

Development Priorities of the Founding Father of Pakistan

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I. INTRODUCTION

A close reading of the speeches and statements of the founding father of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, brings forth a striking consistency of understanding and approach towards priorities that the nation must determine to move steadily on the road to progress and development. These priorities were—in that order—education, industrial development and defence. Political historians generally present descriptive analyses of what appear to be radically different phases of the Quaid’s passage to lead the nation to its destiny—freedom. But at no point in any phase does one come across a weakening of resolve to advocate the priorities of Education, Industry and Defence—EID, for short. No better acronym of happiness would be possible for the Muslims of British India, EID being happiness and progress for them literally as well as religiously. After the adoption of the Pakistan Resolution in March 1940, the Quaid reiterated these priorities time and again. There is a noticeable accent in his speeches to specify the ramifications of these three pillars of progress.

The most succinct statement of priorities came in March 1941. While addressing the Pakistan Session of Punjab Muslim Students Federation, the Quaid said: “There are at least three main pillars which go to make a nation worthy of possessing a territory and running the government. . . . One is education. . . . Next, no nation and no people can ever do anything very much without making themselves economically powerful in commerce, trade and industry. And lastly, when you have got that light of knowledge by means of education and when you have made yourselves strong economically and industrially, then you have got to prepare yourselves for your defence against external aggression and to maintain internal security”. In his speech at a sitting of the Balochistan Muslim League in July 1943, he returned to this theme in these words: “For the present the most important thing

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is education. Knowledge is a greater force than sword. Go and acquire it. The second important thing is trade and commerce. So long as a nation is weak economically, it cannot hope to win the battle of life. So organise and raise economic life. When you have done it successfully then comes sword which we have been wielding for the last thirteen centuries”.

The discussion of the paper also proceeds in order of the priorities determined by the Quaid-i-Azam. Part II focuses on education and Part III on the development of industry. In the end, Part IV throws some light on the role of the State envisioned by the Quaid for his scheme of progress.

II. EDUCATION—THE FIRST PRIORITY

Education gets top priority in the Quaid’s scheme of progress, a view contrary to the tenets of economic orthodoxy at that time. Economists in those days were principally concerned with the accumulation of physical capital and had not yet started to recognise education as a significant contributor to output; Schultze and Becker rose to prominence much later in the sixties and the seventies.

What is remarkable is that the Quaid was not just making a general statement of intent in favour education, broadly defined. On the contrary, there was a well-defined agenda. First, and foremost, on the agenda was the primary and elementary education. Not only was it the business of the State to provide basic education, it had to do it by compulsion and not through the voluntary system. To him shortage of resources was no excuse. Resources had to be found somehow for free access. Secondly, the Quaid would brook no nonsense on the question of girls education. Neglecting their enrolment was nothing short of criminal. Thirdly, the Quaid was for mass education and extremely critical of elitist education, particularly the British public school system. He knew it to be a decadent system and a sure drag on progress. Finally, there was no place in the Quaid’s scheme of progress for purposeless generalist education. Professional education and acquisition of useful skills was important for education to be a potent instrument of progress.

The origins of this approach, and the pre-eminent position he gave to education of men as well as women throughout his life, can be traced to the man who described the Quaid as ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity—Gopal Krishna Gokhale. The Quaid could not pay a greater tribute to Gokhale than to have admitted: “It is my ambition to become the Muslim Gokhale” [Latif (1970), p. 16]. Speaking in May 1915 after his death, the Quaid described his socio-economic ideas and expertise in these words: “He was, of late, looked upon as an ‘All-India Man’, if such an expression is permissible. He was a great political *rishi*, a master of finance of India and the greatest champion of education and sanitation”. Gokhale was a liberal like Dadabhoy Naoroji. Remembering him at a session of Muslim League in 1943, the Quaid said: “Mr. Gokhale . . . who had learnt at the feet of that great man, Dadabhoy Naoroji, naturally came to imbibe certain principles, one of which was

that we must try to bring an equitable adjustment between these two major communities in this land. Mr. Gokhale at that time championed the cause of the Musalmans". On education Gokhale had said: "We are prepared to allow that an advance towards our [political] goal may be only by reasonably cautious steps, what we emphatically insist on is that resources of the country should be primarily devoted to the work of qualifying the people by means of education and in other ways for such advance" [Latif (1970), p. 44].

Ghokhle had moved the Elementary Education Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council as early as in April, 1912. Speaking on the Bill, the Quaid had paid him this tribute: "I take the liberty of congratulating for the able and masterly way in which he has dealt with this question, and for the services that he has rendered to the country, and I only pray that India may have many more sons like him". The Quaid's speech was a serious indictment of the British. "One of the greatest reproaches against the British rule", he said, "is the neglect of elementary education in this country". Emphasising the need for compulsion, the Quaid explained the drawbacks of the voluntary system thus: "We have been trying this system, namely, the principle of the extension of the voluntary system, for the last 50 years or 60 years seriously and we know what has been the result. . . You are going at jog-trot pace [and] it will take 175 years in order to get all school-going age children to school, and 600 years to get all the girls to school". He knew that universal primary education had not come about without compulsion elsewhere and it will not in India. Continuing, he argued: "In no country has elementary education become universal without compulsion".

In March 1925, in what was now a Legislative Assembly, the Quaid repeated his indictment against the British Government: "I say it is the greatest stigma on the Government of any country in the world to show that after your 150 years of rule, as is the case in this country, you have not given knowledge and light, nay even the three R's to more than 6 or 7 percent of the population in this country".

Muslim men were educationally backward, but their women were just nowhere. The Quaid wanted the Muslim women, too, to make the leeway. His support for any scheme or idea about raising the status of women and making them co-partners in the socio-economic life was total. As already noted, he had expressed the concern that it would take 600 years to get all the elementary stage girls to school. In his presidential address at the Lahore Session of Muslim League in March 1940, the Session where what became Pakistan Resolution was passed, he had considered it important to state: "it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and work." Advising men at the Aligarh University in March 1944 the Quaid said: "You should take your women along with you in every sphere of life, avoiding the corrupt practices of Western Society. You cannot expect a woman who is herself ignorant to bring up your children properly. The women have the power to bring up children on right

lines. Let us not throw away this asset". A special committee of women was set up at the Patna session of the Muslim League to work out proposals in this regard.

A most interesting speech was made by the Quaid in the Legislative Assembly in August 1927. The uncompromising advocate of education for the masses could not have supported elitist concepts and institutions like public schools. Said he: "I know the conservative British mind, and I do not blame them if they cannot get rid of it from their heads, that the only method in this world by which you can get suitable boys for a military career is the public school system. Now let me tell [them] that there is no public school system either in America or in Canada or in France or in Germany or any other country that I know of. Now this is a matter which was carefully considered, and enormous amount of material was collected on this point".

Three types of objections were raised to the introduction of compulsory universal primary education—financial, political and social. Dealing with the financial objection, the Quaid stated: "This is a very, very old story that you have no money and all I can say is this, Find money ! Find money !! Find money !!! . . . If you say you have not got enough money, discover and tap new sources of taxation". He went on to add: "But I shall be told that the people are already taxed; I shall be told that we shall be facing great unpopularity; and I shall be told, why should we do all this? My answer is that we should do all this to improve the masses of this country to whom you owe a much greater duty than to anybody else". Rejecting the reactionary argument that the compulsory spread of elementary education was fraught with political and social dangers, the Quaid spoke with great conviction: "Then, it is said: 'Oh ! But the people will become too big for their boot', if I may use that expression, that 'they will not follow the occupations of their parents, they will demand more rights, there will be strikes, they will become socialists'. . . . Are you going to keep millions and millions of people trodden under your feet for fear that they may demand more rights; are you going to keep them in ignorance and darkness forever and for all ages to come because they may stand up against you and say that we have certain rights and you must give them to us? Is that the feeling of humanity? Is that the spirit of humanity"?

Addressing the Session of Muslim League in Lucknow in December 1916 the Quaid-i-Azam observed: "Upset by the loud, confident and unsettling accents of New India", the divide-and-rule masters advanced this proposition: "(a) The interests of the educated classes are opposed to those of the Indian masses, and (b) The former would oppress the latter if the strong protecting hands of the British officials were withdrawn". Puncturing this proposition, the Quaid said: "This astonishing proposition beats all reason and sense. It is suggested that we who are the very kith and kin of the masses, most of us springing from the middle classes, are likely to oppress the people if more power is conferred; that the masses require protection at the hands of the English officials, between whom and the people there is nothing in common". The fact, on the contrary, was that the "educated people of this country

have shown greater anxiety and solicitude for the welfare and advancement of the masses than for any other question during the last quarter of a century”.

Mass and non-elitist elementary education is the basic layer for creating a viable social infrastructure in the long-run. The Quaid had his eyes on the future when he campaigned for compulsory elementary education in the early phase of his political struggle. Once he had defined for the nation the goal of Pakistan in the forties, he missed no opportunity to pinpoint the faults of the generalistic and purposeless education at the higher levels.

In March 1944, the Quaid asked the Muslim students at Aligarh to “divert attention from mere clerkships. I have no objection to your becoming B.As. and M.As., a certain amount of general education and training is necessary. But mere degrees of B.A.s and M.A.s are of no use. Of course, there are the handicaps. There are hardly any channels for you to go into. But while you are studying for B.A. and M.A. you should learn shorthand and typewriting which you can easily do. The market value of a B.A. or M.A. with knowledge of shorthand and typewriting is at least three times that of a mere B.A. or M.A. In Bombay we have started a Commercial School which imparts instruction in such subjects as Banking, Book-keeping, Typing and Shorthand in addition to general education”. The Quaid, of course, knew that the Muslim youth was forced towards clerkship because “all big business has been in the hands of Hindus or Europeans”. Aside from exhorting Muslim youth to alter their educational preferences, the Quaid also set up a special sub-committee “to draft a scheme for the education of Muslims in India”. This he announced at the Gujerat Education Conference in January 1945.

While refixing the goals of the nation in the field of social infrastructure after the achievement of Pakistan, the Quaid showed the keenest interest in shifting of emphasis in education from colonial-administrative objectives to a professional and technical bias suited to the needs of a non-dependent, progressive economy. In a message to the All Pakistan Educational Conference held in Karachi on November 27, 1947 he advised: “The importance of education and the right type of education cannot be over-emphasised. Under foreign rule for over a century, in the very nature of things, I regret, sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people, and if we are to make any real, speedy and substantial progress, we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our educational policy and programme on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture and having regard to the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world. . . . There is no doubt that the future of our State will and must greatly depend on the type of education we give to our children and the way in which we bring them up as future citizens of Pakistan. Education does not merely mean academic education. There is immediate and urgent need for training our people in the scientific and technical education in order to build up our future economic life, and we should see that our people take to science, commerce, trade and particularly,

well-planned industries. But do not forget that we have to compete with the world which is moving very fast in this direction. Also I must emphasise that greater attention should be paid to technical and vocational education.”

It was obviously under the influence of the Quaid-i-Azam that this very first Pakistan Education Conference resolved that “free and compulsory primary education be introduced for a period of five years which should be gradually raised to eight years” [Pakistan (1957), p. 545].

Departing from the text of his written speech at Islamia College, Peshawar, in April 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam told students: “You must now fully realise the vital change, the fundamental change that has taken place. You are not now merely to confine yourselves to becoming Government servants which was the avenue to which most of you aspired. You must now realise that fresh fields, new channels and avenues are now being thrown open to you where you have unlimited opportunities, namely, you must now direct your attention to science, commercial banking, insurance, industry and technical education”.

In his speech at Dacca University in March 1948, he had elaborated on this theme further: “Hitherto, you have been following the rut. You get your degrees and when you are thrown out of this University in thousands, all that you think and hanker for is Government service. As your Vice-Chancellor has rightly stated the main object of the old system of education and the system of Government existing, hitherto, was really to have well-trained, well-equipped clerks. Of course, some of them went higher and found their level, but the whole idea was to get well-equipped clerks. Civil Service was mainly staffed by the Britons and the Indian element was introduced later on and it went up progressively. Well, the whole principle was to create a mentality, a psychology, a state of mind, that an average man, when he passes B.A. or M.A. was to look for some job in Government. If he had it he thought he had reached his height. I know and you all know what has been really the result of this. Our experience has shown that an M.A. earns less than a taxi driver, and most of the so-called Government servants are living in a more miserable manner than many menial servants who are employed by well-to-do people. Now I want you to get out of that rut and that mentality and especially now that we are in free Pakistan. Government cannot absorb thousands. Impossible. But in the competition to get Government service most of you get demoralised. Government can take only a certain number and the rest cannot settle down to anything else and being disgruntled are always ready to be exploited by persons who have their own axes to grind. Now I want that you must divert your mind, your attention, your aims and ambition to other channels and other avenues and fields that are open to you and will increasingly become so. There is no shame in doing manual work and labour. There is an immense scope in technical education for we want technically qualified people very badly. You can learn banking, commerce, trade, law, etc.; which provide so many opportunities now. Already you find that new insurance companies, new commercial

firms are opening and they will grow as you go on. Now these are avenues and fields open to you. Think of them and divert your attention to them, and believe me you will thereby benefit yourself more than by merely going in for Government service and remaining there, in what I should say a circle of clerkship, working there from morning till evening, in most dingy and uncomfortable conditions. You will be far more happy and far more prosperous with far more opportunities to rise if you take to commerce and industry and will thus be helping not only yourselves but also your State”.

A week later on April 18, 1948 the Quaid re-emphasised the new aims of education: “It should be the aim of our colleges to produce first class experts in Agriculture, Zoology, Engineering, Medicine and other specialised subjects. Only thus shall we be able to come to grips with the problems that are now facing us in the task of raising the standard of living, especially of the common man”.

Education was to be for all, not just men. About the role of women in the socio-economic development of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam said in a speech broadcast by Radio Pakistan Dacca on March 28, 1948: “In the great task of building the nation and maintaining its solidarity, women have most valuable part to play as the prime architects of the character of the youth that constitutes its backbone, not merely in their homes but by helping their less fortunate sisters outside in that great task. I know that in the long struggle for the achievement of Pakistan, Muslim women have stood solidly behind their men. In the bigger struggle for the building up of Pakistan that now lies ahead, let it not be said that the women of Pakistan had lagged behind and failed in their duties”.

In short, education of men and women was the strongest pillar on which the edifice of progress would stand in Quaid-i-Azam’s Pakistan. While the emphasis on education indicates a continuity of thought and action in the tradition of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Gokhle, there is also change to move forward with history. Sir Syed’s efforts concentrated on enabling the Muslims to join the new bureaucracy. Ghokhle saw education as the principal instrument for Indians to move towards responsible government. The Quaid, as the spearhead of the freedom movement, wanted to shake off what he called “the circle of clerkship” and to encourage men and women to enter professions and vocations and acquire skills that are necessary for a transition towards an independent, industrialised state and society.

III. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT—THE NEXT PRIORITY

In the Quaid’s count of “pillars” of progress economic development stands next to education. Speaking to the Bombay District Muslim Students Federation in February 1944, he asserted: “In order to make the Muslims a strong and solid nation they must find out and acquire the necessary ingredients that went to the building up of a strong nation. The pillars upon which they should build up their structure were educational, economic, social and political uplift No nation could ever

successfully struggle while they were being economically dominated by another nation. Even a free nation would be handicapped if she was economically weak”.

By economic development, however, the Quaid always meant industrial development as the leading factor. No country can think of realising the goal of economic self-determination without transforming its economy by pushing up industry as the dynamic, leading sector. The Quaid-i-Azam, whose consciousness of the sovereignty of the State he gave birth to is unique in the history of human emancipation, could not be oblivious of this oft-tested truth. The first important mention of industry made by the Quaid was in May 1924, while presiding over a session of Muslim League in Lahore. He declared himself on the side of indigenous industry in preference to imports. Making the education - industry priority clear, he argued: “We must not lose any opportunity to promote and advance mass education so as to make the elementary education universal and thus dispel the ignorance and darkness and bring light to millions of our countrymen who cannot claim even three R’s. We must take steps, if necessary, to see that elementary education is made compulsory. We should, as far as possible, organise and devise means for the purpose of encouraging and establishing Swadeshi industries and manufacture”.

Dadabhoj Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India, greatly contributed to the shaping of the political and economic ideas of the Quaid. He participated in the campaign for his election to the British Parliament. Later on, the Quaid served as his private secretary. His first appearance on a political platform was under the presidentship of Dadabhoj Naoroji. Speaking at the session of Muslim League in Delhi in 1943, the Quaid fondly remembered him, saying: “. . . . hope sprang almost eternally in my heart and soul, derived from Dadabhoj Naoroji”. Apart from being a political liberal, Dadabhoj Naoroji had done deep thinking on major economic issues of the day, particularly the unequal economic relationship between Britain and India. [Naoroji (1901)]. Free trade was essential to the doctrine of economic liberalism. Dadabhoj Naoroji, and also the Quaid-i-Azam, considered free trade fatal to the interests of India. (In fact, the Quaid opposed the Ottawa Preferences of 1932). The British policy of trade, conquest and tribute had led to de-industrialisation of India. As one author has explained: “In India, the British began the eighteenth century with mere plunder, which they later rationalised into the system of revenues exacted from Bengal, and replaced in the nineteenth century by the enforcement of the open door to British exports at the cost of running indigenous industries” [Fieldhouse (1972), p. 165]. In spite of this state of affairs, the idea of the prosperity brought about by the British rule was repeatedly sold. As the Quaid observed in his speech at the Bombay Provincial Conference in October 1916: “It is said there is prosperity in the country, although two of the greatest sons of India—Mr. Dadabhoj Naoroji and Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt—the latter with his great administrative experience of India—do not agree to the statement that there is real prosperity in the country”.

In the Calcutta session of the Congress, in which the Quaid was present as his private secretary, the Grand Old Man declared: "The British people would not allow themselves to be subjected for a single day to such an unnatural system of government as the one which has been imposed upon India for nearly a century and a half. An Indian has a right to claim the British rights. First, the administration of India should be in Indian hands just as the administration of Britain is in British hands. Foreign administration is the principal cause of economic drain and dire poverty. Self-Government is essential for material, moral, intellectual, political, social and industrial progress. Secondly, the control of revenue and finance must be in Indian hands who should take care of the national purse and use it for the best advantage of the nation. Thirdly, all financial relation between England and India should be put on a footing of equality. India should be a partner in the empire, as she is always declared to be. We do not ask any favours. We only want justice".

The Quaid translated these ideas into specific economic and financial demands. Describing the Secretary of State for India "as a greater Moghal than any Moghal that ruled India," the Quaid demanded in 1913 that "the salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates. At the present moment, the Secretary of State is not responsible to anyone". Again in 1917, "we want financial control and we want control over the executive," because it is the financial control "which is the most potent, and which is the only test of power". He re-emphasised the need to give to the people of India control over "fiscal policy and the Budget" in 1918. In 1924, he went to the extent of saying that military expenditure required for "Imperial purposes" should be charged to "Imperial Exchequer".

R.C. Dutt, whom the Quaid described as one of "the greatest sons of India", explained Indian poverty in these words: "India in the eighteenth century was a great manufacturing as well as a great agricultural country, and the products of the Indian loom supplied the markets of Asia and Europe. It is, unfortunately, true that the East India Company and the British Parliament, following the selfish commercial policy of a hundred years ago, discouraged Indian manufactures in the early years of British rule in order to encourage the rising manufactures of England. Their fixed policy, pursued during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth, was to make India subservient to the industries of Great Britain, and to make the Indian people grow raw produce only, in order to supply material for the looms and manufactories of Great Britain" [Dutt (1963), p. XXV].

After the passage of Lahore Resolution in 1940, the Quaid began to talk of industrial self-reliance. This would not be restricted to light manufactures. He told the Memon Chamber of Commerce in 1943: "Great and heavy industries formed the backbone of a nation". The insignificant Muslim industry in undivided India was no match to the Big Business of the Hindus. Hides and skins, a field considered irreligious by the Hindus, was the only big time industrial activity of the Muslims. Lamenting this situation at the Madras Session of Muslim League in April 1941, the

Quaid had observed: "Muslims were left behind both economically and in the social uplift of the people of this great land of ours. Muslims were at the bottom as compared with people of other communities. In Madras, for instance, the only two industries in which the Muslims were anywhere were the hides and skins and beedy industries. Would they be content to remain merely 'beediwals' and 'chamrawals' or would they play a part in the development of industries, trade and commerce of the country"?

So industry, particularly the heavy type, in the Quaid's view, would mainly constitute the pillar of economic strength of Pakistan. Apart from doing thinking on the subject, a committee was set up to work out necessary plans. Addressing the Muslim League in Karachi on December 24, 1943 he said: "I am asked why the Muslim League should not establish a complete machinery and bureau to set up national industries for Muslim India all over India and especially in Pakistan. Why should we not undertake planning? Why should we not undertake the establishment of big and heavy industries in Pakistan?" In response, the Quaid said: "At any rate we may not be able to achieve or realise all these demands at once. Nor can we immediately put into operation various suggestions and proposals. But the stage has come when it is absolutely essential to have a Committee of Action".

Industrialisation requires an attitude towards saving described by some economists as stemming from Christian ethic in the European context. In British India, there was an early development of such saving propensities amongst Hindus. As a result, said the Quaid at a public meeting in Ahmedabad in October 1945, "Birlas and Dalmias, Kasturbhais and Ambalas", established themselves as industrial tycoons. The Congress counted on their support in a big way. Against this, Muslims did not establish any industry worth the name. Some communities not hailing from the Pakistan areas, like Memons, did go into small-time business. They were, however, in no position to compete with the Congress "saiths". Pointing to low saving propensities of Muslims, the Quaid told the Aligarh Muslim University Union on March 9, 1944: "Tempramentally the Musalman spends more than he earns. This is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs".

It was the great desire of the Quaid that more and more Muslims entered industry. He told the Muslim University Muslim League on March 10, 1944: "So far all big business has been in the hands of Hindus or Europeans. But I have, of late, noticed a real desire among Muslim Businessmen to enter the field of Commerce and Industry on modern scientific lines. I have heard that a Muslim Company with a capital of half a crore is going to be formed one of whose objects would be to train young Muslims in the scientific and technical ways of commerce. Therefore, I want young men to think in that direction. Muslim businessmen also should think in this direction. Together you should make your preparation, and they should create channels for your employment". To organise Muslim businessmen, the Quaid took active interest in the formation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce. "There is another

welcome development now. During the last one year in almost every province Muslim Chambers of Commerce have been established and recently an All-India Federation of all the Muslim Chambers has been formed. Muslim businessmen in the beginning were hesitant for fear of offending Hindu friends, but at last courage has come to them and they have organised themselves. This third Muslim body is now going to tackle the most vital problem, economic and commercial development”.

Lack of organisation had led to the indifference of the Government toward Muslim businessmen. “Nothing better could be expected by an unorganised people”, the Quaid had told Muslim Chamber of Commerce in Lahore on March 24, 1944. Talking about his efforts to organise Muslim business community with the Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce on October 28, 1944, the Quaid said: “I have been preaching for the last five years that the Muslims should be commercially conscious, and now the efforts of the Muslim League have put some life into the Muslim business community.”

“What have we done in commerce?” he had asked in his address to Muslim University Union on March 9, 1944. “Commerce does not merely mean the business of a shopkeeper or the exporter or importer. It means heavy industry and scientific means of trade and industry. If you look at the list of Joint Stock Companies, you will find that the Musalman is nowhere. When this war broke out the Hindus were ready and prepared to utilise all the opportunities of expanding trade and commerce that the war created; the Musalmans being unprepared were again left behind. It was no use complaining when we lost the chances due to our own negligence”.

During the time of struggle for Pakistan, the repeated emphasis that the Quaid laid on industrialisation led to the vicious propaganda that Muslim League was against Zamindars and agricultural development. This was calculated to cause disaffection in the following of the Muslim League in the rural areas. The Quaid took notice of the charge of Muslim League being against Zamindars at a meeting of the Punjab Muslim League at Sialkot in April 1944: “The League is not against any interest among the Muslims”. In fact, the Quaid took a firm stand in support of the interests of the grower, mainly Muslim, when his terms of trade *vis-à-vis* industry, mainly Hindu, were being depressed through controls. Said he, in his presidential address at the Muslim League session at Karachi on December 24, 1943: “The real issue was not that we did not recognise the efficacy of control, not that we did not recognise the efficacy of procurement, not that we did not recognise that under the present system of government and the condition under which we are living, there must be a uniform policy; but the real issue—and the real issue is not clear—was: Are the agriculturists and the producers of foodgrains to be bled to fatten the industrialists? Is there going to be one rule of justice for one class or one interest and another rule of justice and fairplay for another class and another interest”. He went on to emphasise: “What we urged and what we still urge is that if you want to control foodgrains, you must equally in all earnestness and sincerity, control prices of all

other essential articles and essential ingredients which are necessary for the existence of the very man, the agriculturist, whom you want to control". Then the Quaid-i-Azam explained, in a non-technical and popular parlance, the mechanics of the unequal inter-sectoral exchange and the consequent exploitation of agriculturists at the hands of industrialists. He said: "Let me put it to you this way. To-day I am a producer; I am an agriculturist. You say to me: Look here before the war or even some time after the war, you got only Re. 1 for a seer or whatever of food. I am going to give you Rs 3 for the same measure. Well, what are you giving me? When I got that Re. 1 before the war or even for some time after the war, the Re.1 had the purchasing power not of Rs 3 of to-day but of Rs 5 of to-day. What is the good of giving me 5 notes of one rupee each, and, when I go to buy my necessaries of life, these five rupees of mine are not equal to one rupee but only to 12 annas?" Continuing the argument, he said: "Therefore, you do not go in terms of currency or number of notes. But you go in terms of the value of your currency paper, and the purchasing power in the bazaar for the necessaries of life. That is the real issue. That is the issue which the Government of India have got to tackle. Unless they came out with a clear-cut and honest policy of giving a fair deal to all interests, it is no use oppressing only the agriculturist and the producer, and giving advantages to other interests".

It is crystal-clear that the Quaid was not against agricultural development. He fully understood that the higher agricultural output would lead to a greater surplus, which only meant greater resource availability for industrialisation. Agriculture would thus be the base to push up industrialisation. About the fear that industrialisation would only lead to famines and labour shortages in agriculture he told the Associated Press of America in November 1945: "There was no merit to contentions that to draw masses of persons into industry would rob farms of needed labour and invite food shortages".

In 1947, the economy of Pakistan was entirely, and not predominantly, agricultural. As the Quaid-i-Azam himself explained in a talk to Radio Australia on February 19, 1948, : "For the present, agriculture is our mainstay. With a population of about 22 percent of what was formerly British India, Pakistan produces about 33 percent of the total tonnage of wheat. In essential foods, we are, therefore, comparatively fortunate. We also have some important commercial crops, such as jute, cotton and tobacco". In the same month the Voice of America was informed: "Pakistan is essentially an agricultural country, its two main food crops being wheat and rice. Rice is the staple food of Eastern and wheat of Western Pakistan. Western Pakistan is well served with a net-work of canals both in West Punjab and Sindh. Mention must be made here of the Lloyd's Barrage Irrigation Works which have brought about six million acres of waste land under cultivation by harnessing the waters of the Indus. There is also a scheme of constructing two new barrages, one in Upper and the other in Lower Sindh. When these are completed, it is hoped that the

total area under cultivation in Sindh would increase to 12 million acres. Among the other produce of Pakistan must be mentioned jute and cottonAccording to the latest calculation, the area under jute in Pakistan is about 1½ million acres and the yield of jute is estimated at over 4 million bales ... The position of cotton in Pakistan has recently much improved. The area of cotton under cultivation in 1944-45 in Western Pakistan was nearly 3 million acres, while the yield was about 1¼ million bales. The estimated value of cotton produce in Pakistan during 1946-47 comes to 450 million rupees. In the not very distant future, Pakistan's produce of cotton is expected to reach a much higher level. Tea and tobacco are also produced in Pakistan. In 1944, the area now under Pakistan in Eastern Bengal under tea cultivation was 80, 000 acres". In short, the Quaid was satisfied that the economy would not be dependent on others for its food requirements and that agricultural sector would be a strategic element in his plans for the economic self-preservation of Pakistan.

What was the status of industry in the Pakistan areas at the time of Partition? In the Quaid's words spoken to the Voice of America, Pakistan at that time was "essentially an agricultural country with no large scale industry". However, there are "immense opportunities for development and enrichment and that we ourselves, the people, are restless to take advantage of them," was the message given to Radio Australia. In the same message, he suggested that the large number of the unemployed and the underemployed in agriculture could be gainfully employed by utilising the foreign exchange surplus of agriculture for industrialisation. As he said in the case of jute: "The greater part of the world's jute is grown in East Bengal—and it gives us the great benefit of earning large sums of foreign exchange. Foreign exchange will be very valuable to us in setting up and expanding our industries".

After independence, the task of industrialisation of economy was immediately taken in hand. As the Quaid elaborated in the talk to Voice of America: "The blueprints of a scheme for the rapid industrialisation of both Western and Eastern Pakistan have already been drawn up by my Government. The Sindh Government alone has formulated a scheme of industrialisation which will cost about 130 million rupees and will take about 4 years to materialise. An initial sum of 25 million rupees for the development of special industrial areas in the province, has already been sanctioned. Other provinces in Pakistan are also engaged at present in preparing vast and comprehensive schemes of industrialisation". He went on to add: "The areas producing jute, described as the golden fibre of Bengal, are now largely in Eastern Pakistan though the jute mill industry is mostly located in Calcutta and its suburbs in the Indian Dominion.... Plans have already been drawn up for developing the jute trade in Pakistan and efforts are being made to import necessary plants for setting up jute mills in Eastern Pakistan".

Due to the significance that the Quaid attached to industrialisation, it was natural that he himself inaugurated all the industries set up in those early days. Speaking at the founding of Valika Textile Mills on September 26, 1947, the Quaid enunciated: "If Pakistan is to play its proper role in the world to which its size, manpower and resources entitle it, it must develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture and give its economy an industrial bias. By industrialising our State, we shall decrease our dependence on the outside world for necessities of life, we will give more employment to our people and will also increase the resources of the State. Nature has blessed us with a good many raw material of industry and it is up to us to utilise them to the best of the State and its people. I hope this venture of yours will prove the precursor to many such enterprises and bring prosperity to all concerned. While opening the Bengal Oil Mills on February 2, 1947, the Quaid remarked in the context of the refugee problem: "The only way in which the people can be put on their feet again is the rapid industrialisation of the country which would provide new avenues of employment for them".

The Quaid-i-Azam showed great concern for the commercial image of Pakistan. He advised businessmen in his speech at Karachi Chamber of Commerce in these words: "Commerce is more international than culture and it behoves you to behave in such a way that the power and prestige of Pakistan gain added strength from every act of yours. I have no doubt the commerce of Pakistan would be an effective instrument in the establishment and maintenance of high standards of business integrity and practice. If Pakistani goods are to establish for themselves a reputation all their own, a beginning must be made now and here anything my Government can do to achieve this end, they shall do. I would like Pakistan to become a synonym and hall-mark for standard and quality in the market places of the world".

The Quaid was the greatest enemy of those indulging in illegal trades and anti-social practices. He chose the solemn occasion of his election as the President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 11, 1947 to warn against these maladies. In his scale of priorities the eradication of these evils ranked second only to law and order. He said: "One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering—I do not say that other countries are free from it, but, I think, our condition is much worse—is bribery and corruption. This really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so". "Black marketing", he added, "is another curse. Well, I know that black-marketeers are frequently caught and punished. Judicial sentences are passed or sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life. A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These black-marketeers are

really knowing intelligent and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black-marketing, I think they ought to be very severely punished, because they undermine the entire system of control and regulation of foodstuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death". Nepotism and jobbery were also severely criticised by the Quaid-i-Azam. He told the Constituent Assembly: "The next thing that strikes me is this: here again it is a legacy which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things good and bad, has arrived this great evil—the evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relentlessly. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. Wherever I will find that such a practice is in vogue, or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it".

On another occasion, while talking informally to civil officers in Peshawar on April 14, 1948 the Quaid-i-Azam gave this warning to the politicians as well. "I wish also to take the opportunity of impressing upon our leaders and politicians in the same way that if they ever try to interfere with you [administration] and bring political pressure to bear upon you, which leads to nothing but corruption, bribery and nepotism I say, they are doing nothing but disservice to Pakistan".

It will be seen that the main plank of the Quaid's economic strategy was to rapidly industrialise Pakistan in a modernisation framework. The base for launching a successful industrialisation drive would be provided by the relatively strong agricultural endowment of the country.

IV. THE ROLE OF THE STATE

The review of speeches, statements, interviews, messages, writings and letters of the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah presented here shows that he had a good idea of the development priorities of his political struggle. First, the Quaid would give top priority to education as a instrument of socio-economic change—compulsory universal primary education; nonelitist education; professional, commercial and technical education; and just enough of generalistic education. In regard to education, there was to be no discrimination between sexes. This is how the Quaid would build up his social infrastructure. Second, the Quaid stood for rapid industrialisation, and for heavy industrialisation. "If Pakistan is to play its proper role in the world to which its size, manpower and resources entitle it, it must develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture and give its economy an industrial bias" [Speech at the founding of Valika Textile Mill, September 26, 1947]. In terms of national security, the objective was to make Pakistan economically invincible: "What conceivable reason is there to suppose that the gift of nationality is going to be an economic liability? A sovereign nation of a hundred million people—even if they are not immediately self-supporting and even if they are

industrially backward—is hardly likely to be in a worse economic position than if its members are scattered and disorganised, under the dominance of two hundred and fifty million Hindus whose one idea is to exploit them” [Interview with Beverley Nichols, 1944].

But what would be the elements of the socio-economic system required to implement his priorities after independence? In essence, what would be the role of the State? A socio-economic system is known by the interests it serves. The Quaid’s words bear testimony to the fact that he would select a system delineating mass of the people, not alienating them. He converted the Muslim League into a mass organisation. That was in the forties. But even in the 1920s, a period during which common knowledge does not figure him as a man of the masses, he had said: “The only use that we can make of legislatures is to create strong and powerful oppositions to the Government. Standing there as the peoples’ party and backed up by the people throughout the country, we must carry on the struggle inch by inch”.

Of the middle class intelligentsia, commonly stated to have led the Pakistan movement, the Quaid said this: “Of the intelligentsia of the Muslims who were in the forefront of what is called political life, most—I do not say all—were careerists. They chose their place according to their convenience either in the bureaucratic camp or in the other camp, that is the Congress camp”. He asked the Muslim League workers: “Who are the people present here? They are not rich. The League constitution is a democratic constitution and if there are rich and selfish people in the League, it is because of your weakness. You do not test your man before following him. The leaders draw their strength from the masses, the poor people” [Calcutta, March 1, 1946]. To the landlords and capitalists he issued the most strongly worded warning: “Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. . . . Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day. If that is the idea of Pakistan I would not have it. If they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they do not, God help them; we shall not help them” [Muslim League Session at Delhi, April 24, 1943].

These being the priorities and objectives, what exactly would be the socio-economic system like? The Quaid made it clear what it would not be like. First, it would not be the “economic system of the West [which] has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. . . . The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people” [Opening of the State Bank, July 1, 1948]. Nor would it be communism, as the communists “have got so many flags, and I think they consider that there is safety in numbers. They have got the Red flag; they have got the Russian flag; they have got the Soviet flag; they have got the Congress flag. And now they have been good enough to introduce our flag also. Well, when a

man has got too many flags I get suspicious” [Muslim League Session at Karachi, December 24, 1943]. Finally, the Quaid also rejected a theocratic system: “A lot of mischief is created. Is it going to be an Islamic Government? Is it not begging the question?” [Muslim League Session, Delhi, April 24, 1943].

Then what would be the essentials of his system? In the first place, the system shall take into account the fact that Pakistan is a product of the Muslim struggle against the Hindu “Kulturkampf”. [Article in *Time and Tide*, London, January 19, 1940] But, “in the pursuit of truth and the cultivation of beliefs we should be guided by our rational interpretation of the Quran” [Eid Message, November 13, 1939]. And “we must present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. [Opening of the State Bank, July 1, 1948]. Secondly, there shall be “equitable taxation, levied in a manner consistent with social justice to finance good government” [Interview with Associated Press, November 8, 1945]. Thirdly, “essential key industries ought to be controlled and managed by the State. That applies also to certain public utilities. But what is a key industry and what is a utility service are matters for the law-makers to say, not for me” [Interview with Associated Press]. In case of one utility service i.e. Railways, he had consistently advocated State control. In 1917, he told the Imperial Legislative Council that “the Government of India ought to have more control over Railways than it has at present.” In 1930, he informed the Round Table Conference that “we must have State-managed railways, and under every contract that falls in, that company has got to hand over the railways to the State”.

Thus, a rational interpretation of the Qur’an, selective public sector and equitable taxation would be the guiding principles for the vast space left for private initiative. The Quaid made a number of pronouncements in support of private sector. While talking to the Parsi community of Sindh, he regretted “that during the last few months there have been encroachments on private right of property but you should not judge government’s action too harshly” [February 3, 1948]. In reply to a civic address in Quetta, he observed that “private enterprise is necessary” [July 15, 1948]. Most important, a very liberal industrial policy statement was made. In this address to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce (it had not yet added Industry to it), the Quaid-i-Azam stated: “Whilst I do not propose to recapitulate this statement here, I would like to call your particular attention to the keen desire of the Government of Pakistan to associate individual initiative and private enterprise at every stage of industrialisation. The number of industries Government have reserved for management by themselves consist of Arms and Munitions of War, Generation of Hydel Power and Manufacture of Railway Wagons, Telephones, Telegraph and Wireless Apparatus. All other industrial activity is left open to private enterprise which would be given every facility a Government can give for the establishment and development of industry. Government will seek to create conditions in which industry and trade may develop and prosper by undertaking surveys of Pakistan’s

considerable resources of minerals, schemes for the development of country's water and power resources, plans for the improvement of transport services and the establishment of the ports and an Industrial Finance Corporation. Just as Pakistan is agriculturally the most advanced nation in the Continent of Asia as mentioned by you, I am confident that if it makes the fullest and the best use of its considerable agricultural wealth in the building up of her industries, it will, with the traditions of craftsmanship for which our people are so well-known and with their ability to adjust themselves to new techniques, soon make its mark in the industrial field." In addition to this liberal industrial policy, the Quaid-i-Azam also assured businessmen "on behalf of the Government of Pakistan that it is their intention and policy to let the channels of free trading flow as freely as possible". In the field of construction, the Quaid-i-Azam "would like to see the business community take up a programme of large scale building construction in Karachi," the capital of the country [April 27, 1948].

Not only that inducements and an incentives-mix were provided to domestic private investment, the foreign private investment was also welcome. He told Radio Australia: "In this matter of industrialisation and capital development we have no prejudices of false pride. We know our present weaknesses in these directions and we should certainly welcome any investment which would be likely to strengthen our economy. I do not believe that anyone from abroad who gives a helping hand would have reasons to regret it" [February 19, 1948]. The attitude of the Quaid-i-Azam towards foreign economic assistance was also pragmatic. This is what he told the first ambassador of the United States: "I am glad to learn Your Excellency and the great country and people you represent, will give your cooperation to us in order to advance our economic and cultural relations for the mutual benefit of both the countries" [February 26, 1948].

Influx of some seven million refugees, physical borders failing to coincide with economic flows, economic blockade by India, administrative inadequacy even for law and order, Indian refusal to share the physical and financial assets, shortage of capital and skills and foreign exchange, a near-absence of economically-oriented infrastructure—these are only some of the problems that the Quaid-i-Azam had to grapple with even before he had time to set up a well-organised machinery of the State and a process of economic decision-making. No wonder, the Quaid said he would even go to the devil to seek help to strengthen Pakistan.

Under the circumstances, succumbing to doctrinarism would indicate nothing but lack of vision. This could never be said of the Quaid-i-Azam. What to speak of a key industry, there was no industry worth the name. Therefore, the question of nationalisation did not arise. In fact, the Government itself had to build a hotel, a key industry in no sense of the term. The rehabilitation of refugees and reconstruction required as a result of partition engaged the attention of the Government in its entirety: the initiation of public sector key industry was thus out of question. At any

rate, the Quaid had never bought the idea of a total elimination of the private initiative. In case of trade and commerce, nationalisation had not been on the cards.

The Quaid may be said to have chosen the policy of an ECONOMIC EQUIPOISE after independence. An example: “I am no believer in the mission of making the rich richer and the poor poorer. The task is difficult of course but we must make earnest effort to promote the interests of the masses without necessarily disturbing the equilibrium in the bargain. We must be just to both” [Speech at Karachi Club, August 9, 1947]. Another example: “Commerce and trade are the very life blood of the nation. I can no more visualise a Pakistan without traders than I can one without cultivators or civil servants. I have no doubt that in Pakistan, traders and merchants will always be welcome and that they, in building up their own fortunes, will not forget their social responsibility for a fair and square deal to one and all, big and small” [Speech at Karachi Chamber]. Yet another example: “I also hope that in planning your factory, you have provided for proper residential accommodation and other amenities for the workers, for no industry can thrive without contented labour” [Opening of Valika Textile Mills]. Last, but not the least, are his observations about the managing agency system. The managing agents “are carried away too far by their over-greed.” And, therefore, existing managing agency contracts “should not as far as possible be continued for a longer period than necessary”.

This policy of balance, of an equilibrium—economic equipoise—by leveling the people up and the vested interests down, worked in the first year, with the Quaid happily announcing: “Disappointed in their efforts by other means to strangle the new State at its very birth, our enemies yet hoped that economic manoeuvres would achieve the object they had at heart. With all the wealth of argument and detail, which malice could invent or ill-will devise, they prophesied that Pakistan would be left bankrupt. And what the fire and sword of the enemy could not achieve, would be brought about by the ruined finances of the State. But these prophets of evil have been thoroughly discredited. Our first budget was a surplus one; there is a favourable balance of trade, and a steady and an all-round improvement in the economic field” [Message on 14 August, 1948].

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