

Ideological Similarities of Allama Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

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Abstract

The article aims to explore the ideological similarities between Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Muhammad Iqbal as well as their ideological conversion from Indian nationalism to Muslim nationalism. In his address at Aligarh, 1901, Iqbal made it very clear that the element of Islamic thought in Muslim nationalism is unique among other nationalities in which *tauheed* (Oneness) is the central variable. Lucknow Pact was completely rejected in Nehru Report as well as the idea of a separate electorate. Provincial Congress governments were established in 1937. Hindu-Muslim riots, Wardha Scheme of Education and Vande Mataram had badly exposed Hindu mentality over Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The article concludes that there is perfect harmony between the views of Iqbal and the statements of Quaid. All the statements that belong to Jinnah after ideological conversion are in complete concordance with the views of Iqbal.

Key Words

Jinnah, Iqbal, Ideology, Pakistan Movement, Muslim League

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The present study focuses on the ideological similarities between Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Special focus is laid on the ideological conversion of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. In the beginning, Allama Iqbal (R.A) was inclined towards diverse tendencies, in which the propagation of Islamic influence and ‘Indian nationalism’ was quite dominant. Till 1905, he wrote excellent poems like “*tasveer-e-dard*” (The Portrait of Anguish), “*tarana Hindi*” (The Indian Anthem) and “*Naya Shiwala*” (A New Altar) in favour of Indian nationalism, the most impressive writings, having deep insight for the reader. His essay titled National Life¹ (*qomi zindagi*) published in 1904 truly manifests that he used the word “nation” for the Muslims and was keen to take Muslims out of infirmity. He granted the deplorable relations between Hindus and Muslims, a source of strength for the colonials. He considered the promotion of mutual love and peace between the two communities inevitable for liberation. The likelihood of consensus between the Hindus and the Muslims was near to impossible but Iqbal was hoping against hope in that regard. According to Iqbal, Hindu Muslim controversy was further fuelling sectarian divide which would ultimately result in decay and destruction, as he says in his poem “*Tasveer-l-Dard*” (The Portrait Of Anguish) of *Bang-e-Dara* (The Call of the Marching Bell)

نشانِ برگِ گلِ تک بھی نہ چھوڑا اس باغ میں گلچیں تری قسمت سے رزم آرائیاں ہیں باغبانوں میں
 پرونا ایک ہی تسبیح میں ان بکھرے دانوں کو جو مشکل ہے تو اس مشکل کو آساں کر کے چھوڑوں گا
 شجر ہے فرقہ آرائی، تعصب ہے ثمر اس کا یہ وہ پھل ہے کہ جنت سے نکلواتا ہے آدم کو
 جو تو سمجھے تو آزادی ہے پوشیدہ محبت میں غلامی ہے اسیر امتیاز ماو تو رہنا

O gardener does not leave even the rose- petals’ trace in this garden! By your misfortune war preparations are afoot among the gardeners

If stringing these scattered pearls in a single rosary, Is difficult, I will surely make this difficult task easy

¹ Published in Magazine “Makhzan”.

Sectarianism is the tree, prejudice is its fruit, This fruit caused
expulsion of Adam from Paradise

If you understand, independence is veiled in Love, Slavery is to
remain imprisoned in the net of schism

The profounder of the Hindu Muslim unanimity while raising the
slogan of,

سارے جہاں سے اچھا ہندوستان ہمارا

The best land in the world is our India,

as an ardent nationalist. Iqbal's ideological shift from Indian
nationalism to Muslim nationalism and the propagation of Muslims as a
separate and distinct nation bore fruit when he was fully convinced of the
hegemon Hindu mentality and acquiring a profound knowledge of the
strategy of colonial powers.

Iqbal went to England for higher education (PhD & Bar at Law) in
1905. Same was the year of the partition of Bengal. It was an
administrative decision and Eastern Bengal was established as a Muslim
majority province. Hindus resented over this decision while holding
country-wide protests. It was the turning point when the fragility of
Hindu-Muslim unity and Hindu nationalism was exposed to Iqbal. Syed
Ahmad Khan also passed through such an experiment (Hali, n.d. p. 151).
While studying European literature, it was revealed to Iqbal that Western
nations wanted to divide Muslims on the basis of nationalism.² These
observations were enough to bring ideological revolution in Iqbal's
vision. With an already in-depth Islamic influence, he soon started
thinking about greater Muslim nationalism while delimiting his focus on
limited territorial nationalism.

All India Muslim League was established in 1906 in order to preserve the
rights of Muslims of the Indo-Pak sub-continent. A branch was

² After the division happened, Iqbal said:

حکمت مغرب سے ملت کی یہ کیفیت ہوئی نکلے نکلے جس طرح سونے کو کر دیتا ہے گاڑ

By the wisdom of the West the state of the Community has become thus: As
scissors cut gold into tiny pieces.

established in London. Iqbal joined the Muslim League. The same year he wrote in second part of *Bang-e-Dara* (The Call of the Marching Bell),

نرا الاسارے جہاں سے اس کو عرب کے معمار نے بنایا بنا ہمارے حصارِ ملت کی اتحاد وطن نہیں ہے

The Arab architect made it distinct from the whole world. The foundation of our nation's fort is not territorial unity

Iqbal's journey from Indian nationalism to Muslim nationalism took its final shape in 1907. He shaped his manifesto for the rest of his life. Muslim Ummah had been suffering from deteriorating socio-economic decay. While promising the awakening of Muslims from deep slumber through his inspirational, visionary and ideological poetry, Iqbal predicted the success to the Muslims of the sub-continent as described in *Bang-e-Dara*,

سفرینہ برگ گل بنالے گا قافلہ مور ناتواں کا ہزار موجوں کی ہو کشاکش مگر یہ دریا سے پار ہو گا

میں ظلمت شب میں لے کے نکلوں گا اپنے در ماندہ کارواں کو شرفشاں ہوگی آہ میری، نفس مرا شعلہ بار ہو گا

The caravan of the feeble ants will make fleet of rose petals. However strong the rivers waves' tumult be it will cross the river

In the darkness of the night I shall take out my tired caravan. My sigh will be shedding sparks my breath will be throwing flames

Iqbal was perpetually engaged in the awakening of Muslim nationalism in Muslims from 1907 to 1937. He made it very clear in his address at Aligarh in 1911 that there is a clear difference between Muslims and other nations of the world. The element of Islamic thought in Muslim nationalism is unique in its essence which makes it unique among other nationalities. Our nationalism does not rely on any particular language, country or economy. We pledge to the community founded by our Holy Prophet (PBUH) which is the foundation stone of our belief. Historical traditions inherited by us hold equal significance for all of us (Iqbal, n.d.).

Iqbal declared territorial confinement as synonymous to destruction for Muslims. He affirmed that contemporary political interpretation of a nation-state had acquired the status of god for the modern era. He also

elaborated that the modern concept of nationalism is fatal for Muslim nationalism. *Tauheed* (Oneness) is the primary strength of a Muslim, not the contemporary self-designed nationalism. Muslims need to destroy these idols and look forward, as described in his poem *Wataniyat* (as a political concept) in the book *Bang-e-Dara*:

ان تازہ خداؤں میں بڑا سب سے وطن ہے جو پیر ہن اس کا ہے، وہ مذہب کا کفن ہے
 ہو قیدِ مقامی تو نتیجہ ہے تباہی رہ بحر میں آزادِ وطن صورتِ ماہی
 اقوام میں مخلوقِ خدا بنتی ہے اس سے قومیتِ اسلام کی جڑ کٹتی ہے اس سے
 بازو ترا تو حید کی قوت سے قوی ہے اسلام ترا دیس ہے، تو مصطفوی ہے
 یہ بت کہ ترا شیدہ تہذیبِ نبوی ہے غارت گرِ کاشانہ دینِ نبوی ہے
 نظارہ دیرینہ زمانے کو دکھا دے اے مصطفوی خاک میں اس بت کو ملا دے

Territory, is the biggest among these new gods!

What is its shirt is the shroud of Deen (Religion)

The limitation to country results in destruction

Live like the fish in the ocean free from country

God's creation is unjustly divided among nations by it

The Islamic concept of nationality is uprooted by it

Your arm is enforced with the strength of the Divine Unity

You are the followers of Mustafa, your country is Islam

This idol which is the product of the new civilization

Is the plunderer of the structure of the Holy Prophet's Deen
(Religion)

You should show the old panorama to the world

O Mustafaa's followers! You should destroy this idol

In 1904, when Iqbal was inclined towards Indian nationalism, he wrote a poem named “*hamara dais*” which was retitled later as “*tarana hindi*” whose first couplet is as under:

سارے جہاں سے اچھا ہندوستان ہمارا ہم بلبلیں ہیں اس کی یہ گلستاں ہمارا

The best land in the world is our India; We are its nightingales; this is our garden

After his ideological conversion from Indian nationalism to Muslim nationalism, he wrote “*tarana-e-millī*” whose opening couplet is:

چین و عرب ہمارا، ہندوستان ہمارا مسلم ہیں ہم، وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا

China and Arabia are ours; India is ours. We are Muslims, the whole world is ours

The negation of regional confinement and the propagation of divine Muslim nationalism has been the sole objective of Iqbal’s struggle. Iqbal says in second part of *Bal-e-Gabriel*:

تو ابھی رہ گزر میں ہے قیدِ مقام سے گزر مصر و حجاز سے گزر، پارس و شام سے گزر

رہے گا راوی و نیل و فرات میں کب تک ترا سفینہ کہ ہے بحر بیکراں کے لیے

You are yet region- bound, Transcend the limits of space; Transcend the narrow climes of the East and the West.

How long, while your ship remains in Ravi, Nile and Euphrates? - When it is meant for the Ocean, which knows no bounds.

He made it very clear in his poem “*Javab-e-shikwa*” in 1912 that Islam is the essence of Muslim nationalism.

قوم مذہب سے ہے مذہب جو نہیں تم بھی نہیں جذبِ باہم جو نہیں محفلِ انجم بھی نہیں

Unto a nation faith is life, when lost your faith you fell, When gravitation fails, must cease concourse celestial

He emphasized that Islamic nationality, Islamic form of government, Islamic renaissance and the concept of Muslim Ummah as

one body are inevitably interconnected with one another and every aspect of its entirety is full of integrity. Iqbal saw two major dreams in the context of Muslim nationalism. One was the establishment of Islamic unity with the renaissance of Muslims. While looking into the scenario of the sub-continent, the interpretation of Muslim nationalism means that Muslims and Hindus are two separate and distinct nations. India is a country of diverse nations and Muslims and Hindus are two different nations. It is the basis of two-nation theory. The Islamic nationalism in the scenario of the sub-continent leads to the two nation theory which carries the notion of the establishment of a separate Muslim state for the Muslims of India. The establishment of Pakistan was the primary dream of Iqbal which became true.

Ramooz-e-Bekhudi published in 1918 truly manifests the individuality of Muslim *Ummah* which is composed of two elements, *Tauheed* and Prophethood. The reconstruction of *Ummah* does not rely on a caste or a country. Caste relates to physical appearance and physical appearance is mortal so it is unwise to feel proud of one's casts;

حکم او اندر تن و تن فانی است

ہر نسب نازاں شدن نادانی است

Among the idols of contemporary civilization, the most prominent are the secularism, capitalism, socialism and liberalism. Among them, nationalism is the biggest idol and Iqbal included two inclusive chapters in *Masnavi* for the annihilation of this particular idol. One chapter deals with the idea that since *Tauheed* and *Risalat* are the foundations of Muslim *Ummah*, there is no territorial limit on it. The second chapter elaborated the notion that a territory doesn't form the basis of Muslim *Ummah*.

Iqbal further clarified his stance during his address at Allahabad in 1930 that Muslims and Hindus are two separate and distinct nations. Muslims are in majority in south-western India so the establishment of a Muslim state comprising Punjab, Sindh, NWFP (North-West Frontier Province - current KPK) and Baluchistan is the ultimate destiny of the Muslims of the sub-continent. That was the vision of Iqbal for the establishment of Pakistan which he formally delivered during his presidential address at the annual session of All India Muslim League.

Letters written by Iqbal to Jinnah (1936 to 1937) are also an important document in the context of the ideology of Pakistan (Iqbal, 1978). In these letters, Iqbal guided Jinnah politically as well as ideologically in the best interests of the Muslims of India. Iqbal had inculcated consciousness in Muslims regarding Islamic nationalism and Islamic renaissance. He set forth a final destination for the Muslims of India.

A leader was required to organise the Indian Muslims and to struggle for Pakistan. This leader, according to Iqbal, was Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was neither corrupt nor purchasable. He was also sincere and most capable to lead the Indian Muslims.

Ideological conversion of Muhammad Ali Jinnah is also an important facet. How was he converted from Indian nationalism to Muslim nationalism and from the conception of a united India to a separate state for the Muslims of India? The study of this conversion is inevitable to understand the background of the establishment of Pakistan. It is also pertinent to understand the wish of Iqbal and Jinnah about the nature of the state of Pakistan. Whether they envision a theocratic state or a state based on secularism? If their objective was essentially to build a state in accordance with Islamic principles then what were those principles? And how Quaid-e-Azam reached to those principles? To what extent there were ideological similarities between Quaid and Iqbal after their ideological conversion? And what were the consequences of these similarities between the two legends?

In October 1906 a delegation of Muslim thinkers headed by Agha Khan visited Viceroy and demanded separate electorate for Muslims. The idea was opposed by Jinnah. He was of the view that there is enough representation for Muslims under the umbrella of Congress. Annual session of All India Muslim League held at Kolkata on December 27, 1906. Muhammad Ali Jinnah participated in this session. In this respect, Jaswant Singh quotes:

In 1906, it was observed that Jinnah is an emerging young lawyer, a brilliant politician who was making progress by leaps and bounds purely on his own shoulders. (Singh, 2010: p.52)

Jinnah was a Congressman and a firm nationalist. However, he was a Muslim as well as an ambassador of the rights of Muslims. During the session discussed above, his stand (property denoted for welfare purposes and the Muslim law of inheritance) was accepted by the Congress. At that time, Jinnah was of the view that Muslims and Hindus were equal at the platform of Congress. Three days later, Muslim League was established at Dhaka on December 30.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah while struggling on his own, joined Muslim League in 1913. In 1916, he succeeded an agreement between Congress and Muslim League named Lukhnow Pact in which separate electorate was agreed by Congress. Jinnah was appointed as the president of Muslim League and the decision was welcomed by the Congress. Jinnah was conferred upon the title of “ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity” by Aravind Gokhale and Sarojini Naidu. The title earned a lot of fame for Jinnah. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a perpetual supporter of Indian nationalism and remained affirm to this stance till early 1936. He used the word “nation” for Muslims for the first time on April 12, 1936 (Karim, 2010: p.20). With this perpetual ideological change, Hindu mentality was completely exposed to him. However, while completely shifting towards two nation theory, he started abandoning Indian nationalism. This change completed in 1938 (Karim, 2010: p. 20). It was the period in which an exchange of letters occurred between Iqbal and Jinnah. In his condolence statement on April 21, 1938, Jinnah stated that Iqbal was a dear friend of mine as well as a philosopher and a leader (Siddiqui, n.d. p. 229).

Three important developments led to the completion of Jinnah’s ideological conversion.

1. Nehru Report
2. First and Second Round table Conferences
3. 1936-1937 provincial elections and Congress ministries.

Lukhnow Pact of 1916 was rejected by Nehru Report of 1928 and it was completely irrational. Jaswant Singh and M. Munshi quoted about the Lukhnow pact:

At that time, Jinnah was dominant not only in Congress but also in Muslim League. He played a very pivotal role in the preparation of the draft of Indian constitution and in getting its approval from both the parties. Historic Lukhnow pact was an integral part of this draft constitution. Under this pact, Muslims under the supervision of Muslim League pledged to support Hindus in their struggle for freedom and in response Hindus pledged to grant Muslims a separate electorate in which Muslims were given more weightage than that of their numeric strength. (Singh, 2010, p. 83)

Nehru report (draft constitution) was made public on August 21, 1928. According to Jaswant Singh:

The concept of national government presented in this report was unitary, not federal. In this report, even the residual powers were granted to the center. While keeping in view sectarianism, the notion of separate electorate and special status to minorities were denied in this report. (Singh, 2010, pp. 99-100)

Jinnah's willingness from separate electorate to a coalition one was based on some terms and conditions. This made the League divided. While accompanying Shafi, Allama Iqbal criticized the decision of Jinnah. Nehru report was presented in All Parties Conference held at Kolkata for approval. In contrast, All Parties Muslim Conference was held in Delhi in which the role of Iqbal was central. Although coalition electorate was included in the report but Jinnah's terms and conditions were utterly neglected. Jinnah's nationalism was completely tarnished. On the other side Muslims were also angry. Jinnah presented some amendments in the report, as the last resort, even those were rejected by the Congress. Jamshed Nasr Wanji, a Parsi leader was present in that conference. Jaswant Singh quoted from his minute book. One quote is worth mentioning,

Mr. Jinnah presented the demands of his party in front of a special committee, but the committee rejected these demands... Mr. Jinnah returned to his hotel. He was badly disheartened. Next morning around 08:30 am, Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues went back to Delhi. I went to the station to see off Jinnah. On the occasion, while

departing, Jinnah said, 'Well Jamshed, from now our ways are separate. (Singh, 2010, p. 103)

All Parties Muslim Conference passed the resolution comprising ten demands. Muhammad Ali Jinnah further added four demands and presented fourteen points. Jawahar Lal Nehru rejected these points by calling them rubbish (Saeed, 2008, p. 155). Both parts of the League got united under the leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

At the moment, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was still an Indian nationalist and a secular one, hoping against hope for a united India. According to him, it was necessary that the rights of the Muslims must be guaranteed. He fought vigorously for the rights of Muslims during the first and second round table conference, but failed. Indian nationalism was actually Hindu nationalism and in more literal terms, the Brahman ideology with an aim to establish a systematic and ruling Hindu society. By ignoring and suppressing the will of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the clever Hindu nationals were trying their best to subjugate Muslims and it was their biggest folly. Congress also participated in second round table conference. While going to participate in second round table conference, Muhammad Ali Jinnah said in an address to Muslim Student Union at Mumbai,

I am an Indian first and a Muslim afterwards. And I agree that no Indian can ever serve his country if he neglects the interest of the Muslims because it is by making Muslims strong, by bringing them together, by encouraging them and by making them useful citizens of the state that you will be able to serve your country. What is a state? What is representative government? Does it mean that 70 million Muslims should be tied hand and foot in a constitution where a particular class of Hindus can possibly tyrannies over and deal with them as they like? Is that representative government? Is that democratic government? Certainly not.... I can tell you honestly that the Hindus are foolish, utterly foolish in the attitude that they have adopted today. Differences must be settled among ourselves. (Karim, 2010, pp 13-14)

Even the second round table conference failed to address the grievances of Muslims. Jinnah considered Gandhi responsible for

introducing Hindu religion and culture into politics. Provincial Congress governments further clarified the perpetual as well as dormant attitude of the whole Congress leadership. In this respect, Iqbal's following poetic verses are worth mentioning.

نگہ دارد بر ہمن کار خود را
نمی گوید بہ کس اسرار خود را

بمن گوید کہ از تسبیح بگزر
بدوش خود برد ز نار خود را³

A Brahman only cares for his own interest and never shares his secret with anybody. He will insist you to forgo Islam but will never leave his Hinduism.

After many years, Jinnah narrated about his state of mind soon after the second round table conference.

I worked so incessantly to bring about a rapprochement that a newspaper remarked that Mr. Jinnah is never tired of Hindu-Muslim unity. But I received the shock of my life at the meetings of the Round Table Conference. In the face of danger the Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity. I felt very pessimistic about my country. The position was most unfortunate. The Mussalmans were like dwellers in No Man's Land; they were led by either the flunkeys of the British Government or the camp followers of the Congress. Whenever attempts were made to organize the Muslims, toadies and flunkeys on the one hand and traitors in the Congress camp on the other frustrated the efforts. I began to feel that neither could I help India, nor change the Hindu mentality, nor could I make the Mussalmans realize their precarious position. I felt so disappointed and so depressed that I decided to settle down in London. (Siddiqui, n.d. p. 2014)

After being persuaded by Muslim leaders and realizing his responsibility in this regard, Muhammad Ali Jinnah returned to India four years later. Soon, he took the charge as the President of Muslim League. Jinnah-Parshad agreement was concluded in 1935 but Hindu

³ *Armaghan-e-Hijaz* (ارمغان حجاز) - The Gift of Hijaz

Mahasabha conspired the agreement. Provincial Congress governments were established in 1937. Hindu-Muslim riots, Wardha Scheme of Education and Bande Mataram had badly exposed Hindu mentality. In this regard, Jaswant Singh quoted that two years Congress ministries failed to protect the rights of Muslims. These riots occurred in the reign of Congress ministries. All these happenings tarnished the notion of India as a secular state. While agreeing with the view point of Dr. Zaidi, Jaswant Singh quoted (Singh, 2010, p. 188) that these years embraced Jinnah with the practical experience regarding politics which cannot be attained only through ideological means (Singh, 2010, p. 160). The due remains of Indian nationalism in Jinnah's ideology vanished due to Congress. However, with the suspension of Congress ministries "day of deliverance" was celebrated across India as per the instructions given by Jinnah.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah took a great deal of time while converting from Indian nationalism to Muslim nationalism (two nation theory). However, he came forward with firm determination. Till provincial elections, Jinnah was an ardent nationalist. On March 21, 1937, he addressed his friends.

Sink or swim; die or live; but live as a united nation. (Karim, 2010, p. 27)

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was still a nationalist and a secular one. From 1936 to 1937 was the period of ideological conversion. Jinnah's notion of Indian nationalism failed badly and it was the main reason of his conversion. Allama Muhammad Iqbal gave the idea of Muslim nationalism in 1907 and the idea of a separate Muslim state in 1930. It was nature which led Jinnah towards Muslim nationalism and it was a positive foundation of ideological conversion. Along with Islamic nationalism, Jinnah left secularism and started getting more inclination towards Islam. The Islam which was in accordance with the ideology of Iqbal. The Islam which provides a complete guide to run the affairs of a state and is a complete code of life in essence.

It was April 29, 1936 when Jinnah came to visit Lahore before elections; first he met with unionist leader Fazal Hussain and talked about the re-structuring of Muslim League. Sir Fazal Hussain apologized

and it proved a positive gesture later on. After that, he visited Allama Iqbal and talked about the re-structuring of Muslim League and the establishment of a provincial parliamentary board. Despite illness, Allama Iqbal promised to accompany Jinnah in this struggle.

It was the time when exchange of letters started between Jinnah and Iqbal.

Jinnah's first letter to Iqbal was delivered on May 23, 1936, which was replied immediately by Iqbal. This exchange continued till November 10, 1937. Later on, some letters were written by Ghulam Rasool on behalf of Iqbal. It is really unfortunate that letters written by Quaid-e-Azam are not available. However, Quaid-e-Azam published letters written by Iqbal in 1943. Quaid wrote in preface,

I think these letters are of very great historical importance, particularly those which explain his views in clear and unambiguous terms on the political future of Muslim India. His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India, and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumbrated in the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as the "Pakistan Resolution," passed on 23rd March, 1940. (Jinnah, 1995)

It seems appropriate here to discuss some matter from certain letters.

March 20, 1937

We must not ignore the fact that the whole future of Islam as a moral and political force in Asia rests very largely on a complete organisation of Indian Muslims. I therefore suggest that an effective reply should be given to the All-India National Convention. You should immediately hold an All-India Muslim Convention in Delhi to which you should invite members of the new Provincial Assemblies as well as other prominent Muslim leaders. To this convention you must restate as clearly and as strongly as possible the political objective of the Indian Muslims as a distinct political

unit in the country. It is absolutely necessary to tell the world both inside and outside India that the economic problem is not the only problem in the country. From the Muslim point of view the cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims.

May 28, 1937

After a long and careful study of Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at last the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the Shariah of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India. If such a thing is impossible in India the only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu Muslim riots.

June 21, 1937

The only thing that the communal award grants to Muslims is the recognition of their political existence in India. But such a recognition granted to a people whom this constitution does not and cannot help in solving their problem of poverty can be of no value to them. The Congress President has denied the political existence of Muslims in no unmistakable terms. The other Hindu political body, i.e., the Mahasabha, whom I regard as the real representative of the masses of the Hindus, has declared more than once that a united Hindu Muslim nation is impossible in India. In these circumstances it is obvious that the only way to a peaceful India is a redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities.

To my mind the new constitution with its idea of a single Indian federation is completely hopeless. A separate federation of Muslim provinces, reformed on the lines I have suggested above, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims

of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are? (Jinnah, 1995)

According to a research conducted by Saleena Kareem, Jinnah used the term “Hindu Muslim Unity” for the last time in June 1938. Before it, the term was used on April 12, 1936. While addressing the annual session of Muslim League held at Bombay, Jinnah said:

As far as Muslims are concerned, they are assigned from their religion as well as from their country to organize themselves politically irrespective of Congress’s will to grant them distinct political status. In this respect, Muslims should compel Congress to cooperate while accepting their due rights. I believe that with such an organization Muslims can remain just with Hindus either being a partner or with the status of a distinct nation. (Siddiqui, n.d. p. 81 & 92)

Along with talking about sects on December 25, 1937, Jinnah emphasized the importance of freedom, unity and brotherhood, terms often used by Iqbal.

Muslim league and the Muslims of India are deeply convinced of equality, unity and freedom. They are ready to cooperate with their host sects in this country but on the basis of equality not obedience.

Quaid-e-Azam addressed a procession largely participated by females on January 1, 1938. This address clearly manifested Iqbal’s ideology. Quaid said,

Many people misunderstand us when we talk of Islam particularly our Hindu friends. When we say 'This flag is the flag of Islam' they think we are introducing religion into politics - a fact of which we are proud. Islam gives us a complete code. It is not only religion but it contains laws, philosophy and politics. In fact, it contains everything that matters to man from morning to night. When we talk of Islam we take it as an all-embracing word. We do not mean any ill will. The foundation of our Islamic code is that we stand for liberty, equality and fraternity... (Siddiqui, n.d. pp. 81 & 92)

A complete ideological conversion of Quaid is manifested in an address delivered by Quaid to the staff of Aligarh University on April 12, 1939,

I make no secret of the fact that the Muslims and Hindus are two nations and the Muslims cannot maintain their status as such unless they acquire national self-consciousness and national self-determination. (Karim, 2010, p. 24)

After that, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah became an ardent adherent of two-nation theory. In this regard, before the passing of Pakistan resolution, he delivered a decisive speech on March 20, 1940 at Iqbal Park Lahore. I would like to quote here some matter from the speech,

... this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of more of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, and literature[s]. They neither intermarry nor interline together, and indeed they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life, and of life, are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and different episode[s]. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other, and likewise their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent, and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state. (Siddiqui, n.d. p. 371)

In the end it would be appropriate to explain briefly the leadership roles of Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Iqbal.

When we talk about the founders of Pakistan, we mean Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam. The Ideology of Pakistan can also be defined through Quaid, besides Iqbal. There is a perfect harmony between the views of Iqbal and the statements of Quaid. Muslims are a distinct nation.

Ultimate sovereignty lies in God. Islam is a complete code of life. A separate country is needed for the free practice of Islam. No 'ism' is needed except Islam and Islam has its own unique political and economic system. All these statements belong to Quaid-e-Azam which are in complete concordance with the views of Iqbal. Both leaders emphasized the propagation of Islamic art and civilization. Allama Iqbal is the profounder of Islamic democracy. While Quaid asserted that we had learnt the art of democracy some 1300 years ago.

The connotation of Islamic democracy has been termed time and again. Both emphasized poverty alleviation. Both wished to make Pakistan a true welfare state. Iqbal preached earning by honest means and Quaid intensely reprimanded the menace of corruption. Both were the opponents of religious theocracy. Iqbal was the ambassador of Muslim unity. Quaid-e-Azam predicted a key role of Pakistan in uniting Muslims. Iqbal presented the concepts of equality, brotherhood and justice. A firm endorsement to these values is manifested in speeches delivered by Quaid.

Apart from this partnership and compatibility of ideas, both the leaders are considered unique in personal capacities. This understanding is necessary to avoid any misperception. Iqbal was a great philosopher as well as a great poet. He infused a spirit in Muslims through his thoughtful and effective poetry. Iqbal is the founder of the ideology of Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam was a statesman and a practical politician who materialized the dream of Pakistan. Quaid organized Muslims across the subcontinent and took the responsibility of leading Muslims in this quagmire. He ran an ever effective movement for the creation of Pakistan. Due role played by both the leaders made the establishment of Pakistan possible. Here is a distinction which needs consideration that whenever we will be talking about the ideology of Pakistan, we will point Allama Iqbal as its primary reference. And when we will be talking about the establishment of Pakistan, sole reference will be Quaid-e-Azam. However, in a single word, the founder of Pakistan is Quaid-e-Azam.

The study of the interactions between both the leaders is interesting as well as effective. This study testifies the sanctity of guidance and an

above board honesty of leadership rendered by Quaid and Iqbal. In 1937, Jawaharlal Nehru and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Deen visited Allama Iqbal at latter's residence. While insisting Iqbal during the meeting, Mian Iftikhar-ud-deen said.

Doctor sb, why don't you become the leader of Muslims as Muslims regard you in high esteem more than Mr. Jinnah. If you negotiate with Congress on behalf of Muslims, it will bear more results.

While leaving his resting position and in anger, Iqbal asserted,

You want me to conspire as a competitor of Mr. Jinnah. I want to make it crystal clear on both of you that Mr. Jinnah is the real leader of Muslims. I am just a soldier in his movement.

It was the saying of a profoundly wise man, *Hakeem-ul-Ummat* (the sage of the Ummah) Allama Muhammad Iqbal.

In March, 1940, few days after the passing of Pakistan Resolution, Iqbal day ceremony was held at Punjab University Hall which was presided by Quaid-e-Azam. In his address, Quaid said,

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

Next year, in a similar function, Quaid said,

Literary aspect of Iqbal is universal. He was a great thinker, philosopher and a poet. I also understand the reality that he was a great politician as well. He showed you the most appropriate, clear and definite path having no alternative. Iqbal was a great contemporary preacher of Islam. There was no contemporary alternative to Iqbal in understanding Islam. I have had the privilege and opportunity of being associated with him. I have never found a more true and more loyal colleague than him.

In 1944, on the occasion of Iqbal day, while concluding his presidential address, Quaid integrated the entire vision of Iqbal with the objective behind the creation of Pakistan. In a remarkable statement, Quaid said,

...[I] pray that we may live up to the ideals preached by our ational poet so that we may be able to achieve and give a practical shape to these ideals in our sovereign state of Pakistan when established. (Sabir n.d.)

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