

A CORPUS ANALYSIS OF JINNAH'S SPEECHES FOR A SECULAR VS. RELIGIOUS STATE OF PAKISTAN

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Abstract

The study aimed to evaluate Jinnah's ideology regarding Pakistan as a secular or religious state. The qualitative approach was adopted and, an evaluation of Quaid's speeches with the social, political and personal factors was conducted. The comparative and critical analysis revealed that Jinnah as, the governance model in his mind which, was a complex construct. The ideological construct consists best of social, ethical and modern practices which may be called modern, secular or liberal. The analysis showed that Jinnah has Pakistan as a state with the best practices, and these practices are not religious only in a strict sense.

Keywords:

Jinnah's speeches, secular state, religious state, governance.

1. Introduction and Background Information

The question of whether Jinnah's Pakistan was intended to be a secular or Islamic state continues to perplex Pakistanis to this day. It is not just a debate about the nation's identity but also a reflection of the ongoing quest to determine individual identities. (Aware Pakistan (n.d.) *Jinnah's Pakistan: Islamic state or secular nation?*) This debate rages among the general public, journalists, politicians, and students, and it can be traced back to the early years of Pakistan's formation. (Aware Pakistan (n.d.) *Jinnah's Pakistan: Islamic state or secular nation?*)

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, envisioned a democratic, egalitarian, and secular country where the Muslims of the subcontinent, who constituted about 25% of the population, could enjoy full equality. (The Conversation (n.d.) *At 75, Pakistan has moved far from the secular and democratic vision of its founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah.*) For much of his life, Jinnah sought to achieve this equality within an undivided Hindu-majority India. However, he later became convinced that a separate homeland was necessary to realize such equality. (The Conversation (n.d.) *At 75, Pakistan has moved far from the secular and democratic vision of its founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah.*)

Jinnah's vision is encapsulated in his speeches, especially the crucial one delivered on August 11, 1947, where he expressed his opposition to the idea of an Islamic State, a concept advocated by figures like Abul Ala Maududi. (Criterion Quarterly (n.d.) *Jinnah's 11 August, 1947 speech*). This speech is seen as a reflection of Jinnah's unwavering stance on not establishing an Islamic State but rather focusing on the potential consequences of majority rule in a communally divided country. (Criterion Quarterly. (n.d.). *Jinnah's 11 August, 1947 speech*.)

Despite this, there has been significant discourse among Pakistanis regarding Jinnah's intentions. During much of its existence, Pakistanis have been encouraged to believe that Jinnah created Pakistan in the name of Islam as a theocratic state; in contrast, others argue he wanted a Muslim-majority but secular and progressive country. (BBC News. (2013, September 11). *Profile: Muhammad Ali Jinnah*). This debate has intensified as the country deals with

growing Islamic extremism and Taliban militancy. (BBC News. (2013, September 11). *Profile: Muhammad Ali Jinnah*).

A close examination of Jinnah's public life and speeches reveals that the core values he was committed to throughout his political career included the principles of secular governance. (Transnational Institute. (n.d.). *Jinnah's vision of Pakistan*.) His seminal speech in Lahore in 1940, where he set out the need for a separate state for Muslims, underscores this point. He articulated the "Two Nation Theory," asserting that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations with distinct religious philosophies, social customs, and literary traditions. (BBC News. (2017, August 15). *Partition: Why was British India divided 70 years ago?*) This theory has become a crucial part of the official Pakistani narrative for the creation of the state and how Pakistan defines itself. (BBC News. (2017, August 15). *Partition: Why was British India divided 70 years ago?*)

Political and Social Climate during Partition of India

The partition of British India in 1947 was marked by unprecedented turmoil and bloodshed, catalyzing one of the largest forced migrations in human history. As the Indian Independence Act took effect on August 15, 1947, it resulted in the creation of two independent states, India and Pakistan, and spurred a mass migration involving some 15 million people. (Britannica. (n.d.) *Partition of India*.) This sudden and rapid division, restricting the new nations along religious lines, ignited devastating communal violence, with estimates of the death toll ranging from 200,000 to 2,000,000. (Stanford News. (2019, March 6) *Partition of 1947 continues to haunt India and Pakistan, Stanford scholar says*, The Conversation (2017 August, 10). *How the partition of India happened and why its effects are still felt today*).

The social climate during this period was characterized by mutual suspicion and deep-seated religious animosities. Despite the mixed religious composition of the regions, the abrupt redrawing of borders forced Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims to flee their homes in search of safety within the newly defined nations. (BBC News. (2017, August 14). *Partition 70 years on: What is India and Pakistan's future?*) The resultant displacement not only heightened tensions but also solidified the religious divides that would shape the national consciousness of both India and Pakistan for decades to come. (Britannica. (n. d.) *Partition of India*).

Amid this chaotic backdrop, Quaid Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, faced the daunting challenge of envisioning the newly formed Pakistan. While Jinnah had originally advocated for a secular state where all citizens, regardless of their religion, could coexist peacefully, the violent partition and the ensuing refugee crisis significantly influenced his vision. The need to protect Muslim interests in a region scarred by religious conflict inevitably affected his stance on the role of religion in the state. (Harvard Gazette, (2018, April 12). Harvard scholars take fresh look at the partition of British India, which killed millions, The Conversation. (2017, August 10). *How the partition of India happened and why its effects are still felt today*).

The partition's legacy continues to reverberate, perpetuating a legacy of mutual distrust and intermittent conflict between India and Pakistan. This historical context is crucial to understanding the complexities of Jinnah's speeches and his navigation between the ideals of a secular state and the realities imposed by a fractured social fabric. (BBC News. (2017, August 14). *Partition 70 years on: What is India and Pakistan's future?* Stanford News. (2019, March 6). *Partition of 1947 continues to haunt India and Pakistan, Stanford scholar says*).

2. Research Methodology

The study aims to explore Jinnah's ideology regarding Pakistan as a secular or Islamic country. A qualitative approach was adopted to investigate the ideology in this reference. The study contains a comparison with other advocates of Pakistani ideology and, an analysis of Jinnah's life and speeches was conducted. The social and political background was analyzed for the

alignment of the ideology of Jinnah. The statements of the prominent figures of that time were analyzed to deduct the ideology of Jinnah for Pakistan. The main focus was given to Quaid's speech on August 14, 1947. All of these elements were qualitatively analyzed to reach the understanding of Jinnah's ideology for Pakistan as a secular or religious country.

3: Analysis

1.1 Analysis of Jinnah's Secular State vs Two Nation Theory

Muhammad Ali Jinnah's vision for Pakistan has often been a subject of intense debate, especially in the context of his advocacy for a secular state versus the religious nationalism embodied by the "Two Nation Theory". In his seminal 1940 speech in Lahore, Jinnah set forth the need for a separate state for Muslims on the subcontinent, describing Hindus and Muslims as two distinct nations with differing religious philosophies, social customs, and literary traditions. (BBC News. (2017, August 15). *Partition: Why was British India divided 70 years ago?*) This ideology of religious nationalism advocated for separate homelands for Indian Muslims and Hindus, leading to the Partition of India in 1947. (Wikipedia. (n.d.). *Two-nation theory*.)

However, Jinnah's address to Pakistan's first constituent assembly on August 11, 1947, suggested a vision of a secular and inclusive state. In this speech, he emphasized an inclusive and impartial government, religious freedom, the rule of law, and equality for all. (Wikipedia. (n.d.). *Muhammad Ali Jinnah's 11 August speech*.) Jinnah explicitly articulated the importance of protecting life, property, and religious beliefs for all citizens, and he underscored the need to tackle issues such as bribery, black-marketing, and nepotism. (Wikipedia. (n.d.). *Muhammad Ali Jinnah's 11 August speech*.)

Historians have debated whether Jinnah's 1947 address represented a paradigmatic shift in his vision for Pakistan. Some, like Sharif al-Mujahid, consider the speech a cornerstone of Jinnah's vision for tolerance and pluralism, while others, like Stanley Wolpert, dismiss it as inconsistent with his previous positions. (Jinnah Institute. (n.d.). *August 11, 1947: Jinnah's paradigmatic shift*.) Jinnah's opposition to the idea of an Islamic State, as advocated by figures like Abul Ala Maududi, further supports the argument that his ultimate goal was a secular state. He was deeply concerned about the potential consequences of majority rule in a country divided along communal lines; this led him to demand partition driven by political, rather than religious, motivations. (Criterion Quarterly. (n.d.). *Jinnah's 11 August 1947 speech*.)

Throughout his life, Jinnah sought to create a democratic, egalitarian, and secular country where Muslims could enjoy full equality. (The Conversation. (n.d.). *At 75, Pakistan has moved far from the secular and democratic vision of its founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah*.) Initially, he aimed to achieve this within an undivided Hindu-majority India, but later he became convinced that a separate homeland was necessary. (The Conversation. (n.d.). *At 75, Pakistan has moved far from the secular and democratic vision of its founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah*.) Therefore, while the "Two Nation Theory" was pivotal in the creation of Pakistan, Jinnah's ultimate vision leaned towards a secular state that upheld equality and religious freedom for all its citizens.

4: Discussion

4.1 Religious References in Jinnah's Speeches

Muhammad Ali Jinnah's speeches often contained significant references to religion, which have been interpreted in various ways by proponents of both a secular and a religious state. Jinnah, known as the founding father of Pakistan, is frequently cited for his vision of an inclusive state, particularly in his 11 August 1947 speech to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. In this address, Jinnah emphasized the importance of an impartial government, religious freedom, the rule of law, and equality for all citizens, which some interpret as advocating for a secular state. (Wikipedia. (n.d.). *Muhammad Ali Jinnah's 11 August speech*.)

Despite these secular overtones, Jinnah's rhetoric also included religious elements that contributed to the ideological foundation of Pakistan as a state for Muslims. His 1940 speech in Lahore is particularly significant, where he articulated the "Two Nation Theory," asserting that Hindus and Muslims were distinct nations with separate religious philosophies, social customs, and literary traditions, which justified the creation of a separate state for Muslims. (BBC News. (2017, August 15). *Partition: Why was British India divided 70 years ago?*)

Jinnah's use of religious references was strategic, blending political expediencies with the appeal of Islam to mobilize support for the creation of Pakistan. This approach resonated with many Muslims in the Indian subcontinent who sought political power and were disillusioned with British colonial rule and the Congress's rejection of power-sharing. (History Today. (n.d.). *Jinnah and the making of Pakistan.*)

However, interpretations of Jinnah's speeches vary. Some, like historian Sharif al-Mujahid, view his 11 August speech as a paradigmatic shift towards a more inclusive and tolerant nationalism, while others consider it inconsistent with his earlier positions. (Jinnah Institute. (n.d.). *August 11, 1947: Jinnah's paradigmatic shift.*) Additionally, Jinnah's rejection of the idea of an Islamic State, as advocated by figures like Abul Ala Maududi, underscores his complex stance. He expressed concerns about the implications of majority rule in a communally divided nation, indicating his political motivations rather than a purely religious agenda. (Criterion Quarterly. (n.d.). *Jinnah's 11 August 1947 speech.*)

Thus, Jinnah's speeches reflect a nuanced approach, employing religious references to unite and mobilize Muslims, while also advocating for principles that suggest a vision of a secular and inclusive Pakistan.

4.2 Jinnah's Speeches on Secularism vs Religious State

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan, left a complex legacy that continues to fuel debates over his vision for the country, particularly concerning whether he intended Pakistan to be a secular or religious state. Jinnah's speeches, notably the one delivered on August 11, 1947, to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, provide significant insights into his aspirations for the newly-formed nation.

In his 11 August, 1947 speech, Jinnah articulated his vision of an inclusive and impartial government, emphasizing religious freedom, the rule of law, and equality for all citizens. He addressed the Constituent Assembly, outlining immediate tasks such as maintaining law and order, and eradicating bribery, black-marketing, and nepotism. These points underscored his commitment to protecting the life, property, and religious beliefs of all individuals within the country, which aligns with the principles of a secular state. (Wikipedia. (n.d.). *Muhammad Ali Jinnah's 11 August speech.*)

Jinnah's stance against establishing an Islamic state was evident in his speeches.

He opposed the idea promoted by figures like Abul Ala Maududi, who envisioned an Islamic state inspired by the works of Abul Hasan al-Marwardi. Instead, Jinnah was driven by political motivations, deeply concerned about the repercussions of majority rule in a communally divided nation, which ultimately led him to demand partition. (Criterion Quarterly. (n.d.). *Jinnah's 11 August 1947 speech.*)

His earlier speeches, such as the one in 1940 in Lahore, also highlight the ideological underpinnings of the "Two Nation Theory", which became a cornerstone of Pakistan's identity. Jinnah argued that Hindus and Muslims constituted two distinct nations, each with unique religious philosophies, social customs, and traditions. This theory justified the creation of a separate Muslim state, though it did not explicitly endorse the formation of a theocratic state. (BBC News. (2017, August 15). *Partition: Why was British India divided 70 years ago?*)

Historians and scholars continue to debate Jinnah's vision, with some suggesting that his address on August 11, 1947, marked a paradigmatic shift towards a message of tolerance and

pluralism, in contrast others, like Stanley Wolpert, viewed it as an uncharacteristic deviation from his previous positions. (Jinnah Institute. (n.d.) *August 11, 1947: Jinnah's paradigmatic shift.*) For much of his political career, Jinnah aspired to achieve equality for Muslims within a united India, later concluding that a separate homeland was necessary to secure these rights. (The Conversation. (n.d.). *At 75, Pakistan has moved far from the secular and democratic vision of its founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah.*)

The enduring debate over Jinnah's vision is further fueled by public addresses given around the time of partition, which have been interpreted in various ways. Some argue that he envisioned a Muslim-majority yet the secular and progressive state, while others maintain that he aimed to create a theocratic state in the name of Islam. (BBC News. (2013, September 11). *Profile: Muhammad Ali Jinnah.*)

4.3 Jinnah's Legal Background and Influence on State Nature

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, possessed a significant legal background that influenced his vision for the state. Born on 25 December 1876 in Karachi, Jinnah pursued his education at Bombay University and further honed his legal skills at Lincoln's Inn in London. (Wikipedia. (n.d.). *Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, BBC History. (n.d.). *Muhammad Ali Jinnah*.) Upon his return to India, he established a successful legal practice in Bombay. He became involved in the political landscape, initially as a member of the Indian National Congress and later as the president of the All-India Muslim League from 1913. (Wikipedia. (n.d.). *Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, BBC History. (n.d.). *Muhammad Ali Jinnah*.)

Jinnah's legal training and experience as a barrister provided him with a keen understanding of constitutional law and governance. This background shaped his approach towards the creation of Pakistan, emphasizing the necessity of a distinct political identity for Muslims in the subcontinent. In his seminal 1940 speech in Lahore, Jinnah articulated the "Two Nation Theory," asserting that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations with distinct religious philosophies, social customs, and cultural traditions. (BBC News. (2017, August 15). *Partition: Why was British India divided 70 years ago*, Wikipedia. (n.d.). *Muhammad Ali Jinnah*.) This theory became a cornerstone of the movement for Pakistan's independence and its subsequent state identity. (BBC News. (2017, August 15). *Partition: Why was British India divided 70 years ago?*) However, Jinnah's stance on whether Pakistan should be a secular or religious state has been a subject of debate. His August 11, 1947 address to Pakistan's first constituent assembly highlighted a message of tolerance and pluralism, suggesting a vision of a secular state. (Jinnah Institute. (n.d.). *August 11, 1947: Jinnah's paradigmatic shift.*) Historian Sharif al-Mujahid noted that this speech could be seen as a paradigmatic shift in Jinnah's nationalism, potentially indicating a preference for a secular state rather than a purely religious one. (Jinnah Institute. (n.d.). *August 11, 1947: Jinnah's paradigmatic shift.*) Despite this, Jinnah's ability to unite political expediencies with the popular appeal of Islam played a critical role in the demand for a separate Muslim state, underscoring the complexity of his vision. (History Today. (n.d.). *Jinnah and the making of Pakistan.*)

Thus, Jinnah's legal background and his pragmatic approach to politics and governance deeply influenced the ideological foundations of Pakistan, reflecting both secular and religious elements in its conception. (History Today. (n.d.). *Jinnah and the making of Pakistan.*)

4.5 Jinnah's Views on Islamic Principles in Governance

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, often referred to as Quaid-e-Azam, presented a complex and multifaceted vision for Pakistan, intertwining Islamic principles with modern governance. In his significant 11 August Speech to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Jinnah articulated his vision for an inclusive and impartial government, emphasizing religious freedom, the rule of law, and equality for all citizens. (Wikipedia. (n.d.). *Muhammad Ali Jinnah's 11 August speech.*) He identified key issues such as law and order, bribery, black-marketing, and nepotism,

which needed immediate attention to protect the life, property, and religious beliefs of all individuals. (Wikipedia. (n.d.). *Muhammad Ali Jinnah's 11 August speech.*)

Jinnah's speeches often balanced the idea of a modern state with Islamic values. For instance, in his speeches and statements, he envisioned Pakistan as a modern social welfare state that ensures equal opportunities regardless of religion, race, or region. (Stanford Libraries. (n.d.). *SearchWorks catalog.*) This vision aligns with the principles of justice and social welfare deeply rooted in Islamic teachings.

The "Two Nation Theory", which Jinnah elaborated on in his 1940 speech in Lahore, was another cornerstone of his ideology. He underscored the need for a separate Muslim state, asserting that Hindus and Muslims were two distinct nations with different religious philosophies, social customs, and literary traditions. (BBC News. (2017, August 15). *Partition: Why was British India divided 70 years ago?*) This theory has been pivotal in shaping Pakistan's identity and its interpretation of Islamic governance.

Jinnah's collaboration with other significant figures, like Allama Iqbal, further cemented his approach towards blending Islamic principles with practical governance. Despite their differing personalities and approaches, both leaders shared a common goal of establishing Pakistan as a state that harmonizes Islamic values with modern political and social structures. (Allama Iqbal Review. (1978). *Iqbal and Jinnah's vision of Pakistan*, Medium. (n.d.). *Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam: Vision of Pakistan.*) This synthesis of vision and practical wisdom resulted in the creation of a state that sought to embody the principles of justice, equality, and welfare, which are core to Islamic governance.

5: Conclusion

The study concluded that Jinnah has the understanding of good governance in Pakistan as a balanced and modern state with all the best values of Islam. These values of Islam actually are moderate, modern and liberal in their practical approach wherever Jinnah referred to Islam. It is actually a truly modern and full of the value system of life in which state is responsible for providing justice and welfare to it message without any discrimination of religion, caste, geography and ethnicity. The analysis showed Jinnah always propagated a modern the state which has all characteristics of a secular state. We must not align. This ideology of Jinnah against any of Islamic strict Islamic ideology the references Jinnah provided are all based on those Golden ethical values in which Islam provided not only guidelines for the Governance of the state but also direct to provide equal and fair opportunities in a peaceful land. The study indicates clearly that Jinnah never supports a religion rather; he propagates modern state having all these good characteristics, which may be part of liberalism, secularism, modernism and Islamisation.

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