

Available Online
Journal of Education and Social Studies

ISSN: 2789-8075 (Online), 2789-8067 (Print) http://www.scienceimpactpub.com/jess

#### JINNAH'S VISION FOR MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

#### Ishfaq Naveed and Tasleem Raza

Government Islamia Graduate College Civil Lines, Lahore, Pakistan

#### ABSTRACT

This research article explores the role and vision of Mr. Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan, in shaping the relationship between the nation and its diverse minority communities. This study is to examine the impact of Mr. Jinnah's leadership on minority communities during the partition and in the early years of Pakistan. It also explores his efforts to promote religious harmony and minority rights. Mr. Jinnah's leadership and his commitment to creating a democratic and inclusive Pakistan provide valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities associated with nation-building, religious and cultural pluralism, and the protection of minority rights. This study examines the historical context, Jinnah's political philosophy, and the measures he took to safeguard the rights and well-being of religious minorities in Pakistan.

Keywords: Minorities; Vision; Nation building; Inclusive; Pluralism; Secular state. \* Email: ishfaqgill@gmail.com © The Author(s) 2024. https://doi.org/10.52223/jess.2024.5105 Received: November 03, 2023; Revised: February 11, 2024; Accepted: February 17, 2024 This is an open-access article under the CC BY license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Mr. Jinnah (the founding father of Pakistan) played a pivotal role in the inception of Pakistan as a separate homeland for Muslims and other communities in the Indian subcontinent in 1947 (Dani, 1998). One of the most remarkable aspects of Jinnah's leadership was his commitment to protecting the rights of religious and ethnic minorities in the newly formed state. This article delves into the life and vision of Jinnah, and his efforts to create a nation that upheld the principles of democracy, secularism, and inclusivity. A society will be more powerful if unity and discipline prevail among different tribes of society. Society is divided with respect to religion, caste, tribe and language, which weakened the society. The rulers who are deprived of law and order and constitution, they follow *"Divide and Rule Policy"* to weaken the power of people in general and the nation specifically. Religious contradictions and differences between the majority and minority are dangerous for national integrity, solidarity and consolidation (Qaisar, 2007).

The concept of nationalism and solidarity could only be found during the days of Mr. Jinnah in the history of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah was the constitutionalist, democratic and liberal advocator of secular thoughts. As a political leader, he established the grounds for a separate homeland on the same features. His secular and liberal point of view is expressed by his natural justice and equality-based policies. His secular and liberal ideologies had given strength to the minorities in the Indian Sub-Continent. According to his point of view, a person, irrespective of creed, is only concerned with state as a citizen (Burke & Quraishi, 1997).

As head of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah appointed Mr. Jogindra Nath Mandal, the first *Minister of Law*, who showed his loyalty and commitment to democratic values. While addressing on 11<sup>th</sup>

August 1947, Mr. Jinnah straightforwardly stated *"Religion has no Relationship with the State"*<sup>1</sup>. The delivered speech was a guideline for the parliamentarians to establish the constitutional vision of the state, giving political weightage to the minorities<sup>2</sup>. There is no exaggeration in saying that the minorities played a vital role in the struggle for Pakistan and trusted in Mr. Jinnah (Qaisar, 2007).

Mr. Jinnah has a clear concept of the political system of Pakistan, the status of minorities, and their character and needs because he struggled for the rights of religious minorities in united India. He expressed such affection and gratitude for minorities on different occasions during his whole life. After 1940, he expressed his ideology and solution for the problems many times. The address as president of AIML to the first *Constituent Assembly* on 11<sup>th</sup> August of 1947 is the spirit of his whole life concept of secular democracy. He clearly said that minorities would have equal rights in Pakistan. They would have more and more freedom within legal extents<sup>3</sup>.

Mr. Jinnah further said that I want to say to minorities of Pakistan that if you have worked with the passion of cooperation, forgot the past and clear the mutual differences, then everyone among you will be the first and last citizen of the state regardless of his color, caste, creed and sect. Your rights, facilities and responsibilities will be common, and you will be an equal partner for all these things. The chains of jealousy, sectarianism, provincialism, minority and majority differences will be broken by the passion of your cooperation and communion. You are free to go to your mosques or any worship place in Pakistan. Problems of state have no relationship with your religion, faith and castes<sup>4</sup>. I think this should be our preference as our goal in purpose of living<sup>5</sup>. And with the passage of time, you will see that Hindu will not be Hindu and Muslim as well in the political sense (Qaisar, 2007).

Mr. Jinnah used to make efforts to make the Muslim League a non-sect national political party. He wanted to open the doors for his membership to all the citizens of Pakistan. He did not favor the *Khilafat Movement*, being the protector and defender of the political rights of the Muslims (Dwarkadas, 1966). According to Mr. Jinnah, integrity, solidarity and prosperity are only possible when everybody has rights instead of a single community in this newborn state, and we should go forward as a nation (Qaisar, 2007).

# METHODOLOGY

The research work has been completed on the basis of qualitative research methods. The research is descriptive and uses secondary sources in order to explore the statement of the problem. This study aimed to express the political vision of Mr. Jinnah towards the minorities, living in Pakistan right after the inception of Pakistan.

# Statement of the Problem

Jinnah adopted a holistic and inclusive approach towards minorities and laid down the foundation of Pakistan on secular lines. His speeches manifest his vision about the citizens of Pakistan regardless of their caste, creed and religion. His inaugural address in the Constituent Assembly is a clear indication of a secular state. However, the passing of the *Objective Resolution* gave a serious stroke, which declared the minorities as second-rate citizens of Pakistan. The approval of the Objective Resolution also aggravated the discrimination towards minorities and ethnic groups. Therefore, in contemporary times, it is the need of the hour that the people who are in power corridors must reinvigorate the vision of Jinnah. It would ultimately minimize the rising ethnic and religious extremism in Pakistan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>"*Advani Salutes Secular Jinnah*". The Telegraph. Archived from the Original on 12 November 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Quaid's Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 11th August, 1947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hector Bolitho, Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Mr. Jinnah's Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan-11 August 1947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Muhammad Ali Jinnah's address to Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly, August 11, 1947.

### **Objectives of the Study**

- 1. To determine the Political vision of Mr. Jinnah for the minorities of Pakistan
- 2. To explore the relationship between Jinnah and minorities
- 3. To highlight the contemporary challenges to Jinnah's vision regarding minorities

## **Literature Review**

*Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, elaborated the life, works and political philosophy of Mr. Jinnah in his book. The author also mentioned the relationship of Mr. Jinnah with other political leaders during the political struggle for the independence of the Sub-Continent. The writer shows that Mr. Jinnah is the founding father and creator of Pakistan (Bolitho, 1966).

*Speeches and Statements of Quaid- i- Millat Liaquat Ali Khan 1941-1951, highlighted the social and democratic secular thinking of Mr. Jinnah through his speeches and addresses at different occasions while delivering his priceless speeches. The author also mentions the importance of minorities through his speeches and statements regarding minorities of Pakistan under the governance of Mr. Jinnah (Afzal, 1967).* 

*Christians' Role in Pakistan Movement*, put light on the efforts of Christian leaders for the independence of Pakistan under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. He also mentioned the collaboration of Christian political leaders with Muslim leaders, especially Mr. Jinnah. The author mentioned the promises and sacred undertaking of Mr. Jinnah for the protection of minorities and for their betterment in the newborn state of Pakistan (Gill, 2017).

*Pakistani Aqliyeeton Ka Noha*, the writer, mentioned the status of minorities in the historical context of Pakistan. He also highlighted the discriminating attitude of the state and society of Pakistan towards minorities during different political regimes in Pakistan. He also mentioned the challenges faced by minorities in Pakistan (Qaisar, 2007).

*Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah: Some Rare Speeches and Statement 1944-1947*, published by Research Society of Pakistan by Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi in 1988, highlighted the rare speeches and statements of Mr. Jinnah through the compilation of original primary and official documents. The book contained a number of interviews, speeches and statements of Mr. Jinnah regarding different personalities, groups of people and the Muslim nation. It also elaborated on the socio-political and secular vision of Mr. Jinnah about different communities of India.

Burke and Quraishi (1997) mentioned the life and personality of Mr. Jinnah in *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: His Personality and his Politics*. They also highlight the political ideology and philosophy of Mr. Jinnah in the context of India for the freedom of Sub-Continent. Burke also mentions, along with his co-author, that Mr. Jinnah gave a clear vision about minorities of Pakistan. The authors highlight the promises of Mr. Jinnah for the protection and safeguarding of minorities in Pakistan.

*Viewpoints: The Islamization of Pakistan 1979-2009,* (Special Edition, The Middle East Institute, Washington, DC) elaborated the origins and consequences of different crises in Pakistan. The authors have given a detailed description of the women and minorities' narrative in Pakistan. This research also highlights the Muslim identity in Pakistan.

*Muslim League, Jinnah and the Hindu Mahasabha: A Study in Speeches and Statements of Quaid-I-Azam,* (Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan) elaborated the working of the Muslim League under the leadership and presidentship of Mr. Jinnah for the cause of a separate homeland. They also mention the debates and discussions recorded between Hindu leaders and Mr. Jinnah. They also shed light on the speeches and different statements of Mr. Jinnah (Abid & Abid, 2008).

*Jinnah's Speeches as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948*, published by Sang-e-Meel Publications (2013) mentioned the role of Mr. Jinnah as the First Governor General of Pakistan through different speeches while

holding the office of Governor General of Pakistan. Burke (2000) elaborated the efforts of Mr. Jinnah, and gave importance to all the minorities living in Pakistan in Jinnah: Speeches and Statements 1947-48. It is a reference book of Mr. Jinnah about his life span.

The Literature Review demonstrated the volume of research work that has been completed about the personality and political ideology of Jinnah and his untiring efforts for the independence of Pakistan. However, there is no specific research study or detailed literature available about his inclusive and pluralistic vision about minorities. Furthermore, there is not enough literature that elaborates the sociopolitical relationship of Mr. Jinnah with minorities before and after the inception of Pakistan. Hopefully, this present work may fill this research gap to some extent.

### Historical Context

To understand Jinnah's approach and narrative about minorities, it is crucial to understand the historical contextual background of Mr. Jinnah, especially his political services rendered from the passing of Lahore Resolution and before and after the inception of Pakistan till his death. At the time of Pakistan's formation, the Indian Sub-Continent was divided into ethno-religious and cultural communities: the Hindus and the Muslims. Fears and concerns related to the rights and protection of religious minorities were paramount during the Partition of India in 1947 (Fisher, 2018, Khan, 2017).

The history is evident to elaborate the struggles of Mr. Jinnah for the independence of Pakistan, especially during the crucial period from 1940 to 1947. It is rooted in the turbulent period of the history of Sub-Continent leading up to the partition of British India and the subsequent creation of Pakistan as a separate state for the Muslims and other communities. Mr. Jinnah, being the leader of the AIML, played a crucial role during this time, advocating for the rights of Muslims and promoting the idea of a separate Muslim state. The period of struggle movement witnessed significant political developments and intense negotiations between various stakeholders, including the *Indian National Congress* led by Mahatma Gandhi and the *Muslim League* led by Mr. Jinnah. The *Lahore Resolution* of 1940 (also known as the *Pakistan Resolution*) marked a crucial milestone in Jinnah's struggle for independence. It demanded the establishment of independent states in the Muslim-majority regions in British India, where Muslims could freely practice their religion, culture, and traditions (Jalal, 1985).

Jinnah's efforts during this period were characterized by his steady commitment to the idea of Pakistan as a separate homeland for Muslims, where they could govern themselves and live according to their religious beliefs, despite facing opposition from some political rivals, including the *Congress Party* and certain sections of the Muslim community (Khan, 2015). Jinnah remained determined to pursue of his vision. The years leading up to the partition were marked by intense negotiations, political maneuvering, and communal tensions between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. The British government, struggling with the challenges of post-war reconstruction and growing nationalist movements, sought to manage the situation while preparing for the transfer of power<sup>6</sup>.

Jinnah's leadership during this period was characterized by his political foresightedness, strategies and effective mobilization of support for the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan. His unpredictable acceptance of Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 was only to secure the interests of Indian Muslims in order to avoid any discrimination, which they suffered during Congress Ministries. The partition of British India in August 1947 marked the climax of Jinnah's struggles for independence and the realization of Pakistan as a separate homeland for the Muslims. However, it also resulted in one of the largest mass migrations in history, accompanied by widespread violence, displacement, and bloodshed.

It was a time of intense political upheaval and struggle for independence in British India, with M. A. Jinnah emerging as a central figure in advocating for the creation of Pakistan and securing the rights of Muslims

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Uther Charlton-Stevens, Anglo-India and the End of Empire (Oxford University Press, 2022, ISBN 978-0-19-767651-6).

and other minorities in the Sub-Continent. His leadership and determination during this freedom movement period laid the foundation for the establishment of Pakistan as an independent state.

In the last formative phase of the independence movement, Mr. Jinnah visited Lahore and approached Christian leaders Chaudhary Chandu Lal and Sikh leader Giyani Kartaar Singh, convinced them to Pakistan, offered the Sikh community by giving the post of Army Commander-In-Chief or Defence Ministry. The Sikh leader rejected the offer of Mr. Jinnah and preferred to be with India whereas the Christian leader Chaudhary Chandu Lal announced support to Mr. Jinnah (Ishtiaq, 2012).

## ANALYTICAL DISCUSSIONS

# Ideology of Mr. Jinnah Regarding Minorities

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a staunch advocate for the safeguarding of minorities' rights. He believed in a democratic and pluralistic Pakistan where religious, cultural, and ethnic diversity would be celebrated rather than suppressed. Jinnah's vision for Pakistan was articulated in his renowned speech to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 11<sup>th</sup> of August 1947, where he stated, "*You are free; you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place 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*<sup>7</sup>."

The concept of democratic government is born when a society knows that it is responsible for the basic rights of all its citizens as a result of its evolution and that people are more important than everyone. Unfortunately, Pakistani governments have never been responsible for the basic rights of the people. The prolonged silence of Pakistani rulers about the issues of minorities is proof that the relationship between state and minorities has been detachment and strange (Qaisar, 2007).

A theocratic state, though Muslim, Hindu or Christian, has its laws, customs and specific way of living life. It is proven from past experiences that power and coercion are needed to enforce these laws and customs, and there is no possession of human consent and freedom, but a democratic state regarding religion remains impartial. In it, a person enjoys rights and freedom and acts upon his own belief and religion and the state does not interfere. In this situation, Pakistan be a theocratic state or a modern democratic state<sup>8</sup>.

Muslims of Hindustan considered themselves a minority till the approval of Pakistan Resolution (1940), and they have contended to acquire their rights and advantages. From the time of its creation in 1906, the *All India Muslim League* (AIML) represented every enslaved and oppressed nation of Hindustan (Amjad, 2022). There was no meeting or annual session of AIML, in which the rights of minorities were not discussed. This was also a reason that the Christians announced their favor for AIML in the establishment of Pakistan due to the minority-policy of AIML.

### Jinnah's Position on Minorities' Rights

Jinnah's position on minorities' rights was very crystal clear. He wholeheartedly devised his governance policies without any religious spectrum. He included ministers from all cast, creeds and religions. The evidence of this policy was seen by the appointment of Jogindra Nath Mandal (a lowest social class leader) as Minister of Law in the first *Legislative Assembly* of Pakistan, who presided over the first session of the *Legislative Assembly of Pakistan* in Karachi on 10<sup>th</sup> August of 1947 (Afzal, 1967).

The first Governor-General of Pakistan, President of AIML, and president of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah, presided over the session and addressed the constituent assembly Pakistan on 11<sup>th</sup> of August 1947, making a history-making policy about the newborn state of Pakistan and about the minorities

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>The Islamization of Pakistan, 1979-2009, A Special Edition of Viewpoints, (The Middle East Institute, Washington, DC), 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Dr. Riaz Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's Functioning as Pakistan's First Governor-General 1947-1948,* (Pakistan Journal of History & Culture, Vol. XXII/2, 2001, Quaid-i-Azam Number), 13.

in Pakistan<sup>9</sup>. Mr. Jinnah declared Pakistan as an Islamic welfare state instead of a theocratic state in a press conference held on 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1947<sup>10</sup>

Ch. Sir Muhammed Zafarullah Khan (*Qadiani*), appointed as Foreign Minister of Pakistan and a Christian leader Dewan Bahadar S.P. Singha selected as *Speaker of Punjab Assembly*<sup>11</sup>. The minorities felt that Mr. Jinnah wanted to make Pakistan a secular and modern state, in which all citizens would be equal and religion would have no interference in state affairs. Who could not support Mr. Jinnah for this Pakistan ideology? Therefore, Christians and other minorities devoted their lives at a single wink of Mr. Jinnah (Gill, 2014).

In Pakistan, the people feel social and psychological happiness and joy by showing their relationship and faithfulness with Sindhi, Balochi, Pathaans, Punjabi and with different religious minority groups. But this type of relationship and faithfulness causes divisions and promotes provincialism, sectarianism and racialism in the society. There is no proper shape and form of Pakistani culture because of these social divisions and uncertain social and economic circumstances at individual and collective levels. Such cultural disruption separated the individual from society. Due to this situation, neither we have a common goal nor do we have feelings of common responsibilities. Moreover, the lack of mutual cooperation and mutual trust is increasing continuously.

In April 1944, the founder of Pakistan Mr. Jinnah said about the rights of religious minorities that "we, the Muslims, will not fall behind to other civilized nations and societies regarding religious minorities. I am confident that when the time will come, the religious minorities inhabited in different parts of our beloved country will see that their Muslim rulers are not only lenient and sincere but also affectionate and generous and this is the Islamic tradition" (Burke & Quraishi, 1997).

### Statements and Speeches on the Rights of Minorities

There are a couple of statements and speeches delivered by Jinnah on the regard of minorities, the following speeches of Mr. Jinnah support his stance towards minorities.

Mr. Jinnah addressed the first press conference in New Delhi on 13<sup>th</sup> of July 1947, being first Governor-General of Pakistan to give assurance to minorities that "their rights to life, property, religion, and culture would all be protected. Without a doubt, they would also have the responsibilities of citizenship since they would be treated equally as Pakistani citizens in every way. It would be necessary for the minorities to have genuine allegiance to the State and to be faithful to it"<sup>12</sup>.

"It was applicable to all minorities everywhere in the world. A minority that acts disloyally and undermines the government is intolerable. Of course, in any State, that minority becomes unbearable. I encourage all citizens to be faithful to their state, including Muslims and Hindus"<sup>13</sup>.

"I just want the Muslims in the Indian State to be treated the same way we want to treat minorities who are not Muslims. The Constituent Assembly is the sole body that can address the specific issue of minorities' protection and safeguards in their separate states, even though I have outlined the general guidelines of policy"<sup>14</sup>.

"I cannot predict. It truly falls under each Constituent Assembly's purview in the first place. There are minority representatives in both Constituent Assemblies, thus, they are issues that need to be addressed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Dr. Riaz Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's Functioning as Pakistan's First Governor-General 1947-1948*, (Pakistan Journal of History & Culture, Vol. XXII/2, Quaid-i-Azam Number, 2001), 5-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Jinnah Speeches as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948 (Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2013), 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Emmanuel Zafar, A Concise History of Pakistani Christians. (Lahore: Humsookhan Publications, 2007),66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Times of India, July 14, 1947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> M. Rafique Afzal, *Speeches and Statements of Quaid- i- Millat Liaquat Ali Khan 1941–1951* (Lahore: University of the Panjab, 1967), 129. <sup>14</sup> Jinnah Speeches as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948 (Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2013), 25.

by the Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan and India. All I can say is that I hope they will be handled in a way that will assure and comfort the minorities. I cannot go into the details here" Burke (2000).

"To the best of my ability as a representative of Pakistan, I can state that minorities there have nothing to be concerned about. They must determine what is best for themselves. As far as Pakistan is concerned, all I can say is that there is no cause for concern. That is up to them to decide. They are not something I can order".

On 14 June, in a reply to an address of welcome in Quetta by the Parsi Anjuman of Baluchistan, Mr. Jinnah said that "All people are entitled to complete protection for their life, property, and honor, regardless of their caste, color, creed, or race<sup>15</sup>."

I find it ridiculous that you are asking me this question. I have no idea what a theocratic state entails. A correspondent proposed that a theocratic state would be one in which non-Muslims would not be considered full citizens, and only adherents of a specific religion, such as Muslims, may be considered full citizens<sup>16</sup>.

Mr. Jinnah responded, "I have already answered that long before and I repeat it here, when asked how he thought ties between Pakistan and India would be. My earnest wish is that they will be amicable and pleasant. Both states and I have a lot on our plates, but I believe we can benefit from one another, if not the entire world. Since we are neighbors, we hope that you will find kindness lacking, and we make a plea to the media and news organizations to emphasize this point more to Hindustan".

# Jinnah's Efforts to Build a Pluralistic and Inclusive Society

Jinnah envisioned a very inclusive and pluralistic state in which all the communities to be treated equally. In this regard, Jinnah made some remarkable statements likewise;

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as a Governor-General designate of Pakistan domination that they would have protection with regard to their religion, faith, life, properly and culture<sup>17</sup>.

It is stated in the press that the league had agreed to a common governor-general and then later backed out. Let me tell you that it is entirely devoid of any truth and I am surprised that even responsible men have been misrepresenting and making these false allegations that we backed out from what we had agreed to. I do not want to say anything more on the point (Abid & Abid, 2008).

There is a wrong conception with regard to the choosing of the governor-general. Normally, the governor-general would have appointed upon the advice of the ministers of the cabinet. But in the exceptional circumstances, it had been arranged that the successor authorities should choose the governor-general and his majesty accepted that arrangement<sup>18</sup>.

Therefore, I want to make it quite clear that the Governor-General of Pakistan and Hindustan are chosen by the successor authorities, namely, the Muslim League and the Congress; therefore, they are not as it is ordinarily understood, appointed by the king. That is rather an important point. I wish to make it clear<sup>19</sup>.

In the pluralistic vision of Jinnah, he appointed different representatives minorities likewise; the first *Law Minister of Pakistan* Jogindra Nath Mandal, Sir Zafarullah Khan as *Foreign Minister of Pakistan* and Mr. S.P Singha as *Speaker of Punjab Assembly*<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Star of India, 15 June 1948.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> S.M. Burke, Jinnah: *Speeches and Statements* 1947–8 (Karachi: Oxford

University Press, 2000), 129. <sup>17</sup>*The Dawn*, 14th July 1947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>S.M. Burke, Jinnah: Speeches and Statements 1947–8 (Karachi: Oxford

University Press, 2000), 224.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid., 129-130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> "1st Constituent Assembly". National Assembly of Pakistan. Archived from the original on 2013-04-12.

# Speech at a Mammoth Rally at the University, Stadium, Lahore on 30th October 1947

As he addressed that, we have accomplished our appreciated objective of opportunity and have set up Pakistan as a free, sovereign State, the fifth biggest on the planet. That opportunity can never be accomplished by a country without misery and penance has been sufficiently borne out by the ongoing heartbreaking happenings in this subcontinent. We are amidst unmatched troubles and untold sufferings; we have experienced dull, long stretches of dread and torment; however, I can say with certainty that with fortitude and independence and by the Grace of God, we will develop triumphant<sup>21</sup>.

More importantly, he stated that, the conscientious upkeep and requirement of lawfulness are the essentials of all advancement. The fundamentals of Islam ordered each Mussalman to offer insurance to his neighbors and to the minorities, paying little mind to rank and belief. Notwithstanding the treatment that is being distributed to the Muslim minorities in India, we should make it a matter of our esteem and honor to shield the lives of the minority networks and to make a feeling that all is well with the world among them. I might want to present for each Mussalman, who has on a fundamental level the government assistance and the thriving of Pakistan, to evade reprisal and to practice limitation since counter and infringement of peace will eventually bring about debilitating the very establishments of the structure you have treasured every one of these years to raise<sup>22</sup>.

Moreover, while addressing Christian members of the Punjab Assembly in a reception given in the honor of Mr. Jinnah on 20<sup>th</sup>of November 1942, he said: "You (Christians) people support the Muslim League in the formation of Pakistan and when Pakistan come into existence, the Muslims shall not forget the kindness and favour of the Christians. The Christians shall be a sacred deposit with us. We will not only give them representation in National and Provincial Assemblies but it will be our duty to protect their lives and properties'<sup>23</sup>'.

So, this speech validates his commitment to the rights of minorities and his sagacity for an inclusive and pluralistic state.

Furthermore, there is another statement regarding the rights of minorities likewise; on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1947, Mr. Jinnah met Dewan Bahadar S.P. Singha and other Christian leaders and said: "You (Christians) raise voice for Pakistan, try to convince the minorities of Punjab for Pakistan. With the support of the Christians of Punjab, we will be near to Pakistan. Now as we are contesting for Pakistan and billions of people are of the view that we will not succeed but if you support us, the Muslims and their generation will not forget your beneficence. The Christians who are the People have divine book, shall be string with the Muslims in relation of special love"<sup>24</sup>.

At another occasion Mr. Jinnah further said: "When enemies of Pakistan say that the minorities will not be safeguard, you have surrendered yourself to us. When the others are not trusting the Muslims, you trusted us. Islam shall not shake your trust. The day will come when the Christians of Pakistan will bless the day they chose to Pakistani. Having the unity and brotherhood, the Muslims and Christians will be so close that others will not recognize that who is Muslim or otherwise. Their dress and living style shall be the same. Both the nations are the people of the book and many things are common in their livings. The relation of Muslims and Christians shall be founded on mutual consultation. I assure you that the Pakistani Christians shall be happier, satisfied and prosper than the Indian Christians" (Abid & Abid, 2008).

### **Challenges to Jinnah's Vision**

Mr. Jinnah's commitment to minority rights was reflected in the legal and constitutional framework of Pakistan. Despite Jinnah's vision and early legal safeguards, Pakistan has faced challenges in safeguarding

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The Task Ahead, 30th Oct 1947

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Hector Bolitho, Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Raja N. Gill, *Christians' Role in the Freedom Movement* (Lahore: Nigarshat Publishers, 2017), 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> S.M. Burke, *Jinnah: Speeches and Statements 1947–8* (Karachi: Oxford

University Press, 2000), 253.

the rights and well-being of its minority communities over the years. Discrimination, violence, and intolerance have posed significant obstacles to the realization of Jinnah's vision of a truly inclusive Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah looked the advocacy of non-Muslims for Pakistan movement with honor and significance. After freedom, he said many times that the religious minorities will be given all rights and protection without distinction of colour, creed, religion and faith. Their belief, ideas and culture will be given respect. Their lives, properties and religious values will be given protection. They will be equal citizens of Pakistan<sup>25</sup>. They will have all basic human rights without any distinction that will be expressed in constitutions and in government policies. Though, the fundamentalists and conservative factors were failed to implement their agenda during the life of Mr. Jinnah became active and motivational in Pakistani politics after the death of the founder of Pakistan. These forces succeeded in approving the Objective Resolution in March 1949 under the administration of Liaquat Ali Khan<sup>26</sup>. This was the biggest stroke on equal citizenship and rights of religious minorities. From this resolution, the state was biased towards religion by including religion into Pakistan politics. This step had shaken the bases of enlightened and pluralistic Pakistan of Jinnah<sup>27</sup>. The deviation of Jinnah's secular, liberal and progressive ideas was stifled due to this resolution. This Objective *Resolution* nourished the culture of politics at the basis of religion. The more flash on the bones of religiosity was added by General Zia-ul-Haq. He ruled for eleven years on behalf of *Islamization*<sup>28</sup>. During the same era of General Zia-ul-Hag, the so called rulers pulled the ground from the feet of the religious minorities by creating discriminatory laws against minorities and their lives got through intense dangers (Qaisar, 2007).

Opposing the Objective Resolution, the representative of religious minorities, Siris Chandra Chattopadhyaya, said "according to our point of view, this resolution is completely unnecessary. At this time, the main problem our nation facing is legislation for which we have gathered here. We have not gathered here for the approval of an ideological resolution which explains the aims and objectives of constitution in religious viewpoint. We are still thinking that the religion will not be linked with politics and both will be kept separate. That was promised and announced by Mr. Jinnah in the same legislative assembly but the presented resolution is based on religion"<sup>29</sup>.

With the passage of time, politics in Pakistan became a part of religious belief through which unrepresentative rulers found a base for ruling on behalf of religion to make fool of the peoples of Pakistan for a long period of time (Qaisar, 2007). Mr. Jogindra Nath Mandal (Law Minister) fed up from the behaviours of Muslim members of Legislative Assembly after the death of this great leader Mr. Jinnah<sup>30</sup>. Likewise, Mr. S.P Singha was compelled to resign from the office of Speaker of Punjab Assembly due to the staunch, critic and discriminatory behavior of Muslim members of Punjab Assembly<sup>31</sup>.

### **Contemporary Perspective on Jinnah's Vision**

The diverse contemporary viewpoints of Mohammad Ali Jinnah's vision are evident of the multifaceted socio-political context of present-day Pakistan. While some see Jinnah as an advocate of religious tolerance and minority rights. Some critics point out that, there is a huge gap between his goals and the realities that minorities have experienced.

Although minority rights are protected by constitutional provisions, there are still implementation issues that result in discrimination and marginalization. Though sectarian tensions and violence continue to pose serious problems, interfaith discussion projects aim to retain Jinnah's values of religious tolerance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Star of India, 15 June 1948.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>The Islamization of Pakistan, 1979-2009, A Special Edition of Viewpoints, (The Middle East Institute, Washington, DC), 20-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Kor Grit, "*Christians by Faith, Pakistani by Citizenship*" Negotiating Christian Identity in Pakistan, PhD Thesis at Utrecht University, Netherland (2019), 53-55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> "Archives: Chattopadhyaya against Objectives Resolution".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> "Pakistan Cabinet: Distribution of Portfolios to Ministers" (Amrita Bazar Patrika. Vol. 79, no. 31. 21 August 1947), 4. Retrieved 16 January 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Salma Butt, "Remembering a Marginalised Hero:Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha" (Pakistan Today, June 22, 2016), 2.

Minority political presence has increased throughout time, yet questions regarding true inclusion and tokenism still exist.

The complete accomplishment of Jinnah's vision is further hampered by socioeconomic inequalities, as minority communities encounter obstacles to economic, job, and educational prospects. Social perceptions are largely shaped by media representation, and initiatives are constantly made to support truthful and inclusive depictions of minorities in the media. Civil society organizations and grassroots movements persist in promoting Jinnah's vision despite these obstacles, aiming to close the gap between the ideals and the reality of modern-day Pakistan.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah's vision for Pakistan remained throughout a source of inspiration not only for moderate Muslims but also for minorities. His commitment to protecting the rights and well-being of religious and ethnic minorities was a remarkable aspect of his statesmanship. This research article is an attempt to re-provoke the ideology of Mr. Jinnah in contemporary Pakistan to protect the rights of the minorities, along with secure inter-intra-religious harmony, which is essential for nation-building, social cohesion and sustained democracy. It is imperative to honor Jinnah's legacy by fostering an inclusive and diverse Pakistan that upholds the principles of equality, justice, and freedom for all its citizens, regardless of their religious or ethnic background.

#### REFERENCES

- Abid, Q., & Abid, M. (2008). Muslim League, Jinnah and the Hindu Mahasabha: a study in speeches and statements of Quaid-I-Azam. Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan, 45(1), 139-209.
- Afzal, M. R. (1967) Speeches and Statements of Quaid- i- Millat Liaquat Ali Khan 1941–1951. Lahore: University of the Panjab.
- Amjad, J. (2022). The question of Pakistan's national identity: a study of Islamist and Secularist narratives. https://researchdirect.westernsydney.edu.au/islandora/object/uws:70151/.
- Bolitho, H. (1966). Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan. London: Oxford University Press.
- Burke, S. M. & Quraishi S.A. (1997). Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: His Personality and his Politics, London: Oxford University Press.
- Burke, S. M. (2000). Jinnah: Speeches and Statements, 1947–8. Oxford University Press, Karachi.
- Dani, A. H. (1998). Founding Fathers of Pakistan (Lahore: Sang-E-Meel Publication, 1998), 2-4.
- Dwarkadas, K. (1966). India's Fight for Freedom, 1913-1937: An Eyewitness Story (Popular Prakashan, 1966-History, 20th Century), 286-287.
- Fisher, H. M. (2018). An Environmental History of India: From Earliest Times to the Twenty-First Century (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gill, R. N. (2014). Masihee Aur Tehreek-e-Pakistan. Lahore: Nigarshat Publishers.
- Gill, R. N. (2017). Christians' Role in Pakistan Movement. Lahore: Nigarshat Publishers.
- Ishtiaq, A. (2012). The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 211-212.
- Jalal, A. (1985). The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Khan, A. H. (2015). From Sufism to Ahmadiyya: A Muslim Minority Movement in South Asia. Indiana University Press.
- Khan, Y. (2017). The great partition: The making of India and Pakistan. Yale University Press.
- Qaisar, J. (2007). Pakistani Aqliyeeton Ka Noha. Lahore: Fiction House.