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Debating the Idea of Pakistan as Modern Islamic State during 1940s

Abstract

In the 1940s, the leadership of All India Muslim League actively participated in the public debates to minutely discuss and popularize the idea of Pakistan as a “Modern Islamic State”. To define the state as “Islamic” and “modern”, the leadership focused on its geographical rationality, economic viability, relationships with India, role of minorities, type of democracy, and the role of religion and *ulama* in the new state. The article argues that the idea of Pakistan was sufficiently imagined by the League’s leadership which was determined to collide two, presumably opposite, categories of “religion” and “modern” in the concept of a new state.

Key words: Pakistan, Muslim League, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Modern State, Political Islam

Introduction

The Muslim nationalism under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah drew its inspiration from the ideas of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan’s Aligarh legacy. The modernist Muslims were intellectually impressed and influenced by the enlightenment ideas of European Modernity such as constitutionalism, individual rights, rule of law, democracy, equality, justice and human values. The driving force behind the struggle for separate Muslim state was religion, Islam as symbolic identity for larger appeal in audience wrongly assumed that Jinnah was interested in the formulation of theocratic state. Similarly, he was not projecting a secular model of state which was largely understood in the western nation state system.

From 1940’s onward the idea of Pakistan was debated in public arenas and Jinnah being a sole spokesman was responding to those contesting debates in which religious stalwart such as Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, Syed Suleman Nadvi, Shabir Ahmed Usmani, Zafar Ahmed Ansari, some other sunni ulema and shrine-based communities successfully mobilizing the public in favor of new Islamic state. The leagues leaders such as Chaudary Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Sardar Nishtar and Raja Sahib of Mehmoodabad were equally participated in public debates for an idea of Islamic state. However, it does not reflect that contesting positions were not open for modernist Muslims and their interpretation of modernist Islamic state. The role of these political actors such as religious Islamic groups and modernist

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cannot be undermined in term of their impact on politics in public arenas. Reets describes the term of religious intervention, the reformist discourse was (Islah) the re-interpretation of Quran and Hadith (the basic sources of Islamic jurisprudence) to accommodate Islam in changing politics and nature of society.¹

The scholars like sharif-ul-mujahid and Javed Iqbal argue that universal values of democracy and Islam are not contradictory, the work of Allama Iqbal (The intellectual Founder of Pakistan) was an effort to reconcile the principles of Islam with modern nation state, for him, strong political relevance of Islam is often related to the fact that the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) showed that Islamic laws could be implemented in the first Islamic state of Madina. Islam has its own Legal, social, economic and political system.² When Iqbal defines Islam as a vital organ of the state in modern context, he emphasizes re-interpretation of foundational legal principles of Islam in the light of contemporary modern world and its new challenges.³ He stresses an important point of the shift of authority of Ijtehad from individual representatives of Islamic jurisprudence to a Muslim legislative assembly which must have some Knowledge of Islamic Law.

My argument draws from this conceptual engagement is that Jinnah idea of Pakistan what he projected in public arenas between 1940-1948 was closer to modernist version of Islamic state instead of theocratic state projected by traditionalist/fundamentalist on the one side and secular state in western term on the other side. Jinnah did not support theocratic state run by Mullah or priests with divine mission, in his address to the people of United states of America recorded in Feb 1948, he made his position very much clear , we have Hindus, Christians, parcis and other non-Muslims but they all are Pakistanis, “They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as other citizens in the affairs of Pakistan.”⁴ Jinnah had not only publicly promised non-Muslims that they could participate in Pakistan’s legislature and in administration, but practically implemented it after including Jogender Nath Mendel as law minister and Choudry Zafrullah Khan as foreign minister in first constituted cabinet of Pakistan. In his interview to Baurk White Jinnah expressed the nature of Pakistan’s constitution in these words, “Of course it will be democratic constitution, Islam is a democratic religion - Democracy is not just a new thing we are learning, it is in our blood, our Islamic ideals have been based on democracy and social justice since the thirteenth century.”⁵

In these kinds of public positions regarding the future constitution of Pakistan, Jinnah was developing synthesis between Islam and democracy as it also argued by Dr Iqbal that an interpretation of the shariah in the light of modern ideas could combine the universal values of democracy and Islam. The co-relation of Iqbal ideas and Jinnah’s thinking about separate Muslim state extensively argued by Javed Iqbal in his work ideology of Pakistan. Iqbal as a thinker kept deep command over Muslim history, tradition and civilization along with credible sense of western civilization. Iqbal’s frequent participation in mushairas held in the bazaar “Hakiman” inside the Bhatti gate linked his poetry directly to public and he emerged as most popular voice of his community. In his PhD dissertation “constructing Pakistan”, Masood Ashraf Raja argue that it was the result of Iqbal Public participation in form of Mushairas that idea of Muslim separate identify took shape in later on Iqbal works,⁶ Iqbal believes that Islam cannot be reduced to private sphere as he called “Islam in a state” one of his famous Khutbaat published

in the name of “Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam”.⁷ Here it draws a link that Jinnah’s idea of Pakistan was more close to the modernist version of Islamic state as argued by Iqbal and other modernist thinkers. The approach developed by the modernist that the concept of modern Muslim state was neither rejection of religion nor absolute belief in secular state as it is defined in western world, It was an attempt to combine values of democracy and Islam. They argue that Muhammad Ali Jinnah the founder of Pakistan borrowed number of references to Islam in favor of two-nation theory but he had a concept of territorial state where all religious communities would enjoy equal privileges of life with equal rights.⁸ This view of Jinnah strongly contested particularly in the perspective of the political use of Islam and Pakistan’s quest for identify. The debate on the ideological foundation of Pakistan continued even after 1947. The central debate arose was that would it be a Muslim majority state or Islamic state based on Islamic Law “The Shariah”.

If Jinnah’s idea of Pakistan falls in the modernist approach of Islamic state, it does not mean that controversies are ended. Many scholars of Islam strongly disagree with modernist approach that Islam and modern universal ideas have no philosophical conflict, they argue that Islam is complete code of life, its universal ideas are equally applicable in modern age without further re-interpretation and Islam as religion has no harmony with modernity as it understood by modernist within Islam. Pakistan had appeared on the map of world seven decades ago but its quest for identify has yet to be explored. One may argue that this quest for identify was polarized even before its birth because the founding father of state Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah used different lines of argument when he explained his idea of Pakistan in public arenas between the period of 1940-1948. Many of the public statements and speeches of Jinnah can be referred where he argued in favor of Islamic state, he drew lot of inspiration from Islam and Quran when he was explaining idea of Pakistan in public arenas. Similarly, an objective study of Jinnah political life suggests that he was demanding a democratic, constitutional progressive and pluralistic state for Indian Muslims.⁹ The multiple versions of identity and diversity of vocabulary he used in public places (while he was supposed to be answered to all quarries about idea of Pakistan) that whether it would be Islamic state or Muslim state, a democratic state in secular terms may be argued in two different prepositions. The ambiguous identities mean different things for different peoples as once he argued that some issues must be left for future when Pakistan would be achieved. My engagement with this article is to explain the nature of those debates started in public arenas and how did Quaid-e-Azam has chief architect of idea of Pakistan and president of Muslim league responded those debates.

Raja Sahib of Mehmoodabad(1914-1973) a U.P born politician, one of the youngest members of All India Muslim league, founder of All India Muslim students federation, a long time family friend and very close associate of Quaid-e-Azam was one of the most leading voices for the case of an Islamic state. During the clarification of his Islamic state project he clarified his audience in these words, “Pakistan would be worked as laboratory where we may experiment the principles set by Islam.” He further explained his audience listen my words more

carefully “I said Islamic not Muslim” would be our ideal state.¹⁰ Mahmudabad position remained same what he took in public gatherings when he engaged with Muslim league senior leadership including the Jinnah himself, writing to Quaid-e-Azam the Raja stressed, be careful before taking any stance over idea of Pakistan in public arenas, if it would create any controversy regarding Islamic state concept it would generate strong reaction but if we remain entact with Islamic conception of state we would be appreciated in public, “I say Islamic not Muslim state”.¹¹ Mahmoodabad conception of Islamic state also influenced and inspired with the ideas of Muhammad Iqbal, a great philosopher and thinker. The universal ideas are equally applicable in modern age as Islam provides a political system, legal and social structures and it does not separate church and state argued by Raja of Mahmudabad in favor of the creation of an Islamic state. In Raja of Mahmudabad assertion, the legal system of Islam could be applied to meet modern requirements of legislation without any new interpretation of those permanent laws existed thirteen hundred years ago in state of Madina.¹² In new state of Pakistan there would be complete religious tolerance equal opportunities to all minorities Sikhs, Hindus, Christians and other as Islam dealt justly.¹³

He forcefully criticized the European concept of democracy particularly in Indian context it was allowed to Hindu majority to dominate and rule the permanent Muslim minority. In Mahmudabaad words Lahore resolution was not just paper work of idealists but reflected the strong will of the masses.¹⁴ He further emphasized his audience that be prepare yourself for Islamic state. Our only ideal destiny and in case the promise of Islamic state ever violated by the leadership then be prepared to start a revolution.¹⁵ By following the ideas of Allama Iqbal, Raja Sahib of Mahmdabaad argue that instead of only territorial and any linguistic unity or any kind of identify of economics interests, we belong to members of society founded by the Prophet (PBUH) thirteen hundred years ago, Pakistan would be the second attempt to establish a Islamic state on the model of Madina.¹⁶ The discussions initiated by mahmudabad and other Muslim league leadership in favor of creating Islamic state remained intact after 1947 when Pakistan was achieved. Undoubtedly Iqbal and Jinnah have been misinterpreted by fundamentalist in support of their views, however the relation between Islam and the state became common vocabulary when the idea of Pakistan was debated within the inner circle of Muslim league and when the league’s leadership pleaded a case of separate Muslim state in public arenas. The role of Islam in developing a sense of Muslim political community in colonial era particularly for the Muslim mass mobilization remained very relevant.

Liaqat Ali Khan(1895-1951) one of the founding personalities of the idea of Pakistan, once a most close associate of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, (His strong credentials during Muslim struggle for Pakistan insured his appointment as first Prime Minister of Pakistan) was among those Muslim leagues who toured all over India to popularize the idea of Pakistan. Like Mahmudabaad, Liaqat Ali Khan expressed his ideas during his address to students of Aligarh Muslim university, “What is that way of life and what are the principles on which our state will be based?” Our way of life and principles of state were already set by Muhammad of Arabia over 13 hundred years back, In Islamic state, all barriers of birth, color, race and geographical origin would be disappeared, it is yet early to define all

aspects of our proposed state but what I mentioned in speech is a direction of line for our state of Pakistan.¹⁷ On another occasion Liaquat Ali Khan explained the proposed state of Pakistan in following words, Let me define Pakistan although it already explained sufficiently, it means the establishment of independent democratic and sovereign state in the areas in which they possess majority, its boundaries comprised of Punjab, NWFP, Balochistan, Sindh, Bengal and Assam in the north west. As far as the question of its constitution in concerned, "Pakistan will be democratic state and its constitution will be framed by the elected commitment assembly, everything is as clear as daylight."¹⁸

By explaining the inclusion of term territorial readjustment in the Lahore resolution of 1940, Liaquat argued that term territorial readjustment was added to not surrender any portion of Punjab or Bengal.¹⁹ When Liaquat confidently expressed his ideas in public that "Everything is as clear as day light", was it really? I would here highlight the counter arguments about Liaquat's assertion that idea of Pakistan was as clear as day light. The inclusion of territorial readjustment although remained vague for future political advantage in favor of Pakistan but the fundamental question still existed that if Muslims of India merely consisted 20% of the Indian population demanded separate homeland then how and why Hindu being a half population of Bengal could be forced to live in Muslim state.²⁰ Similarly in Punjab the Hindus and Sikh had strong reservations regarding any kind of territorial readjustment particularly those areas of Punjab where they were in majority.

In her Phd dissertation published in the name of the sole spokesman: Jinnah Muslim league and the demand for Pakistan, Ayesha Jalal's approach challenge this assertion that Pakistan was result of a grand ideological project and Muslim league and its leadership was crystal clear about its formation and future settlement. She argues that state of Pakistan emerged as a consequence of different strategies and tactic used by Jinnah in different circumstances and ultimately he achieved nothing than fractured and truncated Pakistan.²¹ Another historian Ali Usman Qasmi argues that main assumption of Moududi rejection of Pakistan was that he considered it close to a western model of nation state, instead of an Islamic state.²² In challenging this category of existing historiography Dhulipala's work creating a new Madina strongly argue that Pakistan was not the result of political game played on chess board and situational circumstances, the idea of Pakistan received popular public support and vibrant series of debate in public arenas of both Muslim majority and minority provinces in British India. From 1940's onwards the leadership of Muslim league repeatedly propagated the relation of Islam with proposed state of Pakistan.

Ch. Khaliq Uz Zaman(1889-1973) one of the prominent leader of All India Muslim League in United Provinces, a staunch supporter of Pan-islamism actively participated and expressed his ideas in explaining the proposed state of Pakistan. He adopted same vocabulary and Islamic metaphors as used by Liaquat Ali Khan and Raja of Mehmoodabad. In his speech to Muslim students federation conference in 1941, Khaliq said, "Just as the Prophet Peace be Upon Him of Islam had established first Pakistan in the Arabian Peninsula the Muslim league now wanted to create another Pakistan in a part of India,"²³ asked to audience

surprisingly that why this kind of idea of Islamic state opposing by the congress aligned ulema. Another speech at lucknow his home town, Ch. Khaliq Uz Zaman explained that a Muslim must be first and last a Muslim and if he had to choose between “Watan” and “Mazhab”, must opt second choice.²⁴

Sir Shahnawaz Khan (1883-1942) of Mamdot, a largest land owner of British Punjab and one of the key voices of the Pakistan movement in Punjab, also worked as President of Punjab Muslim League till his death In 1942. He opposed any idea of “Mutahida Qaumiyat”, he too made clear that Pakistan would be an Islamic state since Islam made no difference between “Deen and Duniya”, the religion and politics.²⁵ It was either central Muslim league’s stalwart such as Quaid-e-Azam, Liaqat Ali Khan, Raja of Mehmoodabad, Ch. Khaliq Uz Zaman or provincial league leadership in Punjab such as Nawab of Memdot, Sardar Shoukat Hayat, and Mian Mumtaz Daultana participated in public debates. Mian Mumtaz Daultana (1916-1995) born in Luddan, the son of Nawab Ahmed Yar Daultana a Punjabi land owner. He extensively participated in Punjab Muslim student’s activities in supporting the case of Pakistan. When Pakistan movement gained momentum in 1940’s Mian Mumtaz Daultana addressed to Punjab Muslim student federation with these words, “To arm themselves with the mighty armour of your faith, bedeck yourself with the simple virtue of your past and once again bring back on earth the kingdom of the religion of God.”²⁶ It may be contested that these debates in public gatherings were not necessarily to address the all aspects of formation of separate Muslim state, its future settlement and idea of Pakistan transformed after different tactics and prevailing circumstances in colonial state structure. However these debates provides reader insights that how idea of Pakistan was developed and explained by the core leadership of Muslim league in public arenas.

The issue of Minorities and future relations with India:

One of the greatest critiques faced by Jinnah when he was explaining his idea of Pakistan was that what would be the future of those Muslims who were left in India in case of separation. Statistically speaking “In Hindu India the Muslim minority would be limited from 90 million to less than 30 million.”²⁷ To understand Jinnah’s response to all these queries it needs to analyze that how Jinnah was thinking about the nature of India-Pakistan relations in post-colonial era. He referred a “Monroe Doctrine” model could be in practice once Hindus and Muslims issues would be resolved.²⁸ He was confident that Muslim minority in India would be remained safe as the size able numbers of Non-Muslims would be the part of Pakistan which keeps balance that in case Muslims are oppressed in Hindu India this will lead to repercussion in Muslim India. He even took one step further that incase of ill-treatment toward Muslim minorities in India, Pakistan would not remain a passive actor.²⁹

Jinnah’s vision of relations with India was a crucial side which would determine the position of Jinnah in public arenas regarding the nature of Pakistan’s foreign policy and why he was so optimistic about peaceful co-existence of minorities on the both sides of the border. In an interview with General Ismay (Chief of the viceroy’s staff) Jinnah explained that once partition would be done all existing

troubles would be resolved and India and Pakistan with their respective minorities would live happily.³⁰ “I am going to Pakistan as a citizen of Hindustan to serve my duties in Pakistan which does not mean that I cease to be a citizen of Pakistan.”³¹ Same kind of sentiments presented when he was passing last message to citizens of Delhi. “The past must be buried and let us start a fresh as two Independent sovereign states of India and Pakistan,³² I wish prosperous and peaceful India.”³³ My argument is that being an architect of new demanding state Muhammad Ali Jinnah was influenced with the prevailing debates and he was responding extensively to those debates. The position he took while explaining Pakistan remained intact when he achieved his dream of Pakistan. Few days before his death he proposed an idea of joint defense pact with India greatly reflected that once he achieved the rights of his community (Muslims) established Pakistan, he convinced that the problem of national defense existed no more although it was not to be.³⁴ Jinnah categorically rejected any kind of pan-Islamic threat to Hindu India, he rejected the argument that in case of separation, Pakistan would eventually over run all of India, in Jinnah’s words it’s even Foolish to think that a 200 million populated country would be under aggression of 70 million populated country.³⁵

The symbols and inspirations used by Muhammad Ali Jinnah in Public spaces for promoting his idea of Pakistan were the reflection of his vision as he has neither written book nor diaries to express his thoughts on Pakistan. He proposed three alternative plans regarding Muslims minorities in Hindu India, they could opt to live and admire citizenship in already living state, similarly they could live there as foreigners and could move to Pakistan any time in this case there would be no obstacle.³⁶ Jinnah had frequently addressed the issue of minorities in public spaces, once argued, “Our history and our Prophet(PBUH) have given the clear message that non-Muslims would have been treated generously and justly”. Jinnah’s ideas remained intact (at least until he was alive) regarding the promises made in public arenas when Pakistan came into being. When Lord Mount Batten mentioned famous Mughal Emperor Akbar as symbol of tolerance and humane Muslim in referring the expected generosity towards Non-Muslims in Pakistan, Jinnah interrupted that instead of Akbar as model of religious tolerance we followed the generous ideas given by our Holy Prophet (PBUH) fourteen hundred years ago.³⁷ Jinnah spent his only Christmas in December 1947 as Chief Guest of Christian community in Pakistan, joined their celebrations although spending the most worst period of his health conditions. Once he remarked that I am going to be the protector General of Hindu minority in Pakistan which also reflected his approach towards minorities.

He appointed Joginder Nath Mendal as law minister and Chaudry Zafarullah Khan as Foreign Minister in first constituted cabinet of total seven members. First meeting held in new Muslim state was chaired by a Non-Muslim (Mendal), Sir Zafarullah the first foreign minister of Pakistan was appointed by Jinnah despite the fact that he belonged to Ahmadiyya community. The line of argument is that the positions took by Jinnah during discourse of freedom struggle for Muslims of sub-continent particularly in defining his ideas about tolerant and democratic state of Pakistan remained intact after achieving his goal of establishment of Pakistan.

The narrative of the protection of minorities rights repeated by Jinnah in the decisive decade of 1940's reflected with loud voice in 11th August speech (1947) "You are free, you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosque 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 - we are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, we are starting with this fundamental principle that we all are citizens and equal citizens of one state."³⁸

Geographical and Cultural unity of India: issue of Muslim Nationalism

The Muslim league leadership adopted different measures to propagate the idea of Pakistan and appropriate case for demanding separate Muslim state, one important aspect of this campaign was providing serious consideration to the different kinds of literature advocating the creation of a separate Muslim state. Between 1945 to 1947, Thirteen articles were issued in the shape of pamphlets under the Pakistan literature series.³⁹ The significance of these writings was that They were published under the authority of the committee of writers of the All India Muslim League.⁴⁰ The article published in the name of "Pakistan literature series" covered variety of debates and subjects, some of these attempted to challenge the illusion of geographical and cultural unity of India, and the myth of single nationhood of India and tried to establish a link that Indian Muslims were a separate nation by definition, a popular notion of "Two nation Theory". Before I analyze that how the Muslim league's leadership was engaged in public discussions and molding public opinion in favor of Pakistan the articles written in the name of Pakistan literature series over the issue of geographical and cultural unity of India and the debate started by Dr. Ambedkar in the name of "Thoughts on Pakistan" need serious attention to understand the nature of those debates.

Kazi Saeed-ud-Din Ahmad three articles challenge the myth of geographical and cultural unity of India, he argued "Is India geographically one?" by contesting this argument he divides India into four geographical units and highlight "The diversity of climate, cultural traits, economic products and people."⁴¹ In support of the diversity of these regions the author take examples from Europe and different regions of the world which apparently one geographical unit but constituted more than one country. Similarly he categorized India into Indus Basin, Northern or upper gangetic Basin a plain area different from that of Indus in every aspect, Eastern or the Delta region and the southern site or Deccan region."⁴²

Whether the Hindus and Muslims are two separate nations in the subcontinent, if anyone is interested to probe this question, I would certainly recommend, Dr. Ambedkar book "Thoughts on Pakistan", said by Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The work of Dr. Ambedkar became so important that Muhammad Ali Jinnah referred it to Mahatma Gandhi that in case of any confusion about the Pakistan scheme, it provides every answer. Dr. Ambedkar set the stage for contested debates such as single unity of India, and Hindu-Muslim composite Nationalism.⁴³ Ambedkar had rejected any kind of historical and geographical unity of India, he argued that these conditions may had existed many centuries before but certainly not enforce any more. He further argued that Hindu-Muslims concept of single nation is a delusional view, the superficial communities of Hindus and Muslims were the

result of dead past that had no present no future,⁴⁴ both these communities did not share common joy and sorrow, historically Hindus and Muslims were two armed battalions warring against one another,⁴⁵ inspired from different sources of history, different epics, episodes and list of heroes. The line of arguments and stage set by Ambedkers writings was adopted by Muslim league as it justified to their claim of separate Muslim state. The Jinnah and Muslim league were not only thankful but inspired with the line of arguments presented by veteran Ambedaker.

The British Govt. popular slogan of geographical unity of India is not convinced to us, we are frequently asked that in case of establishment of Pakistan how the Muslims of minority provinces will be benefited, I may ask, "how will it help them if the Muslims will remain permanently under Hindu rule, I challenge that India's independence is largely based on the independence of Muslim community as well", I ask to British Government India had never been one single unity.⁴⁶ The above mention address of Liaquat Ali to Muslim students federation and other organizations on Feb 01, 1945 reflected that how the Muslim league's leadership was contested the geographical unity as claimed by sitting Govt. and Congress leadership. Explaining the two-nation theory Liaquat Ali khan during his address to huge gathering of Muslims in Jamia Masjid Haderabad said "From the cradle to the grave the life of the Hindu and the Muslim differs in all aspects, even after the departure of the world one body is burnt and the others buried", all efforts in the past history to reconcile these rival communities were failed, the Muslim league is the only representative party of the rights of muslims.⁴⁷

Contesting the geographical unity of India and explaining the territorial definition of Pakistan, sir shah Nawaz khan of Mamdot, the president of Punjab Muslim League addressed to audience, Pakistan was the piece of India since Muslims had been living in the region over 1200 years, consisted of Muslim majority areas of Punjab, NWFP, Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan still these areas comprised 80% percent of Muslim population. In Mamdot's definition the divided boundary line between Hindustan and Pakistan was the Yamuna.⁴⁸ He further explained that socio-economic, cultural and political disunity of these historically different regions distinguished these areas, interesting enough that Mamdot did not include Bengal in this category. By following the position of his central leadership, Mamdot repeated that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations by any definition of nation and western concept of nationalism has no relevance in sub-continent.⁴⁹

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah repeatedly contested the geographical unity of India, during his talk to Bombay presidency Muslim league conference, he denied any kind of permanent map ever existed by India, it was divided into Muslim India and Hindu India by nature over the last few centuries.⁵⁰ India ever composed multiple nationalities and cluster of culture, if there was any composite nationalism, it laid only in the imagination of congress leadership. The founding architect of Lahore resolution forcefully supported that Indian Muslims constituted a separate nation with all canons and definitions of a nation. He further stressed that distinctive areas of Hindu-Muslim communities were deep rooted and historically failed to transform themselves into single nation. In Jinnah's opinion the existed communal dispute of India could be resolved only when geographically

Muslim majority areas including Punjab, NWFP, Sindh, Baluchistan and Bengal would be declared autonomous and separate.⁵¹ Pakistan would not be non-territorial conception of nationality, when we say a nation, of course it does not exist in the air, it lives on land must have territory.⁵²

Raja Sahib of Mehmoodabad one of the hard liners of Muslim league strongly contested the modern structure of European state based on nation state system. Raja criticized Godless modern nation state model and argued that congress nationalism was the product of west which in entirely against Islamic concept of state where religion has political role too. By rejecting Gandhian concept of “Muthada-Quamiat” which was in his opinion a product of western political philosophy. He argued that his narrow concept of nationalism and its application in India means permanent dominance of Hindu majority over the Muslim minority, by advocating Islam and its place in new Muslim state Pakistan, Mehmoodabad said that all prevailing ideologies are curse and dangerous let us give Islamic ideology a chance to prove its worth.⁵³

Pan-Islam and Debating the idea of Pakistan

Since the Lahore Resolution of 1940, Muslim league as political representative party was engaged in variety of debates started regarding its proposed plan of separate Muslim state. It used the print culture, different platforms of public gatherings, meetings with different circles of society, public processions, publishing of books, pamphlets and different other pattern of public communication to set the stage for molding public opinion in favor of the proposed idea of Pakistan. Among the list of debates, one was pan-Islamic imagery and role of future state of Pakistan in Islamic world/ummah. Jinnah himself owned and took up the Pan-Islamist credentials of Pakistan not only during the period of freedom struggle but even after its emergence (1947). During the popular mass campaign of the 1945-46 elections, he asked that international community should take notice that why Palestine should be the dumping ground for such a large number of Jews.⁵⁴ The all-India Muslim league not only passed resolutions in the favor of Palestine liberation but later on Pakistan day celebrations were also combined with Palestine day commemorations.

In Akbar Ahmed’s words Jinnah’s meeting with Hassan al-Banna the founder of Muslim brotherhood in Egypt in 1946 along with Idris-as-Sanusi, the king of Libya and Sheikh of Al-Azhar University reflected the pursuing Pan-Islamist tendency of Jinnah, Jinnah received a letter of appraisal from grand mufti of Jerusalem for his services of Islam not only in India but all over the Islamic world.⁵⁵ Venket Dhulipala mentioned that even before the emergence of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam took initiative of proposed plan in which arrangement of world Muslim conference as a preliminary step to the creation of an Islamic block included the Muslims countries of the middle East and far East. This proposed plan was warmly welcome by Iraq, Syria and Labnon.⁵⁶ The idea of Pakistan was hailed as not only laboratory of Islam but also a state where Pakistan would lead the contemporary Muslim world to meet the modern challenges of twentieth century as it referred by sardar shaukat hayat after quoting Jinnah, “Pakistan would be the base where Muslim scientists, doctors, engineers and economists

would be trained and eventually they would serve to entire middle East and other Muslim states, their co-religionists.”⁵⁷

Ch. Khaliq uz zaman an enthusiastic pan-Islamist, since in early 1920's on word, worked as a worker of red crescent society's medical mission to Turkey during the balkan war and actively participated in Khilafat movement (1919-1923). Ch. Khaliq Uz zaman led the Indian Muslim delegation to support Palestinian rights against the Zionist movement in 1930, his brief profile as Pan-Islamist activist further reflected in his public speeches when being an active Muslim league member, he expressed his ideas in explaining proposed state of Pakistan. He argued that Pakistan would lead the Islamic world and play leading role in unification of Islamic world, “Pakistan is not the final destiny of the Muslims, we want more.”⁵⁸ Like his leader Jinnah and other Muslim leagues, khaliq publicly defended the rationality of the idea of Pakistan and responded to the controversies and criticism raised against its economic, cultural political and geographical grounds. He pointed that with a population of 60 million and a sizeable area greater than many European states, Pakistan could not only survive but also provide strength to other Muslim countries within very short time.

During freedom struggle period, Muslim league leadership advocated the Pan-Islamist policy and solidarity with Islamic world which remained intact even after the establishment of Pakistan. Although Pakistan foreign policy is generally over emphasized and obsessed in terms of its relation with India, however the policy line of Pan-Islamist ideas attached with idea of Pakistan and promised made in public arenas in 1940's onward were remained priority objective of Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan continuously supported the independence of Indonesia, Libya, Morocco, suddan and other former colonies. Abdul sattar a former foreign secretary, foreign minister and a distinguished Pakistani diplomat argued that, “spokesman of some of former Muslim colonies provided Pakistani passports to facilitate them in international visits to address the world community's support in their favor”.⁵⁹ Liaqat Ali Khan, the first prime minister of Pakistan and second important voice of Muslim league after Jinnah, (on returning from different Muslim states) said “I passed a very delightful tour of Muslim countries where I received a tremendous feeling of brotherhood and I did not felt myself strange in those states as member of Muslim community. I have been asked by the leaders of those states to give the people of Pakistan brotherhood greetings and I know and expect the same kind of sentiments for Muslim states in our heart and mind”.⁶⁰ By implying his interpretation of difference between Muslim state and Islamic state, Khaliq Uz Zaman asserted, that the promises made for Islamic state would certainly fulfill its commitment to bring all the believers of Islam into single political unity which would be possible only when Islamic State would be achieved.⁶¹

The Idea of Pakistan and its Economic defense:

Like many other debatable aspects of Pakistan, Jinnah and Muslim leagues leadership was equally convinced about economic feasibility of Pakistan and they argued in public arenas about economic aspects of proposed state of Pakistan at different occasions. The seriousness regarding economic preposition of Pakistan

could be witnessed that in 1943, Quaid-e-Azam setup a planning committee comprising technical experts to work Pakistan economic feasibility.⁶² This committee was also assigned a task to survey the natural and mineral resources of Pakistan to plan for its industrial infrastructure.⁶³ In 1943 the all India Muslim league Karachi session the proposed plan for economic aspects of Pakistan was discussed in detail and it was further assigned to planning committee to prepare a comprehensive program for economic and social uplift, rapid industrialization process in Pakistan, the compulsory and free primary education for all citizens of Pakistan, a detailed road map, land reforms, improvement in labors condition and control of money landing.⁶⁴

In August 1944 a twenty-three member committee was constituted consisted on economists, engineers, businessman, industrialists, including some politicians from Muslim league to work on different economic challenges to new state. In addressing to criticism started over economic viability of Pakistan, Jinnah argued that “Pakistan will not be bankrupt, it will be powerful state. Though it may not be such as India but rejected any kind of economic irrationality and called it only congress propaganda”.⁶⁵ Addressing to public in Lahore on 2, April 1944, Quaid-e-Azam argued that Punjab would be the key stone of Pakistan a plenty of wheat growing green land, NWFP a fruit growing land, Baluchistan abundance of natural resources land and sea port of Karachi would be enough for Pakistan’s economic requirements.⁶⁶

Following Quaid-e-Azam, the other leadership of league such as ch. Khaliq Uz Zaman and Raja of Mehmoodabad frequently defended not only physical features but also economic viability and rationality of Pakistan. Similarly, Muslim league leadership provided different kinds of literature advocating the economic aspects of Pakistan between 1945 to 1947, different articles were published under the authority of the committee of writers of the all-Muslim league in the name of Pakistan literature series covered the variety of debates and subjects regarding proposed Muslim state including its economic aspects.⁶⁷ Iqbal’s article challenge the myth of economic irrationality behind the idea of Pakistan. He argues the size, strength and quality of its population, the rich fertile land of the proposed areas of Pakistan, its available natural resources, mineral strength, possession of finest artisans and craftsman in the region, number of medium and small-scale industries, green land, flow of rivers and extensive network of canals covers the areas of Pakistan, possibilities of agricultural development etc.⁶⁸

However no other work could be compared with a Punjabi journalist Mohammad Sharif Toosy’s a twin volume set consisting newspaper articles published in the name of Pakistan and Muslim India & nationalism in conflict in India under the guidance of home study circle.⁶⁹ The Quaid-e-Azam himself wrote the foreword, I recommend this work to all those readers who are interested to understand the problem of India’s future constitutional arrangements and its solution, they will find that partition of India is in the interests of both Hindus and Muslims after the reading of some undeniable and historical facts in said volume.⁷⁰ On the behalf of Jinnah and Muslim league Toosy’s work was also answer to Ambedkar some serious concerns about economic viability of Pakistan in case of separation from united India. Ambedker’s book thoughts on Pakistan addressed impressively the justification of Pakistan but he implicitly has concerns or question mark about its

economic survival. To counter this argument Toosy's volumes provided list of facts, figures, statistics and arguments in favor of economic rationality of proposed state, according to Toosy Pakistan was not only politically, militarily, geographical, but also economically a potential state even more prosperous and powerful entity than Hindu India.⁷¹ By relying upon different data, he argues that revenue deficit provinces such as Sindh and NWFP would support Pakistan's economy once Sindh would become self-sufficient when Lloyd barrage scheme would be completed and its huge agriculture land brought under irrigation, secondly the customs revenue from Karachi sea port and income tax recently utilized by Delhi was to be utilized locally. The mineral and oil resources of Sindh and Baluchistan would be sufficient to meet petroleum demand of all of Pakistan. Industries could be developed in NWFP and its natural beauty would attract and generate a lot of revenue in case of promotion of tourism in this area. Toosy was equally enthusiastic about plenty of rich green land of Punjab, Bengal to possess great potential for development especially its textile and jute industries were real assets.⁷²

Conclusion

From the 1940s onwards, the idea of Pakistan was largely developed, debated in the public arenas and an overwhelming support generated in favour of Pakistan. It became the focus of discussions through books, pamphlets, public gatherings, meetings, processions and extensively spread writings in newspapers. The nature of these debates such as its constitution making process in the future, communal problems in India (minorities issue), infrastructure, resources, geographical rationality, economic viability, prevailing ideas of pan-Islamism and the role of Islam in the new state reflected that Pakistan was popularly imagined.

These debates in public arenas show that the League presented Pakistan neither as a theocratic nor a secular state. In fact, the idea of Pakistan was framed as a "Modern Islamic State". In the later period, these debates continued in the constituent assemblies which framed the constitutions of 1956, 1962 and 1973. In all these constitutions, the State was named as "Islamic Republic of Pakistan" showing the culmination of the League's idea of a new state.

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