



CENTRE for AEROSPACE & SECURITY STUDIES

**SEMINAR**

# **Muhammad Ali Jinnah: His Vision and Struggle**

*Dialogue Analysis*



**CENTRE for AEROSPACE & SECURITY STUDIES**

**December 2022**

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## **Introduction**

In continuation of the tradition of holding debates on subjects of national importance through conferences, seminars, webinars, guest lectures, and publications by leading experts, the Centre for Aerospace & Security Studies (CASS), Islamabad organised a seminar on '***Muhammad Ali Jinnah: His Vision And Struggle***' on 22 December 2022. The seminar was attended by people belonging to different backgrounds.

The key aspects which were covered during this seminar included the following:

- Jinnah's Vision of Pakistan and its Future Trajectory
- Jinnah's Struggle: Brief Account of his Political Journey and his Case for Pakistan
- Pakistan's Current Challenges and Jinnah's Relevance

The speakers at the seminar included Senator Javed Jabbar, Former Federal Minister for Information & Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan; Prof. Dr Riaz Ahmad, President Anjuman Faiz-ul-Islam, Islamabad; and Prof. Dr Iqbal Chawla, Former Dean Faculty of Arts & Humanities, University of Punjab, Lahore.

The Concluding Remarks were delivered by President CASS Air Marshal (Retd) Farhat Hussain Khan. Ms Shaza Arif, Research Assistant at CASS, organised and moderated the seminar.

## Executive Summary

On 22 December 2022, the Centre for Aerospace & Security Studies, Islamabad, organised a seminar on '**Muhammad Ali Jinnah: His Vision and Struggle**' at its premises. The event was arranged to commemorate the 146<sup>th</sup> birthday of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and honour his legacy. Without his vision and struggle, Muslims of the subcontinent would have been left with no choice but to live under Hindu majoritarian rule.

In his Keynote Address, **Senator (R) Javed Jabbar** shared that Jinnah's vision of Pakistan evolved decades before the conception of the word 'Pakistan' or even beginning of the Freedom Movement. In fact, his concept of what 'Muslims' were or should be, pre-dated the Lahore Resolution. Jinnah's speeches of over 42 years indicate how futuristic he was. He had acute clarity of thought, and a desire for change, combined with willingness to be pragmatic rather than obstinate. He stressed on the importance of compulsory elementary education for all children in the subcontinent at a time when no-one was interested in such a model. More than equality, equity was the cardinal principle of the Quaid's political life, vision and thinking – be it political, social, gender or institutional equity. On the current and future trajectory, Senator Jabbar urged that political equity for Pakistan could only come through electoral reforms and direct political representation of women. He also highlighted the need for practicing austerity, following Jinnah's model, in the current economic crisis.

**Prof. Dr Riaz Ahmad** gave an account of Jinnah's struggle, political journey and case for Pakistan, and informed the audience that he learnt politics from observing how politicians argued in parliamentary debates. Jinnah as 'Quaid' was exceptional, but the legal acumen, high sense of integrity, responsibility and sound character displayed by young Jinnah, was also extraordinary. Quoting Jinnah, Dr Riaz Ahmad said that Pakistan's creation not only meant freedom and independence from British and Hindu rule, it was also Muslim ideology which had to be safeguarded.

**Prof. Dr Iqbal Chawla** lamented that Pakistan had failed to protect its hard-won freedoms and taken an endless series of wrong turns in every sphere of life and thus, totally shunned the spirit, which had led to its creation. He pointed to several internal and external challenges which Pakistan was currently facing. Dr Chawla argued that these problems had led to strengthening of centrifugal forces, reinforced by powerful and resourceful internal and international state-led mafias, in all sectors of life. Jinnah, he said, wanted Pakistan to be an inclusive state, with an impartial government, complete religious freedom, rule of law and equality for all.

Delivering his *Concluding Remarks*, President CASS, **Air Marshal (Retd) Farhat Hussain Khan** thanked the speakers and audience. He stated that Quaid-i-Azam was one of the most charismatic leaders, and Pakistan was fortunate to have him as a founder, and unfortunate to lose him too early. Had Mr Jinnah lived longer, the history of Pakistan would have been different. The Pakistani nation, he stressed, had

diverted from Quaid's authentic vision. He urged that by following his governance guidelines, Pakistan could once again build and strengthen its institutions.

The seminar was followed by the inauguration of the 'Jinnah Corner' in the CASS Library containing important works on Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The event was attended by a large number of retired and serving PAF officers, diplomats, students, and academia.

## **Key Takeaways**

- Mr Jinnah's vision of Pakistan evolved over several decades before even the name 'Pakistan' was coined by Chaudhry Rehmat Ali.
- M.A. Jinnah forcefully advocated the case of making elementary education compulsory.
- Equity was a cardinal principle of Mr Jinnah's thinking and his political aspirations. His basic principle of equity included political equity, gender equity, institutional equity, and social equity.
- There were four phases of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's life - 1876 to 1896 (early schooling, education in England and return to India); 1897 to 1920 (Congress days); 1921 to 1934 (a period of chaos, turmoil, and confusion); and finally, 1935 to 1948. In this critical latter period, Quaid-i-Azam came forward to lay the foundation of a Muslim nation-state 'Pakistan' and galvanised the Indian Muslims and made the subcontinent favourable to the idea of Pakistan.
- The British realised that they either had to jail Jinnah or accept his demands in whichever manner they could; otherwise, there could be a civil war in India.
- Quaid-i-Azam spent his last year as Governor General of Pakistan. He guided the nation and state in almost all matters; and continued to lay emphasis on a building a country based on principles of social justice with equal rights for all citizens.
- Jinnah believed in democracy and that political issues could not be settled by force and advocated civilian supremacy in state affairs.
- Pakistan was envisioned as an independent sovereign country. When any government in power takes a side or becomes part of any bloc or receives aid, this sovereignty is compromised.
- Jinnah wanted to see Pakistan as an inclusive state with an impartial government - a country in which all citizens, especially Muslims, could live and breathe as free people.
- Honouring the legacy of Quaid-i-Azam serves as a reminder for the youth to become responsible citizens of Pakistan.

## **Proposed Way Forward**

- Jinnah's ideal of political equity needs to be revived for a better future of Pakistan.
- Political equity for Pakistan can only come about if major electoral reforms are undertaken to truly make the political system a representative democracy.
- For attaining gender equity, one-third of all the directly elected seats for all legislatures should be reserved only for female candidates.
- There is a need to establish an equilibrium between institutional growth and equity in the way Muhammad Ali Jinnah would have desired.
- There is a need to learn from the examples of other states, such as Iran, to gradually control Pakistan's population explosion.
- Jinnah had no doubt in his mind about the bright future that awaited Pakistan when its vast resources of people and materials were fully mobilised. The state should build the capacity of its citizens to become a productive and prosperous nation.
- Without Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's vision, the nation stands divided and polarised. His example and vision needs to be followed especially by the national leadership of the country.



## **Summary of Proceedings**

### **KEYNOTE ADDRESS**

#### **1. Jinnah's Vision of Pakistan and its Future Trajectory**

***Speaker: Senator (R) Javed Jabbar, Former Federal Minister for Information & Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan***

Senator (R) Javed Jabbar, in his *Keynote Address* stated that Mr Jinnah was an unrivalled man of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, perhaps even to date. But as he was far too idolised, his being as a normal human was ignored. Mr Jabbar stressed that one should know there had been no conclusive points in history for the determination of truth. Only the dates of events were known but they were incidental since the real significance laid in the amalgamation of various multifaceted factors which determined how an individual could change the course of history.

#### **Jinnah's Vision of Pakistan**

According to Senator (R) Jabbar, Jinnah's vision of Pakistan evolved over several decades even before the word 'Pakistan' was conceived by Chaudhary Rehmat Ali. His concepts of what Muslims were and should be, did not begin with the pronouncement of 1930, 1933, or the Lahore Resolution of 1940. Mr Jabbar emphasised the importance of listening to Jinnah's speeches from 1910-1918 since those years were characterised by significant events on the domestic and international front.

#### **Jinnah's Advocacy for Elementary Education**

Mr Javed Jabbar articulated Jinnah's deep-rooted vision for the emancipation of Muslims in particular and the South Asian people in general, which was reflected in his speech made at the Imperial Legislative Council in 1912. As he was speaking on the Elementary Education Bill, Jinnah strongly condemned the unwillingness of the British Government to make elementary education compulsory. He argued that by not doing so, it would take 175 years for all children of South Asia and some 600 years for all the girls of South Asia to complete their education. His vision, even at that time, represented his farsightedness. Mr Jabbar added that a few years later, Jinnah again reinforced his forceful advocacy for primary education in the same Council, in Lucknow, as President of the All-India Muslim League session.

#### **Jinnah's Clarity of Vision**

According to Mr Javed Jabbar, few sceptics in Pakistan have complained that Jinnah never defined his vision for Pakistan in the form of a book. Mr Jabbar added that Jinnah's speeches and statements were filled with clarity and scope for change, which could be constituted in several books. He combined his firmness with determination and was willing to be pragmatic rather than obstinate. He did not incline towards absurd insistences. Despite initially not being in favour of a separate

and reserved field for any caste or entity, he later realised that Muslims would be at an inherent disadvantage unless they had access to a separate and specific representation.

## **Jinnah's Vision and Future Trajectory of Pakistan**

While deliberating on the future trajectory of Pakistan in the context of Jinnah's vision, Senator Jabbar emphasised the need for equity - be it political equity, gender equity, or institutional equity. Equity, which according to him was a more embracing word than justice and was the cardinal principle of Jinnah's thinking and his political aspirations. He said that political equity was about looking at the future rather than the revival of the outmoded or archaic past. This notion of political equity was reflected in Jinnah's posture of modernism.

## **Self-determination**

Mr Javed Jabbar opined that Jinnah evolved the concept of the electorate to reach a higher level of self-determination for Muslims. He firmly believed that the concept of self-determination would have to become part of the demand for a separate homeland for Muslims. His vision was in a constant state of evolution and there was no certainty regarding where Pakistan would be located and what areas it would be actually constituted off. Owing to the vagueness, various terms (province, state, unit, etc.) were used pertaining to the physiology of Pakistan in the Lahore Resolution. This depicted Jinnah's prudent political judgement.

## **Jinnah's Vision of Political Equity**

Mr Javed Jabbar added that political equity was at the forefront of Jinnah's struggle. He had to face various obstacles in his quest to achieve political equity for the Muslims, but he overcame those hurdles. Jinnah knew that the concept of ideal political equity for Muslims could be achieved only through an independent sovereign state. According to the Keynote Speaker, this was the kind of equity which had to be revived. Political equity in Pakistan, in the next 75 years, could only be achieved through major electoral reforms. He also lamented that in the present form of representative democracy, half of the population did not vote, and the rulers got a mandate of ruling from 15-20% of the population. There was a need to make voting compulsory because Jinnah supported the mandatory aspect, be it in education or the electorate as an instrument to reshape the nation's destiny.

## **Gender Equity**

Senator (R) Jabbar took pride in the long and empowering journey that the women of Pakistan had made since 1947. Unfortunately, Jinnah's desire of taking women side by side could not be fulfilled. Women in Pakistan were deprived of their basic fundamental rights to health, dignity, and making decisions. The Keynote Speaker proposed that as part of the electoral reforms, one-third of all the directly elected seats in all legislatures should be reserved for female candidates. Resultantly, over the course of four elections, majority constituents across the country would have

the right to vote for women. He stressed the need for women to be a direct representation of the people of Pakistan in the spirit that Mr Jinnah conceived.

### **Institutional Equity**

Mr Jabbar was of the view that it was required for the officers of the Civil Services and the ranks of the Armed Forces to be reminded of the sanctity and the reverence of their oath. While stating his disapproval of cynicism, he shared the observation of an astute analyst regarding one of the provinces (which he said would remain unnamed) that if the education department of that very province was abolished, it would make absolutely no difference to the quality of the education in the said province. Hence, there was a need to establish an equilibrium for institutional growth and equity in a way Mr Jinnah would have desired.

### **Social Equity**

Senator Jabbar reflected that social equity could be understood by taking inspiration from Jinnah's commitment to being balanced and dignified in the conduct while stating what you meant, forcefully. Moreover, while elucidating the grave issue of uncontrollable population in Pakistan, he observed that Jinnah would have been devastated to know that in 2022, Pakistan was producing more children than it could take care of. There was a need to learn from the examples of other states, such as Iran, to gradually control this population explosion. Moreover, he deplored the culture of displaying excessive wealth. Social equity, according to him, also meant austerity which was practiced by Mr Jinnah.

Senator Javed Jabbar concluded his talk about Quaid's vision for Pakistan by appreciating the acumen of the people of Pakistan. He said that the people of the country were far ahead of the leadership. They were balanced and mature and were waiting for a leadership with the vision and integrity of Mr Jinnah.

## **2. Jinnah's Struggle: Brief Account of his Political Journey and his Case for Pakistan**

***Speaker: Prof. Dr Riaz Ahmad, President Anjuman Faiz-ul-Islam, Islamabad***

Dr Riaz Ahmad shared that Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a great leader and founder of the largest Muslim state in the world in 1947. He admitted that although East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan in 1971, it had not been merged with India, but rather with a new name 'Bangladesh', it retained a Muslim identity and had progressed as a democratic state.

He formally began his remarks by highlighting the occasion when Allama Iqbal proposed the idea of Pakistan in his 29 December 1930 speech in Allahabad. Iqbal proposed a Muslim state consisting of four provinces of North-Western India:

Sindh, Punjab, NWFP (Now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Balochistan. Later, Iqbal had agreed to include Bengal and Assam also. Dr Ahmad argued that Quaid's life could be analysed in four phases. He briefly discussed these phases.

### **First Phase: 1876-1896: Early Life and Education**

The first phase was from his birth in 1876 till 1896. This was the period when he studied at Sindh Madrasa-Tul-Islam University and Christian Mission High School for six months. Then, he went to England to study business law, but changed his mind when his father suffered business losses. According to the speaker, Quaid was a man of determination, he used to take decisions and stick to them. While he was in England, most of the English politicians were advocates. That practice very much influenced him, and he decided to go into law. For this purpose, he selected Lincoln's Inn because Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)'s name is inscribed in the dining hall and the library among the lawgivers of the world. At Lincoln's Inn, the Bar of Law course was spread over three years, but Quaid completed this within two years. For the remaining eight months, he studied at the British Museum and witnessed London High Court proceedings and parliamentary debates. Then, he returned to Bombay in August 1896 and enrolled as an advocate of the Bombay High Court.

### **Second Phase: 1897-1920: Congress Days**

The second phase of Jinnah's life was from 1897 till 1920. In most books, it was stated that Quaid began his political career in 1906. However, Dr Ahmad asserted that he started his political career in 1897. This was clear from Jinnah's own words when he asserted that he started his political career at the age of 21. The Congress days, some people claim, were the period of his growth. Dr Ahmad, however, believed this was the period of his prominence as Quaid played a vital role in the Congress, projecting the Muslim cause before the Hindus. In his 1906 speech, he had asserted that Muslims were equal to Hindus.

### **Third Phase: 1921-1934: Prominence among the British**

The third phase of Quaid's life was from 1921 till 1934. Dr Ahmad termed this period as one of chaos, turmoil and confusion since the Muslim League was divided into two groups: the Jinnah group and the Shafi group. Similarly, Indian National Congress was also divided into two parties. Despite the chaos, Quaid remained as prominent as before highlighted by instances such as when in 1924-25, he was made a member of the Indian reforms committee by the British to reform the 1919 Act. Similarly, in 1925-26, following World War I, Jinnah was made a committee member that toured British, French, American and Canadian army colleges and their artillery schools.

### **Fourth Phase: 1935-1948: Towards an Independent State**

The fourth phase of Jinnah's life was from 1935 till 1947. In this period, he came forward to lay the foundation of a Muslim nation and Muslim state. By now, he

had well understood the mind of Hindus. The problem was that the provincial leadership of Muslims could not understand his message. In Punjab, the Unionist Party government was united, but leaders in former NWFP and Sindh were divided amongst themselves. Jinnah made all of India favourable to the idea of Pakistan, especially Muslims, and made them united through his efforts at the Lucknow session of 1937. On Quaid-i-Azam's instructions, the Day of Deliverance was celebrated throughout India on 22 December 1939. The significance of the Day of Deliverance was that all the minorities of India participated. Even Sikhs supported Jinnah at the time.

### ***British Request for Support in World War II***

Discussing this phase in detail, Dr Ahmad shared that World War II started in August 1939 and the Viceroy invited Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah for support in the war. Gandhi and Nehru pressured the British to put the Congress in charge of defence matters and ignore the Muslims and all other minorities. When Jinnah was contacted, he was ready to support on the condition that a new constitutional settlement had to be made in consultation with Muslim leaders and other minorities at the end of the war. Additionally, he placed conditions to the Viceroy that the British would not send their forces to other Muslim countries. He wrote to the Viceroy that Indian support for World War II would be provided on four conditions: *'First, the entire problem of India's future constitution, apart from the Government of India Act 1935, shall be examined and reconsidered. Second, no declaration, either in principle or otherwise, would be made, or any constitution shall be enacted by His Majesty's government or the parliament without the approval and consent of two major communities of India: the Muslims and Hindus. Third, His Majesty's government should try and meet all reasonable and rational demands of the Arabs of Palestine. Lastly, Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country.'*

### ***'This Was Jinnah's Pakistan' – Hindu Headlines***

On 23<sup>rd</sup> March, Quaid gave the vision for Pakistan in a resolution. He foresaw that the Hindu press would automatically come to report it. The next day all Hindu press headlines declared the Resolution as 'Jinnah's Pakistan.' Jinnah galvanised the Muslims League in March 1940. Dr Ahmad explained that for a number of years, the British tried to convince Jinnah, through dialogue to give up on Pakistan, but they all failed, e.g., during the Cripps Mission 1942 and Gandhi-Jinnah talks in 1944. Jinnah was determined that Pakistan would be created first and then India. Based on this, further talks were held at the Simla conference in June-July 1945. Cabinet Mission Plan followed this in 1946. The basic issue was the creation of a separate Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

### ***Jail Jinnah or Accept His Demands***

When the situation in Bihar became very critical, thousands of Muslims were killed. The Viceroy himself had to visit since the Muslims were ready to fight while building up the Muslim national guards. The British realised that either they had to

jail Jinnah or accept his demands in whichever manner they could; otherwise, there was going to be a civil war in India. Jinnah directed the events in such a way that the British were forced to come to terms with him. That's how Mountbatten came to the subcontinent on 27 March 1947.

According to Dr Ahmad, when Mountbatten came to the subcontinent, he was advised on how to tackle Jinnah by Nehru, Gandhi, and as many as 35 leaders from different sections. When Mountbatten met Jinnah, he asked him two questions. 'Mr Jinnah why were you demanding Pakistan, which the Congress leaders think was a *section of their mother cow*?' Jinnah replied, 'my Lord, when Burma was separated from India in 1932, was that not a section of mother cow?' The second question was, 'Mr Jinnah, you were demanding Pakistan from India. Although these were different countries, there were many similarities between the two countries. Can you name any country in the world where there were certain similarities and still they are different countries?' Dr Ahmad explained that Quaid's style was to answer questions with counter-questions and so he remarked, 'My Lord, I could name many countries. What do you think of USA and Canada?' Mountbatten, in his evening report, wrote that he could not answer. That's how the talks began; and they finally agreed on a 3<sup>rd</sup> June Partition Plan.

### ***First Governor General of Pakistan: Mountbatten or Jinnah?***

Nehru and Gandhi were under the impression that Pakistan would be created and Lord Mountbatten would be made Governor General of India and Pakistan. The thought was that within some months under the 1935 Act, the Viceroy would reunite India. However, in Muslim League Council meeting held on 29-30 June 1947, the Muslim League decided to nominate Jinnah as Pakistan's first Governor General. Liaquat Ali Khan wrote a letter conveying to Mountbatten on 2 July 1947 that their nominee for the first Governor General of Pakistan was Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

The speaker informed that after this, the Indian Independence Act was passed. Jinnah wrote several warnings and letters requesting to hold the meeting of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly. Under that pressure, on 10 August 1947, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly's first meeting was held and followed up to 14<sup>th</sup> August. On 13 August 1947, Mountbatten was asked to come to Karachi to transfer power to Jinnah as the first President of the Constituent Assembly and Pakistan came into being.

### **Last Phase: 1947-48: Governor General of Pakistan**

Dr Ahmad concluded by sharing that Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah spent his last year as Governor General of Pakistan and guided the nation and state in almost all matters.

### 3. Pakistan's Current Challenges and Jinnah's Relevance

**Speaker: Prof. Dr Iqbal Chawla, Former Dean Faculty of Arts & Humanities, University of Punjab, Lahore**

Dr Iqbal Chawla touched upon the challenges faced by Pakistan and their relevance with Jinnah's vision of Pakistan. He argued that these problems had led to strengthening of centrifugal forces, reinforced by powerful and resourceful internal and international state-led mafias, in all sectors of life. He lamented that over time, Pakistan had been left behind other nations due to various reasons. The country had lost nearly all the freedoms for which the nation's valiant ancestors had fought and all the promises for which they had worked hard against a much larger opposition, were shattered and the results were obvious.

#### **Pakistan's Contemporary Challenges**

Highlighting internal and external challenges faced by Pakistan, Dr Chawla pointed out that a weak economy, political instability, bad governance, civil-military relations, lack of national integration, poverty, inflation, overpopulation, corruption and radicalism were Pakistan's primary and self-created problems. He was of the view that unless the country responded to the geopolitical changes in the region and at the global level, there would be no chance of prospering as a nation. This, he said could only be done by raising a new generation, steeped deeply with the ideals of 1947 as primarily spelled out by the Quaid.

#### **Jinnah and Lahore Resolution**

Dr Chawla said that Jinnah envisioned a progressive Muslim nation and transmitted his own high ideals and goals so that the coming generations could pioneer the way for a newly emergent nation unheard of in the annals of history in its struggle and ideals. He further added that Jinnah had turned away from a joint struggle after the rejection of all his demands by the Congress against the British and looked for new ways to gain a strong footing in the Lahore Resolution of 1940.

#### **Jinnah – A Secular or Islamist?**

Addressing the debate, whether Jinnah was a secular or Islamist, Dr Chawla opined that the Quaid was neither a secular nor a narrow-minded religious bigot, he was rather a progressive and moderate Muslim who believed strictly in the rule of law without special preferences for any individual or group.

#### **Jinnah and Democracy**

Dr Chawla said that Jinnah believed in democracy, and, in his view, the republican form of government was completely consistent with the spirit of Islam. Highlighting the importance of voting, he said that Quaid strictly believed in the power of vote which had ensured the creation of Pakistan. Moreover, he understood that the Constitution could guarantee the fundamental rights of all citizens, including

minorities and marginalised groups. Mr Jinnah, the speaker said, categorically announced that the new Muslim state would be a true welfare state, based on principles of social justice with equal rights for all citizens.

### **Jinnah and Minorities**

The speaker quoted the Quaid's words regarding minorities that 'they would have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, life and culture. They will be citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed.' Dr Chawla shared that Quaid-i-Azam was man who followed up his words with actions and hence, made Jogendra Nath Mandal the country's first minister of law and labour.

### **Jinnah and Economy**

While discussing how Mr Jinnah's foresaw the country's economy, the speaker highlighted that he had wanted 'banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life' and to have 'an economic system based on Islam's concept of equality of manhood and social justice.' Dr Chawla added that the Quaid believed in industrial development along with agriculture. Industrialisation itself was conceived as the key to self-reliance and independence, in order to reach the goals of economic freedom. The Quaid had no doubt about the bright future that awaited Pakistan when its vast human and material resources were fully mobilised.

According to the speaker, Quaid-i-Azam identified corruption as a major challenge to Pakistan. He said that not only the rulers but the ruled were also involved in corrupt practices without caring about religious and moral values and the Founder of Pakistan had warned about the seeds of corrupt practices in society, especially in the elite classes.

### **Jinnah and Education**

Highlighting the significance of education, Dr Chawla emphasised that education was not merely about gaining knowledge and mastering science and technology and control of information, it was also about the nation's beliefs about its culture, civilisation and values which simultaneously represented a nation's past, present and future. He quoted Quaid-i-Azam's words from Presidential address at the conference of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, 'When you have got that light of knowledge using education and when you have made yourselves strong economically and industrially, then you have got to prepare yourselves for your defence, defence against external aggression and to maintain internal security.'

### **Jinnah and Pakistan's Foreign Policy**

Dr Chawla asserted that the Quaid envisioned Pakistan as an independent and sovereign country. He made Pakistan a member of the United Nations in the hope that the future governments would follow the UN Charter. He stressed friendly relations with neighbouring countries, including India even though India annexed the Princely



States like Kashmir, Junagadh, and Hyderabad etc. The Quaid also championed the cause of Muslims in Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, and Syria.

### **The Quaid and Armed Forces**

Dr Chawla was of the view that Pakistan's Armed Forces had contributed selflessly for the defence of the country. He appreciated the Pakistan Air Force as the country's first strike force against any serious cross-border threat to territorial integrity as shown in 1965 and countering of Indian airstrike of 2019. Mr Jinnah saw the PAF and Armed Forces as 'custodians of the life, property and honour of the people of Pakistan.' The defence forces were seen, by Quaid-i-Azam, as vital for the development and maintenance of democracy, social justice, and equality. In conclusion, the speaker reminded the audience that Quaid-i-Azam wanted Pakistan to be an inclusive state having an impartial government with complete religious freedom, rule of law and equality for all.

## **4. Concluding Remarks/ Vote of Thanks**

### ***Air Marshal Farhat Hussain Khan (Retd), President CASS***

In his concluding remarks, President CASS, Air Marshal Farhat Hussain Khan (Retd), thanked the esteemed panellists for shedding light on the astounding vision of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. On behalf of CASS, he also extended his gratitude to the audience for attending the seminar on a subject so close to the nation's heart.

### **Quaid-i-Azam: A Charismatic Leader**

President CASS said that Muhammad Ali Jinnah was one of the most charismatic leaders and Pakistan was extremely fortunate to have him as Founder, and unfortunate to lose him too early. He stated that if Quaid had had more time, the history of Pakistan would have been very different.

### **Significance of Quaid-i-Azam's Vision**

Air Marshal Khan expressed his disappointment that the Pakistani nation had diverted from the true vision of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, including his governance qualities, guidelines, and principles. He firmly stated that without Quaid's vision, Muslims of the subcontinent would have been divided and polarised.

### **Contribution of CASS towards Achieving Quaid's Vision**

Air Marshal Khan also shared that CASS would honour the legacy of Quaid-i-Azam by arranging annual seminars on Quaid's Anniversary. In addition, a corner in the CASS library, with all the books on Muhammad Ali Jinnah, had been initiated as a reminder and a source of motivation for being a responsible Pakistani.

## **ANNEXURES**

### **1. Profiles of Panellists**

#### **Keynote Speaker**

##### ***Senator Javed Jabbar (Retd)***

*Former Federal Minister for Information & Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan*

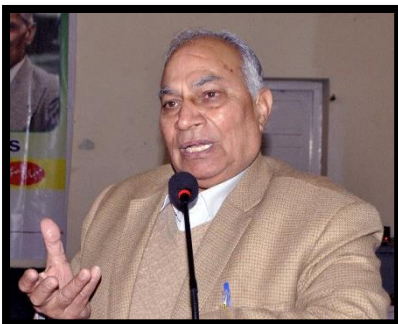


Senator Javed Jabbar (Retd) served in three Federal Cabinets as Minister for Information and Broadcasting; Science and Technology; Petroleum and Natural Resources; and as Adviser to the Chief Executive of Pakistan on National Affairs. Senator Jabbar has authored numerous books and frequently speaks on national history, current affairs, and political economy.

#### **Speakers**

##### ***Prof Dr Riaz Ahmad***

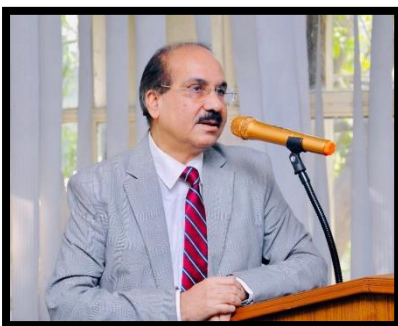
*President Anjuman Faiz-ul-Islam, Islamabad*



Prof. Dr Riaz Ahmad is currently serving as President of Anjuman Faiz-ul-Islam. He previously served as Professor, Quaid-i-Azam Chair, and as Director, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research at Quaid. He has authored 50 books, 30 of which are on Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He is member of a number of national and international academic bodies, and is a member of Board of Governors of various institutions.

##### ***Dr Iqbal Chawla***

*Former Dean Faculty of Arts & Humanities, University of Punjab, Lahore*

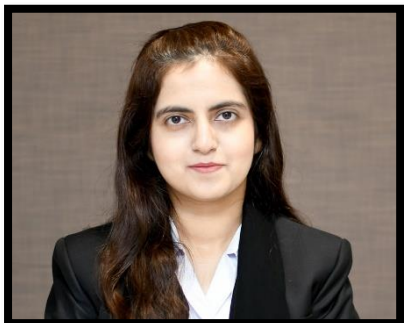


Prof. Dr Muhammad Iqbal Chawla served as Dean, Faculty of Arts & Humanities and also Dean, Faculty of Law University of the Punjab, Lahore. He has published numerous research articles in national and international research journals along with five books. His book *Wavell and the Dying Days of the Raj*, published by Oxford University Press in 2012 was awarded Best Book Publication Award in 2013 by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan.

## **Moderator**

### ***Shaza Arif***

*Research Assistant, Centre for Aerospace & Security Studies, Islamabad*



Ms Shaza Arif completed her Defence and Diplomatic Studies from Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi before joining CASS. She has also participated in several international workshops/courses, including ‘Commonwealth Futures: Re-imaging Peace’ at Durban University of Technology, South Africa. Her areas of interest are space, Artificial Intelligence and strategy. She writes opinion articles on issues related to politics, modern warfare and strategy.

## 2. Press Release

***“People of Pakistan are far ahead of their leaders.  
They are waiting for leaders with Mr Jinnah’s vision and  
integrity.”***



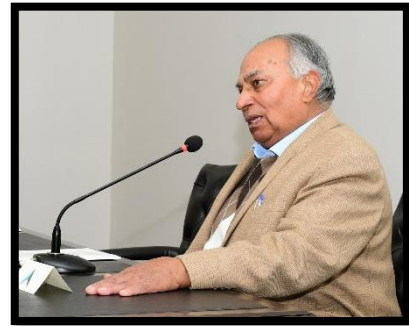
These were some of the thoughts shared by speakers at the Special Seminar on ***‘Muhammad Ali Jinnah: His Vision and Struggle’*** organised by the Centre for Aerospace & Security Studies (CASS), here in the capital today. The eminent panel included Senator (R) Javed Jabbar, Former Federal Minister for Information & Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan; Prof. Dr Riaz Ahmad, President Anjuman Faiz-ul-Islam; and Prof. Dr Iqbal Chawla, Former Dean Faculty of Arts & Humanities, University of Punjab, Lahore. CASS Research Assistant Shaza Arif delivered the introductory remarks and moderated the proceedings. She stressed that every generation in Pakistan needs to learn about Muhammad Ali Jinnah, given that a firm grasp on Pakistan’s history and a clear direction of the state’s future remains weak without understanding him.

***Senator Javed Jabbar***, in his Keynote Address, shared that Jinnah’s vision of Pakistan evolved decades before the word 'Pakistan' was even conceived or the freedom movement even began. In fact, his concept of what ‘Muslims’ were or should be, did not begin with the Lahore Resolution. Senator Jabbar observed that one only needs to look at Jinnah’s speeches of over 42 years to see how futuristic he was, his acute clarity of thought, desire



for change, combined with willingness to be pragmatic rather than obstinate. He argued that one major example of Jinnah's vision can be seen from the fact that he stressed on the importance of compulsory elementary education for all children in the subcontinent at a time when no-one was interested in such a model. The Keynote Speaker further shared that more than equality, equity was the cardinal principle of the Quaid's political life, vision and thinking, be it political, gender or institutional equity. On the current and future trajectory, Mr Jabbar strongly urged that political equity for Pakistan could only come through electoral reforms. He also called for direct political representation of women and the need to practice austerity, following Jinnah's model, in the current economic crisis. 'People of Pakistan are far ahead of their leaders. They are waiting for leaders with Mr Jinnah's vision and integrity,' he concluded.

**Prof. Dr Riaz Ahmad**, President Anjuman Faiz-ul-Islam, giving an account of Jinnah's struggle, political journey and case for Pakistan, informed the audience that Quaid-i-Azam learnt politics from spending hours and hours in parliament, observing how politicians argued in parliamentary debates. According to the speaker, Jinnah as 'Quaid' was exceptional, but the legal acumen, high sense of integrity, responsibility and sound character displayed by young Jinnah, was also extraordinary. Quoting Jinnah, Dr Riaz Ahmad said that 'Pakistan not only means freedom and independence,' it is a Muslim ideology which has to be safeguarded. 'Pakistan is Jinnah's precious gift and treasure to us which we must protect', he reminded.



**Prof. Dr Iqbal Chawla** lamented that as a state, Pakistan had failed to safeguard its hard-won freedoms and taken an endless series of wrong turns in every sphere of life and thus totally shunned the spirit, which led to Pakistan. He pointed to several internal and external socio- and geopolitical challenges which Pakistan was currently facing. Dr Chawla was of the view that these problems had led to strengthening of centrifugal forces, reinforced by powerful and resourceful international state-led internal mafias, in all sectors of life. Jinnah, he said, wanted Pakistan to be inclusive, with an impartial government, complete religious freedom, rule of law and equality for all.

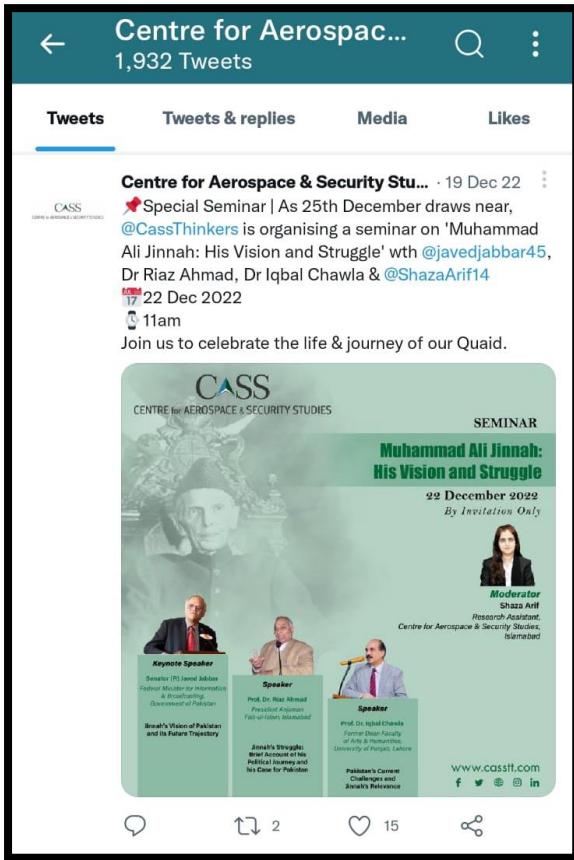


Delivering his Concluding Remarks and Vote of Thanks, President of CASS **Air Marshal Farhat Hussain Khan (Retd)** thanked the speakers and acknowledged that Quaid-i-Azam was one of the most charismatic leaders, and Pakistan was fortunate to have him as founder. However, he lamented that the Pakistani nation had diverted from his authentic vision. ‘By following his governance guidelines, we can once again build and strengthen our institutions’, he urged, and announced that CASS would commemorate Iqbal and Jinnah’s lives in special events every year. The seminar was followed by the inauguration of the ‘Jinnah Corner’ in the CASS Library containing important works on Muhammad Ali Jinnah, attended by a large number of retired and serving Air Force officers, diplomats, students, and academia.

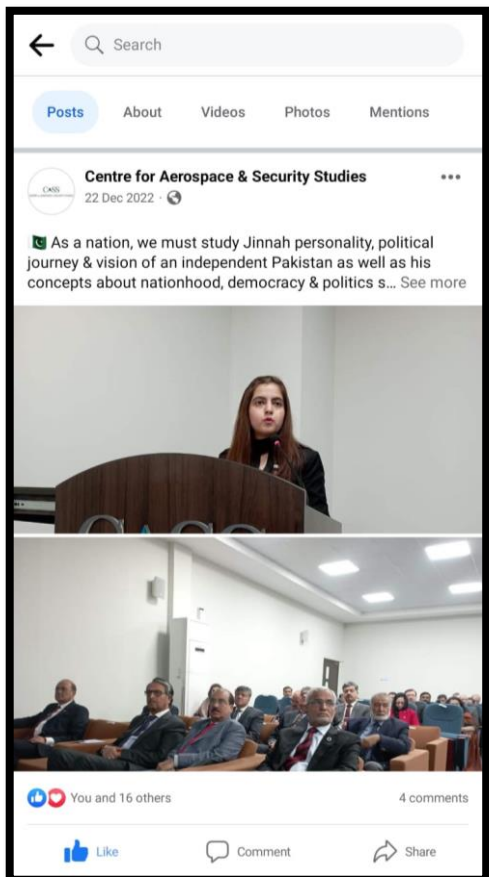
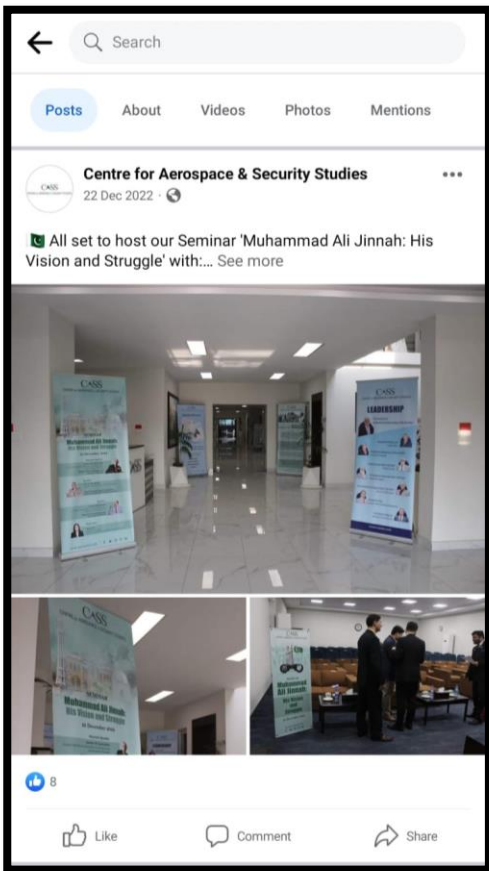


### 3. Social Media

#### Twitter

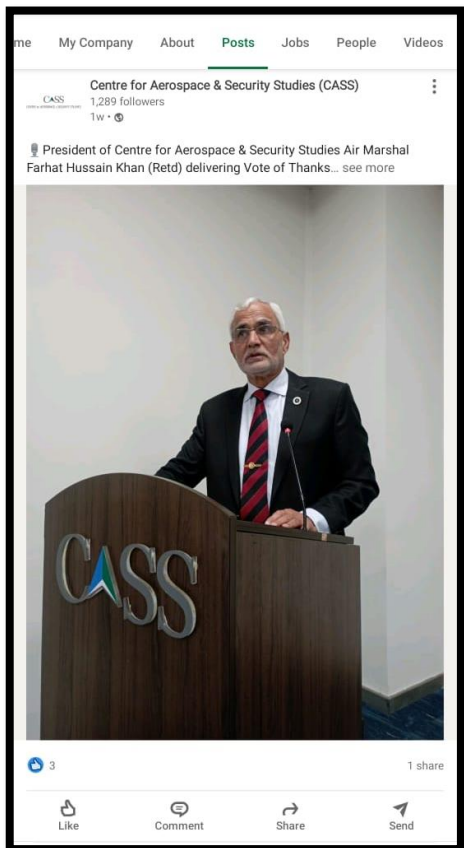
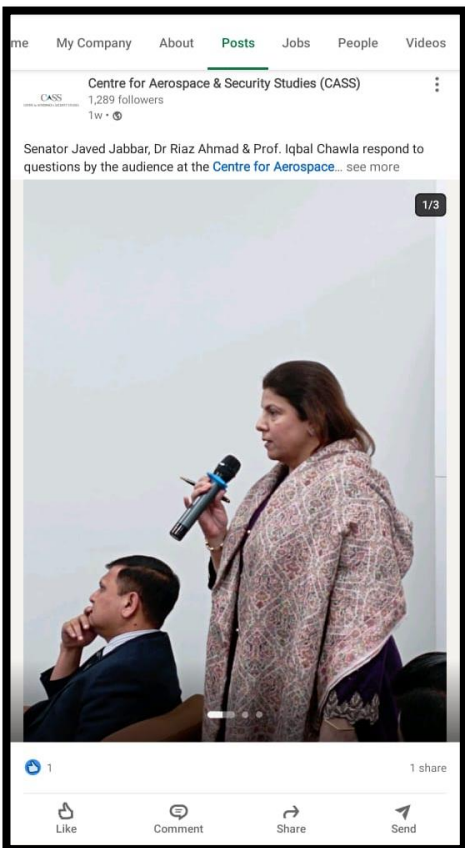


Facebook

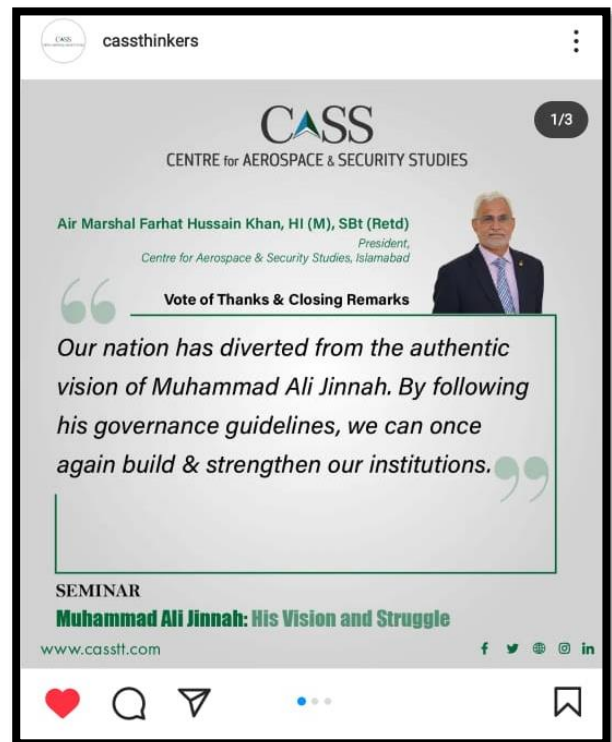
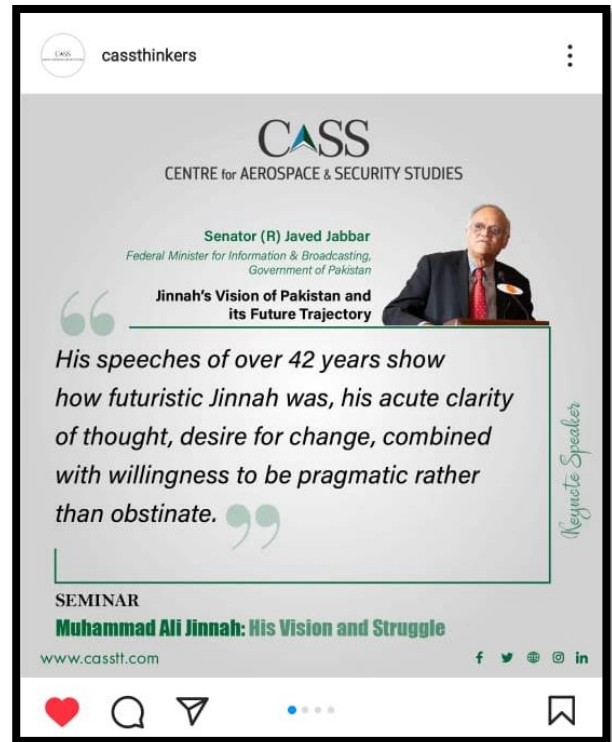




LinkedIn



## Instagram



## 4. Photo Gallery



*Muhammad Ali Jinnah: His Vision and Struggle*





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