improved. In 1927, Motilal Nehru suggested that if Muslims gave up demanding separate electorates he might convince the Congress to concede other Muslim demands. The Delhi Muslim proposals were the result.³⁰

A year later, in response to the British Government's challenge that the Indians should try and draft a constitution on which they would all agree, the various parties of India met at the All Parties Conference at Calcutta, in February 1928. The Nehru Report (authored by Motilal Nehru) was written and published following the conference, demanding full independence (i.e. not dominion status within the British Empire). It did not fully meet the demands in the Delhi Muslim proposals, yet it rejected separate electorates. Muslims had demanded a third of seats at the centre; they were offered a quarter. Sindh was to be given the right of separation, with the caveat that it must be financially self-sufficient. Unsurprisingly the Muslim League rejected the Nehru Report. To offer a compromise, Jinnah put together his famous fourteen points' summarizing the bare minimum demands of Muslims including: a requirement that residuary powers to be given to the provinces; that Muslims representation at the centre must be a third; Muslim religion, culture and education must be safeguarded; separate electorate and weight age must be granted; and that Sindh must be separated from Bombay. The Congress would not concede to these demands, but at least Jinnah's efforts helped to repair the rift in the Muslim League.³¹

Jinnah's was the voice of a 'secular Muslim' for whom a communal problem could be resolved with political safeguards. He did not yet appreciate Iqbal's tactful warning in Allahabad that national homogeneousness in India - a 'continent' – was extremely difficult to

achieve; that 'Hindu India' would need a 'complete overhauling of her social structure' (meaning its case system) if it was going to seriously demand the creation of a nation-state for all Indians; and that it needed to acquire the kind of political and ethical homogeneousness that Islam provided as a 'free gift'. Jinnah however was clinging to the composite Indian nationalist ideal for the time being.³²

To make matters worse, not all in the Muslim ranks appreciated Jinnah's insistence on Hindu-Muslim unity, or his preference for joint electorates. For example, Mian Fazl-i-Husain, a pro-British Punjabi leader and predecessor to Sikandar Hayat Khan, expressed his discomfort with Jinnah speaking on behalf of Muslims at the Conference, given that Jinnah's views were not always acceptable to them.

Jinnah now realized that he was alone at the RTC. Looking back five years later he was to remark:

"I displeased the Muslims. I displeased my Hindu friends because of the famous 14 points. I displeased the Princes because I was deadly against their underhand activities and I displeased the British Parliament because I felt right from the beginning and I rebelled against it and said that it was all a fraud. Within a few weeks I did not have a friend there."³³

Many efforts {to secure safeguards for all minorities} had been made since 1924 till the Round Table Conference. At that time, there was no pride in me and I used to beg from the Congress. I worked so incessantly to bring about a rapprochement that a newspaper remarked that Mr. Jinnah is never tired of Hindu-Muslim unity. But I received the shock of my life at the meetings of the Round Table Conference. In the face of danger the Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity. I felt very pessimistic about my country. The position was most unfortunate. The Mussalmans were like dwellers in No Man's Land; they were led by either the flunkeys of the British Government or the camp followers of the Congress. Whenever attempts were made to organize the Muslims, toadies and flunkeys on the one hand and traitors in the Congress camp on the other frustrated the efforts. I began to feel that neither could I help India, nor change the Hindu mentality, nor could I make the Mussalmans realize their precarious position. I felt so disappointed and so depressed that I decided to settle down in London. Not that I did not love India; but I felt utterly helpless.³⁴

Jinnah remained in England following the end of the second RTC. He lived in Hampstead, where he resumed his legal practice. Back

in India, the Muslim League was floundering. Muslim Leaguers unanimously elected Jinnah League president in his absence, and pleaded with him to return.

The Indian nationalist in Jinnah was down, but not out. As he himself testified, even after his return in April 1934 he looked for a way to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity, right up until the provincial elections of 1936. Perhaps he had held Gandhi as the sole culprit for wrecking communal unity at the RTC.³⁵

In 1936, Jinnah had not completely given up on Indian nationalism, but he was beginning to show signs of change. He had met with Iqbal a number of times in England and they had long been colleagues. But 1936-8 was a period in which Iqbal became Jinnah's self attested 'spiritual support'. We know little of the ideas exchanged between them during this crucial period, except for what exists in Iqbal's letters to Jinnah, and Jinnah's own comments on them. Tragically, Jinnah's replies are missing, but he did later write that Iqbal had played a very conspicuous part behind the scenes in uniting Muslims in minority and majority provinces. As he also confessed, Iqbal's views (which were at any rate 'substantially in consonance' with his own) had finally led Jinnah to the same conclusions as Iqbal regarding the constitutional problems facing India; and they were later given expression in the united will of Muslim India as adumbrated in the Lahore resolution (the League's most resolution which demanded Muslim famous independence). At any rate Jinnah's political decisions, his speeches and statements provide ample evidence of the gradual but definite ideological shift from secular Muslim to simply Muslim in the Quranic sense of the term. By 1938, this shift would be complete; but it was not a religious change. Jinnah had no theological discussions with anyone, at least not on record. The letters of Iqbal, influential though they were, contain statements not on Islam as a religion, but on Islam as a moral and political force. In the end, Jinnah's conversion would actually come as a result of his political experiences in this period.³⁶

Iqbal-Quaid: A decisive meeting

When Iqbal was visiting London to participate in the Round Table Conference in 1932 he met with Muhammad Ali Jinnah and discussed with him the political conditions of Muslims in India. During this meeting he impressed upon Jinnah to return to India and take up the liberation mission of the Muslims from the yokes of British imperialism. Jinnah was earlier working for the cause of Muslims on different footing as mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. Iqbal convinced Jinnah to apply the correct method of appealing Muslims to get united for achieving the independence from British colonialism. He asked Jinnah to use Islam as a motivating force to awaken the Muslims. No doubt it was Iqbal's high intellectual caliber which ultimately convinced Jinnah. The right approach was to invoke the Islamic spirit and appeal Muslims to devote their energies for restoration of Islamic rule in the subcontinent. Moreover, it was Islam, a powerful factor, which could defeat the onslaught of Western civilization. Iqbal's influence on Jinnah is unquestionable.

From 1937 onwards Iqbal made a number of comments and suggestions in his letters that would later be expressed in Jinnah's political actions. Iqbal also wrote that he considered Jinnah 'the only Muslim' capable of leading the Muslims through the 'storm' of the political crisis.³⁷

Jinnah was thus inspired by Iqbalian thought when he said:

"The ideology of the League is based on the fundamental principle that Muslim India is an independent nationality...We are determined, and let there be no mistake about it, to establish the status of an independent nation and an independent State in this subcontinent."³⁸

Until the end of his life Jinnah frequently borrowed ideas directly from Iqbal- including his thoughts on Muslim unity, on Islamic ideals of liberty, justice and equality, on economics, and even on practices such as prayers.

Iqbal & Quaid: mutual understanding/relationship

Iqbal and Quaid shared their views and respected each other so much that one calls the other 'Visionary'. It is said that Iqbal uttered the following verse in honour of Quaid:

*"For thousands of years a nation may lament & remain groping in darkness. Only then a visionary leader may be born to guide the nation."*³⁹

Iqbal's relationship with Quaid is manifested in the letters he wrote on different occasions to express his dynamism which ultimately impressed Jinnah very much. According to Mr Ahmad Saeed Iqbal wrote 19 letters to Jinnah of which 08 are very famous.⁴⁰

On the other hand Jinnah also expressed his strong affiliation with Iqbal. He was passionately moved by the death of Iqbal and paid homage to his 'Spiritual Guide' in the following words:

> "The sorrowful news of the death of Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal had plunged the world of Islam in gloom and

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mourning. Sir Muhammad Iqbal was undoubtedly one of the greatest poets, philosophers and seers of humanity of all times. To me he was a personal friend, philosopher and guide and as such the main source of my inspiration and spiritual support".⁴¹

In another public speech Jinnah showed his preference for Iqbal's works over the rulership of a State. He says:

> "If I live to see the ideal of a Muslim state being achieved in India, and I was then offered to make a choice between the works of Iqbal and the rulership of the Muslim state, I would prefer the former."⁴²

Quaid's Vision of Pakistan

Inspired by Iqbal and greatly moved by the message of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, Quaid understood the strength of Islam and frequently expressed his views about it as a moral, spiritual and socio-politicoeconomic system. Excerpts from his speeches/writings, mainly taken from "The Nation's Voice Vol. I to IV" published by Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi are reproduced below to show that Quaid wanted to establish a State wherein Islamic principles will reign supreme:

• Flag of Muslim league: flag of Islam

"Today in this huge gathering you have honoured me by entrusting the duty to unfurl the flag of the Muslim League; the flag of Islam, for you can not separate Muslim League from Islam. Many people misunderstand us when we talk of Islam particularly our Hindu friends. When we say 'this flag is the flag of Islam' they think we are introducing religion into politics-a fact of which we are proud. Islam gives us a complete code. It is not only religion but it contains laws, philosophy and politics. In fact, it contains everything that matters to a man from morning to night. When we talk of Islam we take it as an all-embracing word. We do not mean any ill will. The foundation of our Islamic code is that we stand for liberty, equality and fraternity."⁴³

• Let us go back to the Qur'an

"Let us go back to our Holy Book the Quran; let us revert to the Hadith and the great traditions of Islam, which have everything in them for our guidance if we *correctly interpret them and follow our great Holy Book, the Quran.*"⁴⁴

• *Tribute to Quaid by a British* Quaid's Islamic character was even known to non-Muslims. One of his critics remarked:

"Mr. Jinnah is the sword of Islam resting in a secular scabbard." 45

• Controversy over one statement: 11 Aug 1947

One of the statements of Quaid is often repeated by so called secularists. It is quoted out of context to prove that Quaid probably wanted a secular state instead of Islamic one. It is sheer intellectual dishonesty that in the presence of so many quotes in favour of Islamic system of life only one statement is given importance which suits the view point of secularists. The fact is that Quaid was referring to the rights of minorities and not giving a verdict about secularism to be adopted in Pakistan. He says:

"You will find that in 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."

"I can give you the highest authority of our book in Islam and the authority of our history that Islam has not only treated minorities justly and fairly but generously wherever they had any authority or power. That is almost a sacred injunction upon the Muslims."⁴⁶

• Islamic principles are applicable today

"Islamic principles today are as applicable to life as they were thirteen hundred years ago. I could not understand a section of the people who deliberately wanted to create mischief and made propaganda that the constitution of Pakistan would not be made on the basis of Shariah."⁴⁷

• Proud to belong to Islam

He left London and adopted the present course of strenuous life only because he had no doubt in his mind that the political future of the Indian Muslim community and Islam, to which he was proud to belong, was in danger of disintegration for want of a bold and correct leadership and the utter lack of organization.⁴⁸

• Exhorts Muslims – keep the flag of Islam flying "There had been a wonderful Muslim awakening in India and what was needed at present was that this should be harnessed and properly mobilized. He concluded by exhorting the Muslims to prepare themselves for the future and to keep the flag of Islam flying."⁴⁹

• Flag of ML is flag of Islam

Today in this huge gathering you have honoured me by entrusting the duty to unfurl the flag of the Muslim League, the flag of Islam, for you can not separate the Muslim League from Islam.⁵⁰

Follow Prophet's example, stand united behind ML The flag of the Muslim League is the flag of Islam. This is not a new thing. It is there since the last 1300 years. Thirteen hundred years ago, our Prophet (peace be upon him) preached his faith when there was no Muslim. In 20 years time our Prophet (peace be upon him) had spread not only his faith in Arabia, Egypt and Europe but also brought them under his suzerainty.⁵¹

• *ML flag "several centuries old"* Unfurling the League flag, [the Quaid] observed that it was not a new flag. It was several centuries old and was given to them by the Prophet.⁵²

Islamic code of law most equitable I find and I have no hesitation in saying this that Islamic code of law with regard to succession is most equitable, most just, most advanced and most progressive.⁵³ Muslims living in different states are one. The geographical limits cannot divide children of Islam.⁵⁴ I was born a Muslim and shall die a Muslim.⁵⁵

• Pakistan, the only goal to save Islam "Pakistan is not only a practicable goal but the only goal if you want to save Islam from complete annihilation in this country".⁵⁶

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- Our watchword should be faith, unity and discipline "Islam lays great emphasis on the social side of things. Every day, the rich and the poor, the great and the small living in a locality are brought five times in a day in the mosque in the terms of perfect equality of mankind and thereby the foundation of a healthy social relationship is laid and established through prayer."⁵⁷
- *I have spoken hearts of millions of Muslim* "I have spoken what was in the hearts of millions of Muslims boldly, I have served you faithfully and led you truthfully. I can give you nothing except my service. I shall continue my service of the Muslims and Islam."⁵⁸
 - The greatest message: the Qur'an "You have asked me to give you a message. What message can I give you? We have got the greatest message in the Quran for our guidance and enlightenment. All what we have got to do is to know ourselves and the great qualities, virtues and powers that we possess. Let us work up to that great ideals."⁵⁹
- Unconquerable soldiers of Islam "The Muslims of India have great faith and hope in you and believe that you will be the unconquerable soldiers of Islam like unconquerable rocks and through you Islam in India will be able to revive the glorious past".⁶⁰
- Islam: a code of conduct

"You must remember that Islam is not merely a religious doctrine but a realistic and practical code of conduct. I am thinking in terms of our history, our heroes, our art, our architecture, our laws, our jurisprudence."⁶¹

• Our bedrock and sheet anchor is Islam "Islam did not recognize any kind of distinction of various classifications of castes and the Prophet (May peace be upon him) was able to level down all castes and create a national unity among Arabs in Arabia. Our bedrock and sheet anchor is Islam. There is no question even of Shias and Sunnis. We are one and we must move into nation as one and then alone shall we be able to retain Pakistan."⁶² [Be a Muslim. Transcend all sorts of Sects and Sectarianism]

*"For us Pakistan means our defence, our deliverance, and our destiny. It is the only way which will ensure to us our freedom and the maintenance of our honour and the glory of Islam."*⁶³

Iqbal and Quaid's views formulated ideology of Pakistan

If we analyze Iqbal & Quaid's views expressed by them during the entire struggle for Pakistan it is nothing but Islam which they wanted to see as the system of life to be implemented in Pakistan .It is for Muslims to stick to the vision of these two heroes who have left a great legacy in the form of rich ideas derived from the heavenly sources i.e. the Qu'ran and the Sunnah.

Following is the summary of Pakistan Ideology extracted from Sharif al Mujahid's book titled "Ideology of Pakistan":

"The paramount significance of Pakistan, however, lay in the fact that it was premised on a philosophy which boldly challenged the prevalent notions of statehood, especially that states ought to be formed on the basis of territorial nationality. The Pakistan movement seemed to be a brave act of swimming against the ideological currents of the time. The whole point of the Pakistan idea was that the prevalent concept of the collective identity of Indian Muslims.

It had become quite clear by the early forties that Islam was functioning in India as the major bond of cohesion for its followers. The separate nationhood of Indian Muslims was eventually recognized and so there came into existence in August 1947 a state in the name of Islam. What was quite novel about this state was that its declared objective was to translate Islam's ideals into [terms of] practice. The birth of Pakistan was also perceived as a major stride towards the unity of the Muslims of the world, something that would give Muslims the enhanced weight and strength needed to preserve the substance of their independence. This unity was seen necessary to enable Muslims to act in the international sphere for the greater good of the Ummah and to make their contribution to building a better order for all humanity, an order based on justice, universal brotherhood and well-being of all, especially of the downtrodden, the "wretched of the earth". But above all, many Muslims envisioned that the new country would serve, in the words of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, as a laboratory wherein Islamic principles would be tested and shown to be wholesome for all humanity.

Questions about Pakistan's raison deter, have not ceased to agitate many curious minds. Why should India have been split into two states? Is it not an anachronism that a state should have come into being in mid twentieth century in the name of Islam, a state that would derive inspiration and guidance from religious worldview, and that too in an age when religion's role in societal affairs is regarded as a relic of the past? Does Pakistan, then, make sense?

The rationale for the creation of Pakistan, as we all know, was provided by the famous two-nation theory. Put succinctly, the theory asserted that India was the home not of one but of two major nationalities - Hindus and Muslims. Now Islam requires that human beings submit themselves to God. In practical terms, this means that they follow the guidance revealed by God to His last Messenger Muhammad (peace be on him). This guidance is essentially embodied in the Sunnah. Since the contents of this guidance broadly embrace virtually all aspects of life, it would be apt to say that Islam's concerns are not confined to religious and spiritual matters in the restricted sense of these terms. Thanks to Islam's pervasiveness, we find a characteristic Islamic stamp on Muslims' lifestyle in myriad space-time contexts. The same happened in India. True, during their long history in India, Muslims were very much Indianzed. Even those Muslims whose ancestors had come to India from abroad felt very much at home and developed in their culture an ambience that was characteristically Indian. They gave much to this country and were also open to receive a great deal from it. Nevertheless, the Muslim religio-cultural entity was able to maintain its distinctness and Islam did not suffer the fate which overtook other religions in India assimilation and effacement.

It has often been conjectured that while Pakistan's founding fathers had invoked Islam to make a case for Pakistan, they did not truly think that it should have much of a role to play in Pakistan once that state had come into existence. This was and is still said even with reference to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It sounds somewhat astonishing, though, that such a statement should be made by those who express great veneration for Quaid-i-Azam. It seems that such people did not even pause for a moment to consider the implications of such a statement. Does this statement not imply that Quaid-i-Azam had for long said things that he did not believe in; that he merely said what was expedient? Now, the life-long record of Quaid-i-Azam amply testifies that he always had the courage to speak out his mind; that he was never known for hypocrisy; that he never evinced any disposition to play to the gallery. A few sentence of his inaugural address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan are quoted out of context as if reflecting a vision of Pakistan different from what he and his party, Muslim League, had been presenting up to this point. The fact, however, is that what he said on this historic occasion does in no way negate the role of Islam in Pakistan's polity which he had spelled out so often. Couched in modern political idiom, his statement only reaffirmed an aspect of the established relationship between an Islamic state and its non Muslim citizens. The speech especially underlines his resolve to bestow equal rights on all citizens of Pakistan irrespective of their class, colour or creed. All this indeed reflects Quraid-i-Azam's true vision of Pakistan which in no way contradicts his emphatic affirmation, time and again, as regard the Islamic character of Pakistan. Also, this Islamic character was not conceived as something nominal; as some mantra that would be pronounced on ceremonial occasions. He rather conceived Islam's role to be both vital and substantial.

Even though all this is quite evident, it still needs to be restricted for a degree of conduction has indeed been created on this question. Let us see what Quaid-i-Azam said on the subject. We find that he made it clear that "Pakistan not only meant freedom and independence but the Muslim ideology which has to be preserved". He also explained that Muslims demanded Pakistan "where they could rule according to their own cultural growth, tradition and Islamic laws". He thought that "our religion, culture and our Islamic ideals" were "our driving force to achieve our freedom". During the Indian Muslims' struggle for the establishment of this "Muslim National Homeland", he repeatedly declared that they stood for establishing an "Islamic State".

After the establishment of Pakistan, too, Quaid-i-Azam did not cease to emphasize this aspect of Pakistan. With a feeling of joyful and genuine pride, he called Pakistan "the Muslim State of Pakistan", "the premier Islamic State", and a "bulwark of Islam". He could not understand "a section of the people who deliberately wanted to create mischief and made propaganda that the Constitution of Pakistan would not be made on the basis of Shariat"

Without attempting to array any further evidence – and the available evidence on the question is overwhelming – I would like to refer only to some parts of Quaid-i-Azam's speech in July 1948 on the occasion of the inauguration of the State Bank of Pakistan. What he said on this occasion is illustrative of the ideological orientation of Pakistan's founding fathers.

I shall watch with keenness the work of your (State Banks) Research Organization in evolving banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life... We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. 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.

Thus, Pakistan was essentially envisioned as an Islamic polity, it is quite natural that there should be diversity of views as to the detailed implications of the concept of such a polity. There was, however, no ambiguity about the fact that it would and should be an Islamic polity. It was the least surprising, therefore, that when six months after the death of Quaid-i-Azam, the Constituent Assembly met to lay down the objectives of the state of Pakistan, it categorically reaffirmed the vision of the nation and its leaders regarding the role of Islam in the state that had been established in Islam's name.

The exponents of the Pakistan idea from Muhammad Iqbal to Muhammad Ali Jinnah and others were all categorical and emphatic in assuring the non-Muslims in Pakistan that as its citizens they would enjoy the same rights as those enjoyed by Muslims. The leaders of the Pakistan Movement, and most of all Quaid-i-Azam himself, assured them that they would not be subjected to any discrimination; that they would be treated justly, even generously.

To accord fair and generous treatment to the non Muslims living in an Islamic state is a well-established and long-standing Islamic tradition. Such a treatment has an Islamic rationale and motivation and has nothing to do necessarily with any newfangled secularist philosophies. For it is a well known duty of the rulers of an Islamic state to create an atmosphere in which the non-Muslims would feel secure as regards their life, honour, property and the practice of their religious faith, an atmosphere in which they would have no fear being subjected to any undue pressures. It also needs to be pointed out that the rights granted to non-Muslims in an Islamic state are granted to them in the name of God and His Prophet (peace be upon him) rather than in the name of the nation or its government and for this reason, they are sacred, inviolable and irrevocable. It goes to the credit of the religious scholars of Islam that in the long history of Islam whenever any rulers showed the inclination to give them a rough deal and deprive them of any of their rights, the former valiantly stood to oppose such moves and persuaded the rulers to give up such ideas. Such an attitude did indeed behove the upholders of the religious tradition vouchsafed by the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). This, because he declared that on the Day of Judgment he would plead with God on behalf of those non-Muslims had a covenant, and who were Muslims with whom nevertheless subjected to injustice, or whose rights were denied, or from whom something was taken without their willing consent. According to a great many Muslim jurists, the principle governing the relations between the Muslim and non-Muslims in an Islamic state is the following:" They i.e. non-Muslims have the same rights as the Muslims. However, there is a difference amongst their obligations. For instance, a non-Muslim is not obliged to go to war & defend the country." It is also reported that 'Ali, the fourth Caliph of Islam, made the following statement about the non-Muslims with whom the Muslims have a covenant "... their properties are like our properties, and their blood is like our blood".

It would also be pertinent to emphasize that apart from granting non-Muslims a set of rights, Islamic civilization also has another noteworthy distinction: From quite an early period of its history, it conferred religious, cultural and even judicial autonomy on its non-Muslim citizens. This would certainly be the envy of many minority communities of the world today whose distinct entity is generally frowned upon be the majority.

The demand for Pakistan was the result not primarily of a racial, linguistic, or territorial community, but of religious community.

Pakistan's emergence represented a trend against the prevalent international system of territorial nationalism; it meant a refutation of the dominant Western brand nationalism. On the other hand, it was, in a sense, an extension of the emergent concept of Islamic nationalism."⁶⁴

Response of Muslim masses to Quaid's leadership

Throughout the subcontinent Muslims showed unanimity of purpose. Even Muslim minority provinces like UP, CP, Bombay and Madras also joined Pakistan movement. Islam proved to be a binding force. Efforts of emotionally charged Muslims, guided by sincere leadership of Quaid resulted in the miraculous birth of great Muslim state, Pakistan.

Despite heavy odds Pakistan came into existence

The Hindus showed violent opposition to Pakistan movement. They were bent upon avenging their thousands year defeat. Since they were in majority they applied all unfair means to stop the emergence of Pakistan. They were supported by the Labour Govt. in England whose enmity towards Quaid was obvious. Moreover, strong Congress leadership in collaboration with Jamiet-i-Ulama-i-Hind, another opposing factor to Pakistan movement, created obstacles in the way of Pakistan. The strong and negative/effective propaganda of press also hindered a lot. Despite all this opposition and heavy odds Pakistan did come into existence as Divine Scheme of Allah All-mighty.

Quaid's apprehensions

In this difficult situation Quaid himself was quite apprehensive of the emergence of Pakistan. He very desperately expressed this in the following words:

"If we do not succeed in our struggle for Pakistan, the very trace of Muslims and Islam will be obliterated from the face of India."⁶⁵

Pakistan established

The efforts of Muslims under the guidance of Iqbal and Quaid bore fruit and Pakistan was established as a largest Muslim country in the world. Hindu leadership was of the view that Pakistan will not survive and soon it will merge with India. Despite the ill wills of enemies Pakistan emerged as a country with distinction. In order to prove that it is an "Ideological State" a collective declaration/resolution in the form of 'Objectives Resolution' was passed in 1949. The key point of this resolution was "No legislation will be done repugnant to the Quraan and Sunnah."⁶⁶

Although it took time but a unanimous constitution of was framed in 1956 and further revised & improved in 1973. This constitution is truly of Islamic nature. If it is implemented in letter and spirit then Pakistan can become an Islamic state in real sense. It is the responsibility of people at the helm of affairs to do the needful. It was the blessing of Pakistan that a conspiracy against the Holy Prophet (SAWS) in the form of Qdianiat was eliminated/curbed. Had there been no Pakistan it would have been very difficult to do away with this evil. By the grace of Allah Pakistan has come up as a state to reckon with and its Armed Forces are considered to be the best in the world. Out of 57 Muslim countries it is Pakistan which earned nuclear status. It is a singular honour and it can only be preserved if we achieve the real objectives set forth by the founding fathers.

The way to success

As per the vision of Iqbal and Quaid the goal of true welfare Islamic state can only be achieved when everyone sincerely adopts the teachings of Islam individually. At collective level we need to establish the 'System of Social justice'. Injustice and oppression lead to destruction. Our current problems are the result of unjust system. The Holy Qur'an has ordained:

> "O ye who believe! Be ye staunch in justice, witnesses for Allah, even though it be against yourselves or your parents or your kindred, whether the case be of a rich man or a poor man, for Allah is nearer unto both. So

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follow not passion lest ye lapse from truth and if you lapse or fall away, then lo! Allah is ever aware of what ye do."⁶⁷

Conclusion

The need for a separate homeland was based on ideological differences with Hindus. Hindus and Muslims were two nations having two different religions. It was not mere economic problem for which Muslims had to sacrifice so much. Islam and Secularism are two separate ideologies. Opting for a secular Pakistan means negation of Iqbal and Quaid's Vision of Pakistan. Iqbal and Quaid are unanimous about Pakistan Ideology. Islam is the Ideology of Pakistan. Iqbal's vision of Islam inspired Quaid. Quaid's sincerity to Islam and Muslims realized the dream of Iqbal for independent state, Pakistan. Emergence of Pakistan saved Muslims from the fate of Muslim Spain. In order to uphold the sovereignty of Pakistan it is essential that along with geographical defence the ideological defence is ensured. Pakistan is not a mere geographical entity it is the name of an ideology.

The motivation behind the Pakistan demand was ideological: the desire to establish a truly Islamic polity to translate the tenets of Islam into terms of practical life. This ideology was central and fundamental to Muslim nationhood.

Notes

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⁹ Javid Iqbal, Stray Reflections: Allama Iqbal's Note-Book (Lahore: Iqbal

Academy, 1992), p. 41

¹⁰ Abdul Vahid, Syed, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, (Lahore: Ashraf press), 1964, pp. 59-60

¹¹ Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., p. 24

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

- ¹⁶ Muhammad Iqbal, op.cit. "Bang-e-Dara", p. 326
- ¹⁷ Muhammad Iqbal, op.cit. "Bang-e-Dara", pp. 250-51
 ¹⁸ Muhammad Iqbal, op.cit. "Bang-e-Dara", p. 484
- ¹⁹ Rashida Malik, op.cit., p. 35
- ²⁰ Ibid., pp. 26-28

²¹ Ibid.

²³ Latif Ahmed Sherwani, Editor, Speeches, Writings, and Statements of Iqbal,

(Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), pp. 12-26

²⁴ Saleena Karim, Secular Jinnah & Pakistan: What The Nation Doesn't Know, (London: CheckPoint Press, 2010), p. 2 ²⁵ Syed Sharif-ud-Deen Pirzada, *The Collected Works of Quaid-i-Azam*

Muhammad Ali Jinnan, (Karachi: East and West Publishing Company, 1984),

p.94 ²⁶ Proceedings of the Indian National Congress annual session, Calcutta, 28 December 1906

²⁸ Ibid., p.6

¹ Julius Gould and William L. Kolb (ed.), A Dictionary of the Social Sciences (New York: Free Press, 1965), pp. 315-17

² Muhammad Iqbal, "Bang-e-Dara", *Kulliyat-e-Iqbal*, (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1990), p. 138

³ Ibid., "Naya Shiwala", p. 146

⁶ Rashida Malik, *Iqbal – The Spiritual Father of Pakistan*, (Lahore: Sang-e-

Meel Publications, 2003), p.15

⁷ Muhammad Iqbal, op.cit. "Bang-e-Dara", p. 283

⁸ Rashida Malik, op.cit., pp. 21-22

¹² Rashida Malik, op.cit.

²² Abdul Vahid,Syed, op.cit., pp.171-73

²⁷ Saleena Karim, op.cit., p.4

²⁹ Ibid., p.9

³⁰ Ibid., p.10

³¹ Sharif al-Mujahid, *Ideology of Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1981), pp. 392

³² Saleena Karim, op.cit., p.13

³³ Waheed Ahmad, *Ouaid-I-Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah: Speeches Indian* Legislative Assembly 1935-1947, Volume. I, (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy 1991), p. 26

³⁴ Khurshid Yusufi (Editor), Speeches, Statements and Messages of the Quaid-e-Azam, Volume II, (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal), p. 723

³⁵ Ibid. Volume, III, pp. 1689-1725

³⁶ Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah, (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1974) p.5

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 20-21

 ³⁸ Khurshid Yusufi, op.cit., Volume, III, pp. 1386

³⁹ Akbar S. Ahmad, Jinnah: Pakistan Aur Islami Tshakhus, p.139

⁴⁰ Ahmad Saeed, *Iqbal aur Quaid-e-Azam*, (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), p. 61

⁴¹ Public Speech, Star of India, 22 April 1938

⁴² Public speech, *Civil and Military Gazette*, 26 March 1940

⁴³ Address in a huge gathering at Behar on 11 Jan 1928

⁴⁴ Speech delivered on 6 March, 1946.

⁴⁵ Reginald Sorensen, *My Impression of India*, (London: Meridian Books Ltd. 1946)

⁴⁶ Address, public meeting of Hindus and Muslims, June 3, Hindu, 5 June 1941

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⁴⁸ Public Speech, *Star of India*, 07 January 1938

⁴⁹ Public Speech, Star of India, 08 January 1938

⁵⁰ Public Speech, Star of India, 11 January 1938

⁵¹ Public Speech, *Star of India*, 13 January 1938

⁵² News Report, *Tribune*, 07 June 1938

 ⁵³ Press Statement, *Star of India*, 23 November 1938
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⁵⁷ Eid day message, Dawn, 26 October 1941

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⁵⁹ Message, 4 April 1943, Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah, Speeches and

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⁶⁰ Message, Peshawar, July 20, *Civil & Military Gazette*, 21 July 1943

⁶¹ Interview to Beverly Nichols, Bombay, 11 January 1944

⁶² Address, Punjab Muslim students Federation, Lahore, March 20, Star of India,

²¹ March 1944

⁶³ Pakistan Day Message, Lahore, March 22 Civil and Military Gazette, 23 March 1944

⁶⁴ Sharif al Mujahid, op.cit., pp. xii-xxiii

⁶⁵ Civil and Military Gazette, 18 Jan 1946

⁶⁶ Saleena Karim, op.cit.

⁶⁷ Surat-un-Nisa : 135