

QUAID-I-AZAM'S CONCEPT OF AN ISLAMIC WELFARE DEMOCRATIC STATE AND THEOCRATIC STATE

Ayaz

Lecturer, Pakistan Studies, NUML University H-9, Islamabad
ayazakhtar@numl.edu.pk

Waheed Ullah Khan

Associate Professor, Pakistan Studies, Government College of Management Sciences Thana-Malakand
wahidgms@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Pakistan, a seventy six years old state, established in the name of basic ideological essence of equality, democracy and justice for all as preached by Islam, still is not an Islamic democratic state in reality as visualized by its Founder Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Therefore it is imperative to compare today's Pakistan with the state as anticipated by its founder. Did Jinnah envisage Pakistan an Islamic democratic state or a theocratic state? We perceive that Quaid-i-Azam visualized an Islamic democratic and welfare state for the Muslim community of India. In this research article an attempt has been made to properly evaluate this question and to find out a right answer. The present study is a kind of qualitative research in its nature so the technique of content analysis is used to elicit the facts from the speeches and statements of the Quaid. This study is primarily depending upon the written material, so, all the relevant literature was surveyed and all the available secondary sources were consulted.

Keywords: Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam, Democracy, Islam Theocracy, Welfare State.

INTRODUCTION

A state works for the well-being of its people is known as welfare state. It is committed to provide economic, social and educational services as well as protection of life to its citizens and responsible for maintaining law and order. The Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), visualized a modern Islamic democratic welfare state but soon after his demise in September 1948, it was seen that Pakistan came under the control of aristocrats and bureaucrats. After independence democratic system declined immediately because Pakistan owned a defective political system that was ineffective to resolve governing conflicts. (Maya Tudor, 2013: 15) The civilian bureaucracy and military forces assumed governing authority in 1958, because of failure of the political system in the country. Therefore since its inception, the democratic system of the country has been oscillated between the civilian and military governments throughout its political history, largely because of political instability, civil-military differences, political corruption and the recurrent military intervention knocking down the weak civilian governments. Several times martial law or military set up was imposed throughout the country in 1958, 1977 and 1999. (Azeem Afzal, Retrieved December 26, 2011) Up to 2013, the country remained deprived from a single elected democratic power that had completed its tenure. All the previous democratic and elected governments have been toppled by military coups. (Aqil Shah, 2014: 1)

Pakistan was established an Islamic democratic state but it failed to frame its own constitution for about nine years and to operate a democratic system in its newly established body polity. Pakistan, after seventy six years is an under developed country where still a true democracy is not properly operative. In these circumstances, it will be more significant to consult the vision of our Quaid and to guide our political leaders to follow his advices to build Pakistan a true Islamic democratic welfare state based on the glorious principles as enjoined by Islam and envisaged by Quaid-i-Azam.

Islamic Concept of a Democratic Welfare State

Ideology of Islam and Pakistan emphasize on justice and equality of rights for all citizens of the state irrespective of creed and caste. Unlike the western concept of modern democratic state wherein sovereignty

belongs to people, in Islamic democratic state sovereignty belongs to Almighty Allah. It believes in equality of all men and *Sharia* as the law of the land. Islam believes in peace and prosperity for all human beings. It is the champion of the rights of minorities. The Quaid concept of an Islamic democratic welfare state was clear from his messages and speeches. As the Architect of Pakistan, he led the movement for the creation of state for the Indian Muslims based on Islamic concept of democratic values and its ideology. His vision of an Islamic democratic welfare state was for promoting prosperity and equality among all groups of people regardless of their religion and creed without any distinction. He had taken this inspiration from the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and true lesson of Islam.

In most of his statements and speeches before and after the creation of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam laid great stress on the role of religion as in all aspects of life of the Muslims symbolizing unbiased social equality and justice for all the people. While answering to a question about of the nature of the state during the League session (1942), Jinnah said, 'Pakistan will be an Islamic state based on the concept of Medina State, an exponent of human rights, democracy, freedom of conscience to all citizens without any discrimination of colour, creed, language and race as accorded by our Holy Prophet (PBUH) to the Christians, Jews and all others. (Ziauddin Ahmed, *Dawn*, September 6, 1997) Similarly on March 19, 1944, at Lahore he declared that Islam did not recognize any kind of distinction among the various groups of caste and the Prophet (PBUH) was able to level down all castes and forge a national unity among all the Arabs in Arabia (Ahmad Vol. II, 23).

What was the style of Medina State hinted by the Quaid? The Medina State was administered on the principles of the first written document of the world popularly known as the Charter of Medina. This document, prepared in 1 A.H (622 A.D.), under the guidance of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), was about the rights and obligations of the citizens of Medina including Muslims, Jews and all others. Through this document the Holy Prophet (PBUH) made a friendly agreement especially with the Jews and established them in their religion, property and occupations and declared them as one community (*Ummah*). The section clause 25 of the document declared in explicit manner: "The Jews of *Bani Auaf* are recognized as a political unit with the *Momineen* (the believers). Yes, whoever commits cruelty or breach of promise, no one will be in trouble except his caste or family. (Watt, W. Montgomery, 1981: 221-23) Thus there is great resemblance between the Islamic concept and the Quaid's concept of a democratic welfare state.

Quaid-i-Azam as a Democrat

A democratic political leader believes in multiple people participation being led in the decision making process. The Quaid had unwavering faith in the working of democratic principles. He explained the Muslim democracy from historical perspective. The Muslims, he asserted were one of the first nations who introduced the concept of democracy in the world. In his address to the Delhi League Session (1943), he differentiated between the Hindu and Muslim conceptions of democracy. He said that Hindu society was based on caste system and inequality. In their conception democracy means Hindu *Raj* to dominate over the Muslims and transform the whole of the sub-continent into a Gandhi Ashram. As far as the concept of the Muslim was concerned, he clarified that the democracy learnt by the Muslims thirteen hundred years ago was based on the lesson of equality and brotherhood of people (Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, 1969: 415).

Jinnah was not in favour of a society based on sectional interests and financial stratification where one class of people would enjoy luxurious and lavish life and the other class would not get one meal a day. He warned the landlords and capitalists that they have forgotten the true teachings of Islam. He repudiated such Pakistan. (Pirzada, 1969: 424-25)

Early in March 1940, he once again condemned the conception of democracy enamoured by the Congress High Command which meant the absolute annihilation of what was precious to Islam'. (Pirzada, 1969: 338) In his message to the editor of the *Muslim Views* Columbo, on the birthday of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) on February 5, 1945, the Quaid elucidated the advent of Islam in the world. He said that Islam came to the world for the establishment of democracy, justice, peace, equality and to protect the rights of the oppressed. He argued that our Holy Prophet fought for these ideals; therefore it is the responsibility of all the Muslims to safeguard these great ideals and the magnificent Islamic traditions and to sacrifice for the equality of human beings, achievements of their legitimate rights and establishment of democracy. He furthered maintained that Pakistan was their legitimate and democratic demand and they would win (Waheed Ahmad, 2000: 59-60).

On December 25, 1945, the birthday of the Quaid-i-Azam was celebrated with great fervor and enthusiasm and the people raised the slogans of "*Shahinshah-i-Pakistan Zindabad*. The Quaid-i-Azam addressed a huge crowd that Pakistan was not going to be an undemocratic state and there was no way for a dictator i.e. *Shahinshah* in Pakistan. He said that one should never think in terms of anything but democracy for Pakistan. (Ahmad, Jamil-ud-Din, 1966: 94) Similarly on June 9, 1947, Jinnah strictly chided a group of Muslim League followers who greeted him with the slogans *Shahinshah-i-Pakistan* (Emperor of Pakistan), as he arrived to chair the meeting of the League Council. Quaid-i-Azam told the gathering that he did not want to be the *Shahinshah* of Pakistan and that they should not raise the slogans. (Sharif al Mujahid, 1981: 112)

Quaid-i-Azam advocated democracy to develop in Pakistan. This was not only his theoretical belief; but his whole practical politics was also full of true democratic principles. In his political career Jinnah rose as one of the greatest supporters of democracy in South Asia (Riaz Ahmad, 1990: 70). Mr. Gandhi, a great leader of the Hindus, was also a democrat, but both had different perspectives about democracy and its practical application. Jinnah rather emerged as champion of minorities. It was the main reason that both these leaders diverged and separated from each other on the issue of division of India and creation of a Muslim State. Quaid-i-Azam worked hard and long for Pakistan and founded it, but he never wished it not because he wanted, but it was the long and cherished desire of the Muslim community to have their own state where they could live according to their civilization and teachings of Islam as free and independent nation.

Jinnah envisaged an Islamic democratic constitution for the state. In his broadcast message to the citizens of the United States in February 1948, he hoped for a democratic constitution for the country exhibiting the fundamental principles of Islam. (Burke, 2000: 148) He advised such type of constitution for the state wherein the basic rights and interests of every citizen were fully mentioned irrespective of his creed, faith and caste.

Being a firm believer in democratic values and principles, Quaid-i-Azam always shaped his policies and programs according to the wishes of his people. Whatever decisions he took he did with the concurrence of the League's Working Committee. As Constitutional President of the League, he always obeyed democratic principles of consultation, collaboration and cooperation and never took any personal decision. He took every decision about a political issue after obtaining proper opinions over it from the League executive body. To quote only a few instances, and the decision to call on the Muslim members of the National Defence Council to relinquish that body (1941), the decision not to join the Congress Quit India Movement (1942), the decision to refuse to join the provisional government sought to be set up under the Wavell Plan (1945), Cabinet Mission Plan (1946) first admitted the decision and then, to withdraw that acceptance and prepare for direct action (July, 1946), the decision taken for joining the Interim Government (1946), and the decision to accept the Mountbatten Plan of June 3, 1947—all these decisions were taken by the League Executive Committee. For that matter, never did Jinnah on his own Muslim League High Command and/or the League Council to any decision—although he was always authorized and empowered to do what he thought best in the circumstances. Jinnah refused to accept or reject the *Raja ji* formula before he was authorized by it to make the Formula, the basis of his negotiations with Gandhi. (Mujahid, 1981: 122-23) He wanted to solve all problems of the party with consultations.

Quaid-i-Azam knew the fact that the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) had brought a religious as well as political revolution in Arabia with help of Islam. He (PBUH) gathered the Arabs and made them a single community (Ummah). Quaid-i-Azam had a firm belief that with the introduction of Islamic democracy, problems of Indian Muslims and the whole Muslim "*Ummah*" could be solved. Real salvation of Muslims, he believed, was in following the Holy Prophet. While paying tribute to the Holy Prophet on January 25, 1948, at Karachi, Jinnah said that Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was a great teacher, law giver and statesman who founded democracy thirteen hundred years back. While introducing Islam, the Quaid said that Islam was not only the name of traditions, rites and sacred doctrines, but also a complete code for a Muslim which regulates every aspect of his life and conduct. Islam was based on the concept of one God and on the principles of equality, fraternity and liberty (Muhammad Muzaffar Mirza, 1995: 216). The Quaid's demand and struggle for Democratic Pakistan had proceeded primarily due to a threat of defiance of these basic human rights in united India. In a speech on March 26, 1948, at Chittagong, he mentioned 'when you say that Pakistan would be laid certainly on the foundations of Islamic principles and social justice you

reciprocated my feelings and the feelings of millions of the Muslims (Mirza, 1995: 219). In Sibi on February 14, 1948, the Quaid once again asserted that he had one fundamental principle of Muslim democracy in his mind and they should establish their democracy on basic principles and ideals of Islam. The Allah Omniscient has instructed us that "our decisions in the affairs of the state shall be guided by consultation and discussion. (Ahmad, ed.1969: 453)

Next day at the same place in reply to a question, he said that he was not in favour of dictatorship (Afzal, ed: 457). Some of the members of his party no doubt implored Jinnah from time to time to assure the role of a dictator but Jinnah was not in a favour of dictatorship. On one occasion Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, a prominent member of the League Council, proposed at the meeting of the League Council that the permanent President of the League would be Quaid-i-Azam. The Quaid declined this suggestion saying that 'according to democratic practices the President must come to the members of the Council every year and seek a renewal of their confidence on the basis of his performance and work'. (Waheed-ud-Zaman, 1985: 128-29) He made no effort to establish a personal dictatorship. To quote down:

No political leader was greater or will be greater than Muhammad Ali Jinnah come to be in the final phase of his illustrious life. No man could have been mightier in deciding the fate of his fellow-countrymen than he came to be immediately before and after the foundation of Pakistan. No ruler could have become a more absolute dictator than he might have—if he had so wished... He chose not to be a dictator, but a constitutionalist. (Mujahid, 1985, 125-26)

According to Altaf Husain (1900-68)), the Editor of *Dawn*, the Quaid-i-Azam would never have succeeded as a dictator even if he tried. Like his methods, his minds moved on constitutional lines (Ahmad, 1968: 453). Even as the first Governor-General of the country, he never exploited his powers and function and never declared himself as a dictator. The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was a sovereign body and its acts did not require the assent of the Governor-General. He had given authority to the Assembly to structure an Islamic constitution for the country. Being a astute lawyer, he never proposed his own made constitution for the state.

As an unyielding believer in Islam and strong supporter of democracy, Jinnah was sure that Pakistan would struggle for an Islamic-cum-democratic order. He wanted democracy to flourish in this country in accordance with the basic principles of Islam. In November 1945, he categorically defined various aspects of Pakistan in his interview to the Press of America. He said that politically, Pakistan would be a democratic country (Ahmad, ed. 1969: 231). On another occasion he said: 'Democracy is the blood of the Muslims, who believe in complete equality of manhood. I give you an example, 'very often when I go to a Mosque, my chauffer stand alongside with me. The Muslims believe in equality, brotherhood and liberty.' (Ahmad, ed. 1969: 391).

Quaid-i-Azam and Theocracy

Islamic concept of the state does not believe in separation of religion from politics rather it considers religion as integral part of politics. A theocratic state is one which is purely ruled by religious leaders. Jinnah's 11 August speech of 1947, to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan is often quoted and argued that he departed from his religious concept of the state wherein he separated religion from politics and declared religion as a personal matter of an individual. However in this speech, Jinnah's main focus was the protection of rights of minorities and it was again clarified by himself even after the creation of Pakistan in his responding to a question in the same year (Afzal, 1966, p. 440). He knew that no doubt religion played a significant role in a nation's existence, but other aspects like political, economic and social were also indispensable for a nation's life. Being a staunch advocate of Islamic democratic principles, and having good relations and correspondence with the *Ulema* (religious leaders), Quaid-i-Azam did not favour a theocratic state. He wanted a state where all people would be equal citizens of the state irrespective of faith, caste and creed. When on July 14, 1947, he was asked about a theocratic state, the Quaid replied that he did not understand the meaning of a theocratic state. On correspondent explanation Jinnah replied that when you talk about democracy, we fear that Islam has not been studied by you. We have learned democracy thirteen hundred years ago (Afzal, ed., 422-23). He believed that the ideology of Islam has taught equality, brotherhood, freedom, unity and social justice also secular or humanistic values. Thus, he had essentially an Islamic concept of the state (Mujahid, 1985: 266-67). He also described these values as the characteristics of *Tawheed*. On February 19, 1948, after the establishment of Pakistan, Jinnah once again denounced

Pakistan to be a theocratic state though majority of its population would be Muslims and who would follow the teachings of their Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) because their religion taught them equality dignity, self-respect and tolerance of other creeds. (Ahmad, ed. 1969: 456)

The above statements of the Quaid illustrate that he advocated equal citizenship for all the people whether Muslims or non-Muslims, majority or minority. Tolerance and equality for all were basic characteristics of his state. In his broadcast message to the people of America in February 1948, he clearly explained the Islamic and democratic nature of the constitution for Pakistan. In the same address he also vehemently denied that Pakistan would be governed purely by Ulema. Being a champion of the rights of minorities he said that in any case Pakistan was not going to be a theocratic state to be governed by priests with a divine mission. He declared that there were many non-Muslims minorities including Hindus, Christians and Parsis in this country but all these non-Muslims were equal citizens of the state. They deserved to enjoy equal rights and privileges as enjoyed by the Muslims and to perform their due role in the affairs of the state. (Ahmad, ed. 1969, 463)

It is also stated that Quaid-i-Azam had instructed his followers to keep aloof from and be careful of the British, the Hindus, and the *Maulvis* and when a group of excited admirers addressed him as 'Maulana Jinnah', he replied them that he was not a Maulana but Mr. Jinnah. (Tarik Jan ed. 2003: 69)

Quaid-i-Azam wanted an Islamic democratic Pakistan in which all of its citizens were to be treated equally. He guaranteed the non-Muslim again and again that they would be treated generously in the new state. Even prior to the establishment of Pakistan, he fought for the rights of minorities. In November 1941, Jinnah said 'Islam is the religion which stands for tolerance, fair play and even magnanimity to non-Muslims and that their rights and interests would be fully safeguarded. They and Muslims were like brothers and deserve to be equal citizens of the state. (Ahmad, Vol. I, 1968: 326) Again in November 1942, he stressed that the non-Muslims should be treated according to the instructions of Islam (Ahmad, Vol. I, 466). Therefore he advised all the Hindus and Muslims to be loyal to their state (Afzal, 420-21). Logically proving the creation of Pakistan, and the position of the Muslims left in India after the creation of Pakistan, he argued that the Prophet had emigrated to Madina to set up an Islamic state there and had left behind infirm and old Muslims at Makkah. In the same manner, he pleaded that the thirty million Indian Muslims should not stand in the welfare and happiness of seventy million Muslims in Pakistan. If Pakistan was not made, the result would be that all one billion (hundred million) people would have to live under the suzerainty of Hindu government.

When Quaid-i-Azam died on September 11, 1948, in his funeral oration, Maulana Shabir Ahmad Uthmani, described him as 'the greatest Muslim after Aurangzeb'. (Mujahid, 1985: 319) In his tribute to Quaid-i-Azam he said:

The Quaid-i-Azam is no more in us but the nation he founded still lives and hopes to live a life of prestige and strength. When the great Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) departed this life and the people were struck dumb with grief, Abu Bakr (RA) told the Muslims that Muhammad was but an apostle of God, he was dead but the message he had brought lived. The Muslim nation took inspiration from God and depends on human personalities for their glory and true greatness. I repeat for your benefit the advice of the Quaid-i-Azam that in unity and discipline lies the future greatness of the Muslim nation. (Ahmad, 1968: 242)

All these prove that Quaid-i-Azam was a democratic leader. Being a true democrat he did not propose his own made constitution to be imposed in the country. He favoured a democracy based on the principles and values of Islam.

In the struggle for Pakistan the Quaid was overwhelmingly motivated by Islam because it was Islam which gave the Muslims of India a sense of identity. (Akbar S. Ahmed, 1997: 3-5)

He was hopeful that the newly established state of Pakistan would be a true Islamic democratic and welfare state. The duty of an Islamic democratic welfare state is to establish equality, to provide to all citizens basic necessities of life and to eradicate all difficulties in their way of achieving social mobility. (Khurshid Ahmed, 2002: 496)

CONCLUSIONS

Quaid-i-Azam envisaged Pakistan an Islamic democratic progressive and welfare state. He believed in the democratic principles of equality, solidarity and justice for all people of the society. This vision of Quaid-

Quaid-i-Azam's Concept of an Islamic Welfare Democratic State and Theocratic State

i-Azam is still very much relevant and in fact, there is a dire need to implement his vision in its true spirit. He dreamed of a true 'Islamic democratic Welfare State' which will guard the interests of not only the people of Pakistan but it will also be responsible for the promotion of Islamic values in the whole world, and it will work for universal brotherhood as enjoined by Islam. Quaid wished that Pakistan should become a model for the whole Muslim world.

Quaid-i-Azam visualized Pakistan as an Islamic democratic as well as progressive and welfare state. The constitution of the state was made on the basis of his vision but these ideals could not be installed in real spirit. True to say we have not properly understood Quaid-i-Azam's concept of Pakistan. Neither could we make it a true Islamic democratic country nor a welfare state. Democracy was attacked at regular intervals in seventy six years of its history; the country has been governed for approximately half of the period by military regimes. By following the brilliant principles of our Quaid, Pakistan can be raised to the status of one of the greatest Muslim developed countries.

REFERENCES

- Afzal, M. Rafiq (1966). ed., *Selected Speeches and Statements of the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah 1911-34 and 1947-48*. Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan.
- Ahmad, Akbar S. (1997). *Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity the search for Saladin*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Ahmad, Jamil-ud-Din (1976).ed. *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Vol-II. Lahore: SH. Muhammad
- Ahmad, Riaz (1990). *Quaid-i-Azam Perception of Islam and Pakistan*, Rawalpindi: Alvi Publishers Rawalpindi.
- Ahmad, Waheed (1996).ed. *Quaid Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah: The Nation's Voice; United We Win; Annotated Speeches, statements, April 1940-April 1942*. Vol. II Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy.
- Ahmad, Waheed (2000).ed. *Quaid Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah: The Nation's Voice; Towards the Popular Verdict; Annotated Speeches, statements and Interviews, November 1944-April 1946*. vol., IV. Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy.
- Ahmed, Khurshid (2002). *Islamic Ideology*, Karachi: Karachi University.
- Azeem Afzal, *Democracy in Pakistan*. Retrieved: December 26, 2011.
- Burk, S. M (2000). *Jinnah Speeches and Statements 1947-194*. : Oxford University Press.
- Jan, Tarik. ed. (2003). 2nd ed., *Pakistan between Secularism and Islam*, Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies.
- Maya Tudor (2013).*The Promise of Power: The Origins of Democracy in India and Autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mirza, Muhammad Muzaffar (1995). *The Great Quaid*, Lahore: Feroz sons (Pvt) Ltd.
- Mujahid, Sharif al (1981). *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy.
- Pirzada, Syed Sharifuddin (1969). *Foundations of Pakistan: All India Muslim League Documents 1906-1947*. Vol-I. Karachi: National Publishing House Ltd.
- Shah, Aqil (2014). *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan*. Harvard University Press.
- Waheed-ud-Zaman (1985). *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah: Myth and Reality*. 2nd ed. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Culture Research
- Watt, W. Montgomery (1981). *Muhammad at Medina*. Clarendon Press: Oxford University.
- Ziauddin Ahmed, "Quaid's Concept of State". *Dawn*, September 6, 1997.