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## **Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan and Muhammad Ali Jinnah: A Partnership in the Struggle for Pakistan and their Vision**

**Mehran Riaz**

M. Phil History, Government College University, Faisalabad

**Dr. Mansoor Ahmed (Corresponding Author)**

Assistant Professor, Department of History, Government College University, Faisalabad

Email: mansoorahmed@gcuf.edu.pk

**Muhammad Awais**

PhD History student, Department of History, Government College University, Faisalabad

Email: Awaism21@gmail.com

### **ABSTRACT**

The relationship between Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan and Muhammad Ali Jinnah represents an important chapter in the political and diplomatic history of Pakistan. As a distinguished lawyer, statesman, and international representative, Zafarullah Khan played a significant role in the struggle for Muslim political rights in British India and later in shaping the foreign policy of the newly established state of Pakistan. His close association with Muhammad Ali Jinnah reflected a shared vision of constitutional struggle, political representation, and the protection of Muslim interests. This article examines Zafarullah Khan's contributions to the Pakistan Movement and his collaboration with Jinnah during critical phases of the independence struggle. It explores his role as an advocate of the Lahore Resolution, his representation on the Punjab Boundary Commission, his international advocacy for Muslim rights, and his legal and political assistance to the Muslim League leadership. The study also highlights his appointment as the first Foreign Minister of Pakistan by Muhammad Ali Jinnah and analyzes how his diplomatic skills helped establish Pakistan's presence in the international community. Through an examination of historical events and political developments, this article argues that Zafarullah Khan was not only a key participant in the creation of Pakistan but also one of the principal figures responsible for laying the foundations of its foreign policy. His partnership with Jinnah demonstrates the importance of diplomatic leadership, legal expertise, and international engagement in the early years of Pakistan's state-building process.

**Keywords:** Foreign Policy of Pakistan, Muslim League, Lahore Resolution, Diplomatic History.

### **Introduction:**

Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan was a prominent and outstanding leader who played a significant role in Pakistan's historical development. He was a visionary statesman, a great diplomat, and a legal scholar whose role within the Pakistan Movement and following that, within the diplomatic presence of his country at the international arena cannot be overestimated and needs to be better appreciated in scholarly circles. Sir Zafarullah was born on 6th February 1893 in Daska, a city located in the district of



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Sialkot, Punjab. <sup>1</sup>British India, and he was born in a highly religious and literate family; the family was a member of the Ahmadiyya Community. His father, Nasrullah Khan, was a figure of high standing in the local community, and he supported his son in acquiring not only modern but also Islamic values, which had a profound impact on Zafarullah's character and worldview. Sir Zafarullah was educated early in the Mission High School, Sialkot, and afterwards at Government College Lahore, which was one of the prestigious institutions at the time.

He was a very bright student; thus, his brightness made him admired by other students and by his teachers. The brilliance of his studies landed him in England at King's College London, where he also undertook legal courses. He was called to the Bar in the year 1914 at Lincoln's Inn in British India as a trained barrister. He started law practice in Sialkot and had a brilliant career in Lahore within a short span of time because he was known to be an eloquent, legally astute, and a person of high moral standing. These attributes not only made him qualify to be one of the best lawyers in Punjab but also predisposed him interest in becoming a politician and a public servant. He started his political career when he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Council in 1926 <sup>2</sup> and became a champion of the rights of Muslims and constitutional rule. His diplomatic skills were later registered in the international forums through which he represented India on different occasions, such as the Round Table Conferences in London. He was recruited to serve as the Minister of Railways in the Government of British India and became a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. His contribution in the field of law was also eminent- at one time he was a judge of the Federal Court of India in 1941-1947, the supreme court of India before partition. During these years, Zafarullah Khan was closely connected with the All-India Muslim League and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Zafarullah prepared the historic Lahore Resolution of 1940<sup>3</sup>, which provided the ideological ground for the establishment of Pakistan. Following the birth of Pakistan in August 1947, the new state was in a dangerous state, bearing in mind that it was divided both geographically, economically, unsteady, militarily fragile, and isolated internationally. It sorely needed a grand visionary foreign policy to establish its sovereignty and create international relations, as well as go through the myriad of bipolar world orders. During such acute moments, Muhammad Ali Jinnah appointed Sir Zafarullah Khan as the first Foreign Minister of Pakistan on 27 December 1947. The appointment of the minister was not token, but a calculated move to ensure that Pakistan was in the hands of a proven, experienced, and globally accredited individual to carry the premier foreign policy of the country. Zafarullah came equipped with great experience about diplomacy, law, and administration. What was more important, he knew a great deal about world politics, the workings of the British Empire, and the ambitions of the recently acquired Muslim-dominated state.

Sir Zafarullah Khan, as the Foreign Minister, was instrumental in the formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy during the most vulnerable and formative years of Pakistan. This continued until 24 October 1954, when he served in this capacity with a stamp of excellence and zeal, both representing Pakistan in the United Nations and even in other

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<sup>1</sup> "Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan & Allama Iqbal, London, 1930s," The Friday Times, November 10, 2017, <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/2017/11/10/sir-muhammad-zafarullah-khan-allama-iqbal-london-1930s/>.

<sup>2</sup> Tayyaba Qamer and Dr Lubna Kanwal, "Pakistan Movement: The Political Contributions of Muhammad Zafarullah Khan," *Insights of Pakistan, Iran and the Caucasus Studies* 3, no. 4 (November 2024): 4.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Akhtar Hussain Sandhu, "COMMUNITARIAN RESPONSE TO THE LAHORE RESOLUTION OF 1940 IN THE BRITISH PUNJAB: AN ANALYTICAL DISCOURSE," 2011 volume:31 : 21-39.



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international forums. His addresses to the United Nations Security Council, the most notable of which was regarding the Kashmir dispute, have been regarded as masterpieces when it comes to legal and diplomatic arguments. He repeatedly pointed out the problem of Indian aggression in Kashmir and supported the idea of self-determination of the Kashmiri people<sup>4</sup>. This stern move not only afforded Pakistan moral and diplomatic support but also brought out the Kashmir issue on the international arena, where it lives to date as one of the most talked about issues. Outside Kashmir, Sir Zafarullah Khan became a staunch crusader in defending the rights of downtrodden Muslim nations elsewhere in the globe, such as Palestine, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Indonesia. He protested colonialism and imperialism and identified Pakistan with the liberation movements, particularly those of the Muslim world and the developing world. He was also extremely successful in building relationships with most recently independent countries of Asia and Africa and in establishing the image of Pakistan as a principled, peace-loving, and independent state. His foreign policy was based on non-alignment, Islamic brotherhood, and moral diplomacy, which still plays a key role in determining Pakistan's diplomatic stand. Sir Zafarullah Khan has had his share of accomplishments in the field; nonetheless, due attention has not been paid to his contributions in academic books. All the sources accessible are either compiled by him (i.e., his autobiography, *Tahdith-e-Ni* 8, rather, various books on the early history of Pakistan) or are referred to briefly in books on the early history of Pakistan. This product hole can be viewed as a possibility of a narrow study that can examine his period as Foreign Minister thoroughly. This thesis will be an attempt to discuss his diplomatic career between 27 December 1947 to 24 October 1954 with a particular focus on his work in foreign policy making, in representing Pakistan in the international organizations, and in shaping Pakistan as a country on the world map. Such a study is also necessary by virtue of the fact that the foreign ministry is the linchpin of the international relations of a nation. In Pakistan, the foreign policy had to be well-structured since it was a newly formed state that had scant resources, limited allies, and many geopolitical issues. The experience of Sir Zafarullah Khan was welcomed at the top of the foreign affairs for Pakistan to punch above its weight in world politics<sup>5</sup>. He also introduced status, credibility, and sway to the nation and established the basic principle that would define the future relations the nation would have with other countries.

### **Collaboration with Muhammad Ali Jinnah – The First Governor-General:**

The strategic as well as ideological relationship between the founding father of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan was instrumental in the development of the nation<sup>6</sup>. They started to cooperate in the middle stages of the constitutional battles of British India and extended this collaboration as the architects of a state of Pakistan. Although Jinnah was the political strategist and popular chief of the Pakistan Movement, Zafarullah Khan was his intellectual brain behind this movement, whose contributions cut across various watershed events in the political history of Muslim India. Following the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, when Jinnah became the Governor-General, he resorted to those trusted and capable persons to help him in stabilizing the new state, Zafarullah Khan being one among these persons who

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<sup>4</sup> Anand Mohan, "The Historical Roots of the Kashmir Conflict," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 15, no. 4 (January 1992): 283–308, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576109208435908>.

<sup>5</sup> Tayyaba Qamer and Lubna Kanwal, "Pakistan Movement: The Political Contributions of Muhammad Zafarullah Khan," *Insights of Pakistan, Iran and the Caucasus Studies* 3, no. 4 (2024): 126–35.

<sup>6</sup> Yunas Samad, *A Nation in Turmoil: Nationalism and Ethnicity in Pakistan, 1937-1958*, n.d.



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became the first Foreign Minister of Pakistan<sup>7</sup>.

### Shared Ideology and Early Interactions:

Interestingly, ideological and intellectual ties between Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah took deep roots in their respective convictions to constitutionalism, rule of law, civil rights, and political sovereignty of Muslims of British India. They were both Western-learned lawyers (Jinnah schooled at Lincoln's Inns and Zafarullah Khan at King and London) and felt that the political advancement of Muslims in India would only be through legalities and democratic rights and the well-documented demands based on justice and not economy and populism. The history of their initial relationship was seen in the context of the growing communal tension in British India of the 1930s<sup>8</sup>. This is when the Indian National Congress was picking up and propagating an ideology of one united India, which had mostly Hindu-majority principles. Muslim leaders were, however, becoming extremely keen on the preservation of their religious, cultural as well as political rights in a subsequent democratic system which promised them minimal opportunity to protect them against majoritarianism. Although an official of the British Indian government and judiciary, Zafarullah Khan ideologically stood firm on the side of the All-India Muslim League, the main representative organization of Muslims and, as their leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Zafarullah Khan was a constitutional expert and experienced diplomat who made strategic use of his post; not to enrich himself but to move the political argument of Muslim nationhood behind the scenes. Another major point of cooperation between them was at the Lahore Session of the All-India Muslim League of 1940. When the League wanted to make formal its claim of creating a separate state of Muslims, the legal system needed an appreciable mechanism to explain the political belief concretely. It was to Zafarullah Khan that Jinnah directed himself to this extremely important work. Having no official place in the Muslim League because of his position as a judge, political allegiances of Zafarullah Khan were not secret, and Jinnah trusted him in terms of his intellect and discretion.

Zafarullah Khan then wrote the words that turned out to be The Lahore Resolution, a historic document which was later to be referred to as The Pakistan Resolution. This was a resolution which was made on 23rd March 1940; according to this, the Muslims of India were not just a minority rather they were a specific nation with their cultural, religious, and social values they had a right to have their sovereign nation where they would live as they wanted to live. The exact wording of the resolution in the carefully selected legal language was an indication of how precise Zafarullah Khan was as a jurist and how he knew and understood the issue of international law, nationalism, and minority rights. The communication between them during this period was not only successful but also immensely friendly. Jinnah, who was commonly known as the single spokesman of the Indian Muslims, knew the importance of having people such as Zafarullah Khan-people who would bring to bear the reality that existed between legal theory and political activism. He appreciated the composed attitude, critical thinking, as well as the principled approach of Zafarullah Khan. The Lahore Resolution turned out to become the blueprint of the Pakistan Movement, the success of which was greatly

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<sup>7</sup> "Muhammad Zafrulla Khan: The Man Who Struggled For Independence of Muslim Arab World | Journal of Development and Social Sciences," accessed July 27, 2025, <https://www.ojs.jdss.org.pk/journal/article/view/143>.

<sup>8</sup> Gene R. Thursby, *Hindu-Muslim Relations in British India: A Study of Controversy, Conflict, and Communal Movements in Northern India 1923-1928* (BRILL, 1975), p:10-216.



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attributed to the fact that Zafarullah Khan demonstrated nothing but clear legal arguments and ideological consistency at the negotiating table. Although in the subsequent several years, Zafarullah Khan also worked in the official capacity as a judge of the Federal Court of India and as a member of the Viceroy Executive Council, he continued to be a discreet yet significant associate of the Muslim League. He used to be consulted regularly over constitutional affairs and communal dealings. In his official capacity, he had to remain neutral, but in his personal life, he never wavered in his support of the League and was completely in favour of its aims. The second major overlap within the ideology of Zafarullah Khan and Jinnah was the broad but differentiated vision of Muslim identity. Both thought that Muslims had to have their state not because of the hate and the division with the Hindu communities, but to conserve their peculiar way of life and guarantee equal possibilities and find peaceful coexistence through mutual understanding. This was highly important, particularly when the Congress Party was ruling out proposals on power-sharing and when it was denying the communal nature of Indian society. They were rather different from many of the current leaders because of their belief in modern Islamic values, democracy, and human rights. After the birth of the state itself, Zafarullah Khan was looking at the Islamic identity not as a fixed dogma but as a dynamic, ethical, forward-thinking system that would be able to exist alongside the international standards of justice and good diplomacy, and good statesmanship. Zafarullah Khan, in his turn, considered Jinnah as the man with the vision, who could help achieve of making a politically oppressed nation a sovereign state. Such dialogues and ideological partnership paved the way for Zafarullah Khan, who was later appointed as the first Foreign Minister of Pakistan. His trust and trustworthiness in Jinnah in terms of his rights and duties in the constitutional and diplomatic circles had already been proven in their collaborations. It was this initial ideological convergence in the thoughts of the two leaders that was very crucial in defining the foreign and domestic policy of the newly emerging Pakistan<sup>9</sup>.

### **Role in the Pakistan Movement:**

Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan served a critical Pakistan Movement behind the scenes and before the international community in spite of not being a traditional political activist. His work was mainly intellectual, diplomatic, and legal- but still influential as that of the front-line political leaders. Although Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the leader behind the Pakistan Movement, Zafarullah Khan presented the legal and diplomatic structural support that assisted in turning the vision of Pakistan into politics.

### **Architect of the Lahore Resolution:**

The Lahore Resolution, given at the 27th annual session of the All-India Muslim League, on 23rd March 1940 at Minto Park, Lahore, by Zafarullah Khan, was thus by far one of the greatest contributions of the Pakistan Movement<sup>10</sup>. This resolution was regarded as the ideological pillar of Pakistan. It became the initial formal political call, made by the Muslim League, to the establishment of independent Muslim-majority states in the northwestern and eastern regions of British India. By this time, Zafarullah Khan was just a judge at the Federal Court of India, which meant directly he was not directly involved in political party activities, as there were norms concerning judicial neutrality.

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<sup>9</sup> Hasan Askari-Rizvi, "Pakistan," *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, Taylor & Francis Group, March 1, 1983, world, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00927678.1983.10553709>.

<sup>10</sup> Ishtiaq Ahmed, "Forced Migration and Ethnic Cleansing in Lahore in 1947: Some First Person Accounts," 2004, no.1 (15 June): 1-74.



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Nevertheless, Jinnah had a lot of faith in him due to his knowledge in the field of law and nationalism. When Jinnah asked the Chief of the Pakistani ministry, Zafarullah Khan, to prepare the text, he did this quite legally, making the expression of the demands of the Muslim people rather qualified, so that the announcement of the secession was not too aggressive in the original version. The wording of the resolution was thus made in such a way that the League was able to avoid Brexit constitutional sensitivities as well as Hindu opposition at the same time, establishing the foundation of Pakistan. This resolution was resolved unanimously and energized the Muslim masses, which was the foundation of the demand for Pakistan. It is a legacy, and that Zafarullah Khan was instrumental in drafting the same cannot be overemphasized. It revealed his thorough knowledge of international law, the rights of the minorities, and the language used in the constitution, as well as how they all may be employed to support a separate Muslim nation.

### **Representative on the Punjab Boundary Commission:**

The other central contribution of Zafarullah Khan in the Pakistan Movement was as the agent of the Muslim League in the Boundary Commission Committee of Punjab in 1947<sup>11</sup>. This commission was to mark the international borders between India and the newly established state of Pakistan in the Punjab region, a region of diversified population which was to be divided on the basis of the religions that were in the majority in that region. Zafarullah Khan was strong and rational in supporting the case of the Muslim League; he was supporting the idea of regions that had a majority of Muslims to be parts of Pakistan. He stood at a big advantage with his legal resources since he used statistical findings, historical claims, and demographic statistics to present the case of Pakistan. Alas, despite his strict exposition, his conclusions of the Boundary Commission, which were particularly badly influenced by the British judge Sir Cyril Radcliffe, did not match most of the proposals presented by the Muslim League<sup>12</sup>. Case in point, the assigning of Gurdaspur to India was a contested choice because it granted India land access to Kashmir, which in the future would prove as the pivotal point of conflict between the two countries. It was a failed effort, but the efforts of Zafarullah Khan in the Commission deserve appreciation as an effort to principally and professionally champion the issues. He was polite and tactful in a very livid and emotional political environment.

### **International Advocacy for Muslim Rights:**

Zafarullah Khan was even a diplomatic representative of Muslim interests at the international front before Pakistan came into being. This stage was initiated by his involvement in the Round Table Conferences held in London. He was representing the interests of the Indian Muslims, and he tried to protect the political rights of Muslims and to strengthen the need to have constitutional protection and separate electorates in the direction of which Jinnah stood. In 1939, Zafarullah Khan was also sent by India to represent India at the League of Nations, and there he promoted world peace and justice. What is more important is that he was dispatched to the United Nations in 1947 before the partition, and he was sent to India as a representative to discuss the Palestine question. Even though he was acting on behalf of undivided India, he was seen as a Muslim world spokesperson upholding the rights of Palestinian Arabs and chastising the

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<sup>11</sup> Kalsoom Hanif, "State, Religion and Religious Minorities in Pakistan: Remembering the Participation of Christians in Punjab Legislative Assembly 1947-55," *Pakistan Social Sciences Review* 4, no. II (June 2020): 842-51, [https://doi.org/10.35484/pssr.2020\(4-ii\)68](https://doi.org/10.35484/pssr.2020(4-ii)68).

<sup>12</sup> Joya Chatterji, "The Fashioning of a Frontier: The Radcliffe Line and Bengal's Border Landscape, 1947-1999," *South Asian Studies* 33, no. 1 (1997): 82-115.



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evils that were being perpetrated under the scheme of the British Mandate. His speech reached international approval and was subsequently cited as a paradigm of moral diplomacy and legal argument. This step of publicly defending the Muslims on the international arena was not only the personal belief of Zafarullah Khan but also his adjustment to the wishes of the Muslim League. This speech was greatly disseminated in the Muslim-dominated areas and added honor to the moral and political ideas of the Muslim League in the cause of Pakistan in front of the world community.

### **Legal Advisor to Muslim League Leadership:**

During the 1940s, Zafarullah Khan was an unofficial legal advisor of the Muslim League. He was a Federal Court judge and a member of the Viceroy Executive Council, but never felt alienated by the political struggle of Indian Muslims, though he held different positions in the colonial administration. His law-making assistance was important in the drafting of constitutional proposals of the league, response to British schemes in policies, and the League's records. His backstage work consisted of the composition of memorandums, contributing to the preparation of Jinnah for negotiations with the British government, as well as to the provision of legal approaches to the problem of partition and post-partition resources. His input was particularly helpful in the complicated process of communal award revisions, cabinet missions, and transfer of power arrangements<sup>13</sup>.

### **Bridge Between Muslims of India and the International Community:**

Zafarullah Khan was also very instrumental as a liaison between Indian Muslims and the world of diplomacy. He was the leader of the subcontinent who was among the very few and earlier gained acceptance internationally long before the formation of Pakistan. His messages to the world through his long meetings with foreign dignitaries, world conferences, his article writings in the world newspapers, etc, helped build an appreciation of a positive picture of Indian Muslims as a rational, peace-loving, and politically conscious community. He also employed his platform to explicate the reason why there was a need to demand Pakistan, and this was not based on religious crusade, but on the aspect of democracy that had to do with the safeguarding of cultural and political rights. The reason why he was so helpful to Jinnah and the Muslim League leadership was his eloquence in conveying the Pakistan Movement in a diplomatic and legal lexicon<sup>14</sup>.

### **Appointment as Foreign Minister by Muhammad Ali Jinnah:**

The founding of Pakistan on 14 August 1947 was the start of an experiment of phenomenal proportions in state-building. The new nation was beset by insuperable odds: huge population influx, internal strife, a shaky economy, unsettled borders, and a fragile relationship with India and the rest of the world. The foundational figure of these struggles was Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder and Governor-General, and he was charged with the huge task of formulating the political and administrative basis of the fledgling state. The first and foremost was the need to create a strong foreign ministry

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<sup>13</sup> Zafarullah Khan, "The Reminiscences of Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan," 2004 1: 256.

<sup>14</sup> "Entanglements in the Colony: Jewish-Muslim Connected Histories in Colonial India | Modern Asian Studies | Cambridge Core," accessed July 27, 2025, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/modern-asian-studies/article/entanglements-in-the-colony-jewishmuslim-connected-histories-in-colonial-india/054E9C4C2994579B4906B00D681B2AD8>.



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whose responsibility was to represent the interests of Pakistan in the international arena, to forge diplomatic ties and to ensure the international legitimacy of the new state. Here Jinnah made the vital move when on 27 December 1947, he decided to appoint Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan as the first Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Such appointment was not just a ceremonial one but Jinnah knew well the demands of the fragile status of Pakistan within international politics. Jinnah was aware that the survival of Pakistan would heavily rely on its ability to gain international recognition, form alliances and win adoption of its territorial and political differences, notably the fast-increasing Kashmir unrest. These delicate questions required a man of undisputed ability, confidence and worldwide experience.

Zafarullah Khan alone was qualified to play this role. Previous experiences made him have a stature that not many had in Pakistan at the time. Already a recognized international statesman as the representative of India in the League of Nations and subsequently in the San Francisco Conference of 1945 at which the Charter of the United Nations was drafted, he was now a recognized statesman on the international stage. His stylish advocacy of cause of colonized and marginalized peoples had won him admiration in international circles and his brilliance in law had gained recognition among the British and world watchers. Besides, his experience in the viceroy Executive Council where he had dealt with foreign affairs as well as Commonwealth relations provided him with the first hand experience of diplomacy. This exposure was exactly what Pakistan required when it had no well established diplomatic corps and was also finding it difficult to find recognition and support in other countries. To Jinnah, then, the selection of Zafarullah Khan was strategic and symbolic. It was an indication that he was going to manage the business of the state with a spirit of merit and expertise and not personal loyalty or political expediency. At a time when there could have been the temptation of rewarding political partisans with important offices, Jinnah demonstrated his foresight by making one of the most sensitive ministries in the hands of a man who, in spite of being no mass politician, had unparalleled qualifications in law and diplomacy. This move also showed the pragmatism of Jinnah; he trusted that without any seasoned administrators, the foreign policy of Pakistan would be left in the hands of someone who had the world reputation and intellectual capability, and could make Pakistan case heard in hostile quarters. The appointment of Zafarullah Khan also had an implicit continuity with his previous services to the Pakistan Movement. He had prepared the Lahore Resolution, had defended Muslim political demands on the international forums and had represented the Pakistan case before the Boundary Commission.

In that regard, his appointment as Foreign Minister was not merely a reward of previous loyalty, but also of the fact that he had already been one of the intellectual creators of the existence of Pakistan. He was now as Foreign Minister charged to make sure that the hard-earned independence of Pakistan was converted into long-term international legitimacy. The months during which he was in the ministry in the beginning depicted the reasons why Jinnah had given him so much confidence. Zafarullah Khan at once began to construct the diplomatic profile of Pakistan. He met governments abroad to ensure that they took him seriously, spoke on key issues at the United Nations on behalf of Pakistan, and labored so hard to put forward Pakistan as a good citizen of the world. As a lawyer, diplomatic orator and capable of making a convincing case in front of world forums, Pakistan was able to punch above its weight at this time when it was a fragile and newly formed state. Reflectively, the move by Jinnah to appoint Zafarullah Khan as Foreign Minister was among the most brilliant moves in the early history of Pakistan. It showed a realistic insight that competence was superior in foreign policy than popularity.



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It also made sure that in spite of being a fledgling state with few resources, Pakistan provided at the helm a foreign minister who could make his way through the rough waters of international politics post-war. This decision would later prove right in the tenure of Zafarullah Khan who would later represent the cause of Pakistan in some of the most important issues during the formative years of the country. So the choice of Zafarullah Khan was not merely the stuffing of a ministerial office but a groundwork towards the formation of a diplomatic identity of Pakistan. It was through him that Jinnah made sure that the voice of Pakistan in the world was credible, eloquent and supported by the authority of one of the best jurists and diplomats that the subcontinent had given the world.

### **Close Working Relationship:**

The way Pakistan was to go foreign was shaped within a short duration, starting with the appointment of Zafarullah Khan and the death of Jinnah in September 1948, as they both labored. The example of Pakistan was forced to grapple with numerous issues in the international arena during the early times:

Other countries' diplomatic recognition

Putting up embassies and consulates

Controlling the war in Kashmir and placing it in the United Nations

Developing a policy on Palestine and relationships with the Muslim states

Locating Pakistan in the early Cold War setting

Sir Zafarullah Khan routinely advised Jinnah on foreign policy affairs. Jinnah, with his greater interest in the internal management and constitution, was very much interested in the global picture of the Pakistani country, and he directed Zafarullah Khan to work on non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, and Islamic unity. The records of their correspondence and cabinet meetings point to mutual respect and well-coordinated work. Zafarullah Khan followed Jinnah in the initial times of diplomatic interactions and served Pakistan in its international dealings, mainly in the United Nations Security Council, where he vehemently argued the case of Pakistan on Kashmir<sup>15</sup>. His speeches, which were well articulated and delivered with a lot of force, attracted world attention and were regularly quoted in the press across the world. Such attempts were made in tight coordination with the strategic vision of Jinnah because of a peaceful but aggressive Pakistan in international politics.

### **Respect and Legacy of Their Collaboration:**

One of the most powerful partnerships that took place in the early years of the history of Pakistan was the partnership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan. Their collaborative work had not only contributed to the short-run course of the Pakistan Movement, but also provided the intellectual and moral framework of the foreign policy perspective in Pakistan during the early independence. The distinguishing characteristic of this cooperation was not political expediency or sectarian unity, but rather a strong mutual regard based on merit, vision and a sense of collective devotion to a cause national. Jinnah had found in Zafarullah Khan a jurist, a diplomat, and a moralist, in an uncommon fusion. After witnessing the work of Zafarullah Khan in the Lahore Resolution and his presentation to the Boundary Commission, and his performance at international forums as the representative of India, Jinnah was utterly convinced that he was the only person who could serve Pakistan on such a high level. Surviving in the

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<sup>15</sup> Dennis Kux, *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001).



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international system after the war, Pakistan needed a principled and pragmatic foreign policy, which, according to Jinnah, was that of a balanced foreign policy leadership, which Zafarullah Khan matched. Although Zafarullah Khan belonged to the Ahmadiyya group which would later be an issue of institutional and social disagreement in the history of Pakistan, Jinnah never permitted sectarianism to interfere with his reasoning. Rather, he gave Zafarullah Khan the importance that he had entirely upon the aspects of his patriotism, merit, and services. This choice was indicative of Jinnah's bigger picture, Pakistan as a state founded on meritocracy and inclusivity, wherein people were not to be ruled by their sectarianism but by their capability to serve the national cause. When Jinnah appointed Zafarullah Khan as the Foreign Minister, he was sending a serious signal that Pakistani interests held the highest priority and that competent leadership was the key qualification to election office. On his part, Zafarullah Khan responded to this respect with admiration and unstinting loyalty to Jinnah. In his orations and his subsequent literature, he repeatedly referred to Jinnah, the intransigent leader of the Muslims, whose vision, will and uprightness enabled him to create Pakistan. To Zafarullah Khan, Jinnah was not a political icon, but the personification of the Muslim struggle to seek self-determination. He has attributed Jinnah with the foresight and statesmanship that was required to reshape a highly fragmented Muslim nation into a stated political entity that could attain independence.

Their co-operation also affected the nature of foreign policy of Pakistan. Both men thought that Pakistan must project itself as an upright state that was ruled by the principles of moral clarity, justice, and international law. The same values of equity and law that Jinnah himself had exercised in domestic politics were the foundation of the advocacy by Zafarullah Khan at the United Nations, whether he was speaking of Kashmir or Palestine, or decolonization in Africa and Asia. They created the precedent that the diplomacy of Pakistan would not only be transactional but also have a strong moral and ideological aspect, protecting the rights of oppressed nations and joining the greater justice movements in the world. Their personal roles are therefore overridden by the legacy of their collaboration. The confidence of Jinnah in Zafarullah Khan introduced the idea that ability and honesty should be the factors of choice of the leadership in sensitive national matters. The very fact that Zafarullah Khan was loyal to Jinnah served to remind the world of this leader as the founder of not just a Pakistani state but also as the father of a unique Muslim political identity. Their interaction depicted that the initial triumphs of Pakistan had been founded on meritocratic collaboration between visionary leadership and intellectual skills, but not based on limited sectarian or self-centred loyalties.

In subsequent years, Zafarullah Khan did not stop honoring Jinnah in his writings and speeches, never stopping to mention his role in shaping the ideological and political personality of Pakistan. To Zafarullah Khan, Jinnah was the ideal leader whose persistence and bravery had shaped a nation on a platform of misery. This long-adored reverence made sure that despite the death of Jinnah, Zafarullah Khan was determined to maintain the values and vision of the Quaid-e-Azam in the international arena. Reflectively, Jinnah-Zafarullah Khan partnership was one of the most significant partnerships in the South Asian politics history. It represented the spirit of merit, integrity, and national interest and left behind a model of leadership that, despite being later blotted out by sectarian divisions, continues to represent an essential teaching in the original spirit of Pakistan.



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### Conclusion:

Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan and Muhammad Ali Jinnah shared a significant political and diplomatic partnership that contributed greatly to the creation and early development of Pakistan. Zafarullah Khan's role in the Pakistan Movement extended beyond legal assistance; he emerged as an influential voice for Muslim political rights and represented the aspirations of Muslims at both national and international forums. His intellectual abilities, constitutional understanding, and diplomatic experience made him one of the important figures who supported Jinnah's vision of a separate Muslim state.

Zafarullah Khan's contributions as an advocate of the Lahore Resolution, representative on the Punjab Boundary Commission, and international spokesperson for Muslim interests demonstrate his commitment to the Pakistan Movement. His appointment as the first Foreign Minister of Pakistan by Muhammad Ali Jinnah reflected the trust and confidence placed in his abilities. In the early years of Pakistan, he played a crucial role in introducing the newly established state to the international community and in establishing the foundations of its foreign relations.

The partnership between Zafarullah Khan and Jinnah highlights the importance of political leadership supported by legal expertise and diplomatic skills. While Muhammad Ali Jinnah provided the vision and leadership necessary for the creation of Pakistan, Zafarullah Khan contributed through his constitutional knowledge, international representation, and diplomatic efforts. His services remain an essential part of Pakistan's political history and continue to illustrate the role of diplomacy in nation-building.

Therefore, Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan should be remembered not only as Pakistan's first Foreign Minister but also as a key architect who helped shape the country's political identity and foreign policy direction during its formative years.

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