

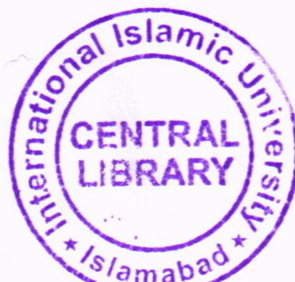
Thesis

INDIAN SCHOLARS ON QUAID-I-AZAM MUHAMMAD
ALI JINNAH: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY



Zeenat-un-Nisa
M.Phil-History

Department of History
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INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD



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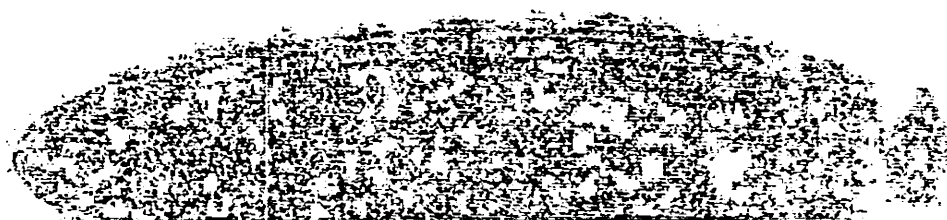
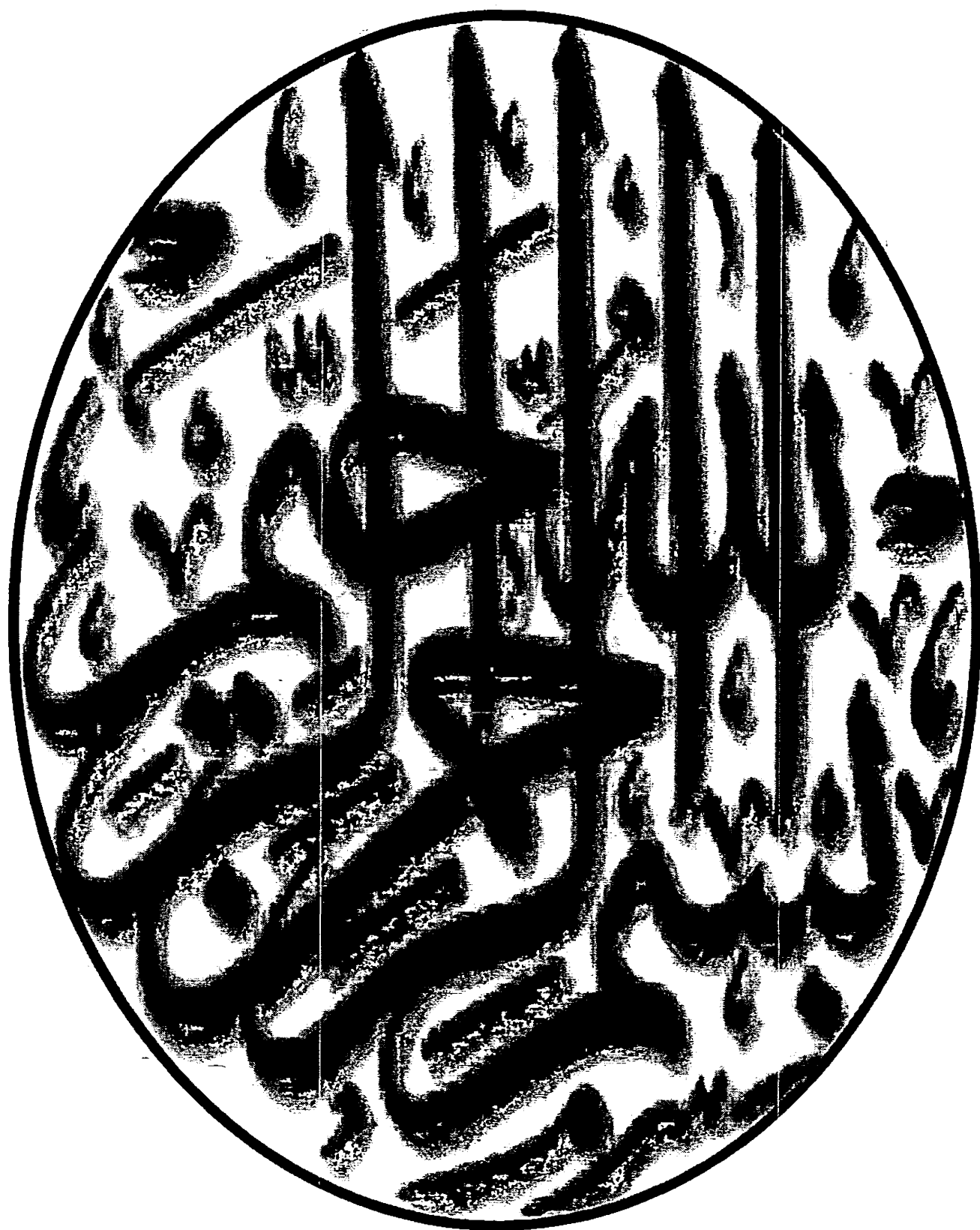
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M.Phil History
Registration # 4-FSS/M.Phil H/S08**

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Philosophy in History, with specialization in Historiography on Jinnah, at
the Faculty of Social Sciences,
International Islamic University,
Islamabad.

Supervisor

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Date 14-10-2011

APPROVAL SHEET

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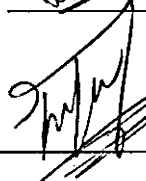
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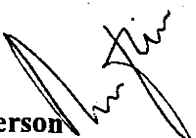
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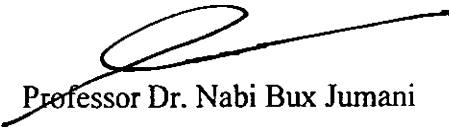

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Abstract

“Indian scholars on Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah” is a study of historiography of Indian scholars on Jinnah. It reveals how they have assessed the personality of Jinnah, his politics, ideas and actions. The purpose of the study is to understand and critically examine the point of view of the Indian writers about Jinnah and his role in the creation of Pakistan. All those factors which influence the point of views of Indian writers about Jinnah have also be measured. It has also analyzed to which extent those factors have influenced the point of view of Indian scholars.

Jinnah is one of the most prominent leaders of India during freedom struggle. Jinnah began his political journey with massive effort for Hindu Muslim unity simultaneously for liberation of India and attained the title of Ambassador of Hindu Muslim Unity. His political journey passed through different stages and ended with becoming the founding father of a separate Muslim state namely Pakistan.

The coherent of Jinnah's political conduct and manners is also a subject of significance and concern for Indian scholars along with Pakistani and British scholars. During recent years some prominent political leaders of India also acknowledged Jinnah's role in the freedom struggle of India and faced bitter opposition from Indian masses, which has enhanced the interest of Indian scholars about Jinnah. Consequently Indian scholars have created a bundle of accounts about the diverse characteristics of Jinnah's politics for establishing or evading their perceptions about Jinnah. In the current study, an attempt will be made to scrutinize decisively the perceptions shaped by Indian scholars of pre partition and post partition periods while writing on the character, politics and personality of Jinnah. Indian scholars all by and large accept that Jinnah was vital in the creation of Pakistan; however, all of them have seen the role of Jinnah from a different prospective. They have given the diverse and contradictory views about the political role of Jinnah. These scholars have look at the role of Jinnah at various levels.

The present study has evaluated the view point of these scholars. It has also examined the sources that these scholars have consulted and have the impact of time and space on their writings. It has further taken into account the prejudices and the background of various authors. Moreover, it has categorically seen the settings and status in which Indian historiography on Jinnah developed and has critically analyze its method, style and content. All these factors have been carefully considered and authentically evaluated in the coming pages.

Acknowledgments

All praises belong to *Allah*, who is the most Gracious and Merciful, Who granted me the courage, knowledge and wisdom to pursue my educational goals to the best of my abilities. Also my special thanks are to Prophet Muhammad (SAW) who remains to be my role model and whom I wish to follow.

I render my deepest gratitude and sincere thanks to my supervisor Dr. Javed Haider Syed Associate Professor (History) of QAU, Islamabad who kept my morale high by his suggestions and appreciations. His motivation leads me to this success. I am also grateful to Miss Rafia Riaz, In charge History department IIUI, without her help and guidance I could never have been able to complete this task. Her encouragement was the real source of success. I would never forget to express my profound admiration to Sayyid Akmal Shah, Dr. Kausar Perveen, Dr. Mujeeb Ahmed and all my teachers for their dedication, inspiring attitude, untiring help and kind behavior throughout the research.

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My mother not only kept praying for me throughout my entire academic career but also provided financial support. I owe all my achievements to my most loving mother, whose cooperative nature, sincere efforts and moral support enabled me to complete my work. I am also thankful to my family for their support. I am thankful to Safia, who provided me help in all the technical work. I shall always remember cooperation of my friends Asiya, Samina and Huma. I owe my gratitude to staff of all libraries which I visited during research and all other well wishers who directly or indirectly helped me out to undertake this enormous task.

Introduction

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah [Jinnah] is one of the greatest leaders of Indian Muslim politics during the twentieth century. His remarkable achievement that distinguished him from other leaders of the world is that he used British's laws to defeat British and without shooting a bullet, only through ballet papers, won independence for his nation, although he had to face stiff resistance from the British Government and great opposition from the Indian National Congress [Congress].

The rational of Jinnah's political actions and behaviour is a matter of importance and interest not only for world scholars, who have produced a lot of literature regarding the different aspects of Jinnah's career for proving or disapproving their own hypothesis or otherwise regarding Jinnah. In the present research, an attempt will be made to examine critically the literature developed by Indian scholars of pre partition and post partition periods while writing on the character, politics and personality of Jinnah. Indian scholars, all by and large accept that Jinnah was pivotal in the creation of Pakistan; however all of them have seen the role of Jinnah from a different prospective. They have given quite different and conflicting views about the political role of Jinnah. These scholars have placed the role of Jinnah at various levels.

Comparative and analytical study reveals that Indian scholars have no unanimous view about Jinnah, his political strategy and his achievements. However Indian scholars mostly could be divided into two groups namely, The Moderates and Immoderates. Indian writers either moderate or immoderate generally praise Jinnah's personality. Almost all of them agree upon that Jinnah was a nationalist and liberal leader. They have conflicting views over where and when Jinnah

was transformed from nationalist to communalist. Moderates consider that Jinnah was forced to be transformed to a separatist otherwise he was a nationalist leader throughout till the end. They depict Jinnah in bright colour and also criticize Gandhi and his method which led to partition. While immoderate depict Jinnah in a dark shade as a selfish, ambitious and egoist person who could do anything for his purpose. While majority believe that British were supporting Jinnah and All India Muslim League [League] on the other hand many Indian scholars themselves mention a pact of Nehru with Labour leaders and friendship between the British and Congress. Some scholars also believe that British were arch-enemy of Jinnah. Some of the writers argue that Jinnah did not want Pakistan or he was feeling guilty over the creation of Pakistan that is also not true. In fact Jinnah wanted Pakistan and one of the Indian writers himself met with all responsible people and reveals the fact that Jinnah really wanted Pakistan.

The Indian writers can further be classified in three categories namely academic scholars, nonacademic scholars and political leadership. Academic scholars are trained properly to write history so their views could not be judged together with nonacademic scholars who have no proper training to write history. Political leaders are history makers so without accounting their views study would be incomplete. Many of Indian political leaders were also party of freedom struggle so their views would be analyzed separately from Academic scholars.

The Indian academic scholars had no unanimous opinion about Jinnah; however, most of the Indian academic scholars consider Jinnah as an able leader. They praise his qualities until he was a nationalist. They consider him the man of great caliber, and a towering leader. He was a man of iron will, reasoned, liberal, constitutionalist, decent, and moderate, incorruptible and of

impeachable character. He was a nationalist and liberal leader of India who refused every offer and title from British. He was one of the leaders of modern India and Indian Congress as well. He strove hard to end the foreign rule from India and self government for Indians. The India of his dream was a modernized, industrialized and educated united India where every citizen could have equal status and right. Till the 1937 Congress refusal of power sharing with League, he struggled to fulfill this dream through constitutional methods, although he was constitutionalist throughout his life till the end.

However, when he shifted his political career towards Muslim League and the safeguard of the interest of only the Muslim community, he has been criticized. However there are certain exceptions, in some of the cases, he was severely criticized by some of the historian. They consider him diehard communalist, a Muslim fanatic, a separatist, an egoist, arrogant, an ally of the British imperialism, an opponent of freedom movement, an enemy of the Congress and particularly of its leadership, Gandhi, Nehru, and Patel. He is believed to be the one man responsible for the creation of Pakistan, which implicated innumerable miseries on the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs alike. Similarly there are some historians who have very open-mindedly admitted Jinnah's abilities and political wisdom throughout his career irrespective of the shift in his political opinion.

The Indian nonacademic scholars have no single view point about Jinnah. However they could be divided mainly into two schools of thought namely moderate and immoderate. Moderate scholars consider Jinnah as a nationalist, secular and liberal leader who worked hard for the Hindu-Muslim unity, a matchless straight fighter, man of steel nerves, clear in thinking and

action. Jinnah was a man of principle and high morality. Some of the scholars of this school also believe that Jinnah was a leader of masses even before the arrival of Gandhi into Indian politics. Majority of the moderate scholars also criticize Congress leadership for not accommodating Jinnah. Due to the unreasonable attitude of Congress leadership, he turned toward the creation of Pakistan. They are also presenting the picture of Jinnah in bright colors. They are not under the influence of Congress leadership. Jinnah was a constitutionalist, honest according to them, some of the writers of this school also criticize Gandhi and his method for the creating of separatism between Hindu-Muslim which led to the partition. They also believe that Jinnah did not really want partition of India or establishment of Pakistan. However, when Congress was not ready to accommodate him in United India, he was left with no any other option than Pakistan.

Immoderate Indian nonacademic scholars are the diehard critics of Jinnah's personality, character, ideology, belief and his deeds. They consider Jinnah ambitious, egoistic, arrogant, communalist and hungry for power. Although they also admit that, Jinnah was a secular, liberal, honest, farsighted, determinant, constitutionalist and did not like mass politics of Gandhi. They also consider him a man of strong will power. According to them Jinnah was an enemy of congress leadership. Some of the writers of this section also admit that congress leadership did not accommodate Jinnah well and humiliated him many time. Thus Jinnah being an egoistic turned toward communal politics and created Pakistan for taking his personal revenge from Gandhi and Congress leadership.

They also believe that Jinnah used religion for political purposes and for politics success. He could not work on number two position so he left the Congress and created Pakistan. They also

believe that Jinnah was the person who heated up separatism among Hindus-Muslims by presenting 'Two-Nation Theory' for the realization of his dream.¹

Congress was not only the rival party of League but once it was the party of Jinnah. And Congressmen were once colleagues of Jinnah. When after the Nagpur session in 1920, Congress adopted the unconstitutional method for freedom struggle; Jinnah being a hard core constitutionalist left the Congress.² While he tried hard for seeking co-operation of Congressmen for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity during freedom struggle but met with failure. While Congress itself assumed the custodianship of whole India, it did not like Jinnah and his League. First reaction of Congress towards League and Jinnah was to ignore them, then to taunt them and finally to launch a full-fledged campaign of hatred against them. Thus the writing of Congressmen depicts this policy of Congress. All the other leadership of India considers Congress leadership responsible for partition of India with Jinnah or without Jinnah. They are of the view that it was unreasonable and unrealistic attitude of Congress leadership especially

¹ According to K.K. Aziz it was not Jinnah who first used the term of two nations in India. There were many personalities, long before Jinnah who presented the concept of two nations in India, like John Bright, Syed Ahmed, Lala Laj Pat Rai, Malivaya. Aziz, K. K. *A History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Vol. I-IV (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd, 1987). Jinnah used this term in his article to Time and Tide in March 19, 1940, with the name of 'The Constitutional Future of India'. Mujahid, Sharifal, *Ideological Foundations of Pakistan* (Islamabad: Shariah Academy, IIUI, 1999), 60-67.

² Beside the majority of Indian writers some of the Pakistani scholars and some British scholars also believe that Jinnah left Congress in 1920 after Nagpur session of Congress, like Waheed-uz-Zaman, Naeem Qureshi, K.B.Saeed, S.M. Burke, Salim-ud-Din Qureshi and some disagree with them like Sikandar Hayat and Sharif-al- Mujahid. Waheed-uz Zaman, *Towards Pakistan* (Lahore: United Publishers, 1978), 25; M. Naeem. Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British India: The Politics of the Khilafat Movement, 1918-1924* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd, 2009), 78-79; Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase, 1857-1948* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), 50; S.M. Burke, and Salim al-Din Quraishi. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: His Personality and His Politics* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 160; Sikandar Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Creation of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 43-44; Sharif al, Mujahid, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam and His Times: A Compendium, 1876-1937*, Vol.1, (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1990), 52.

Nehru forced Jinnah to transform from a diehard nationalist to be the father of new nation state Pakistan.

The present study will analyse the view point of these scholars. It will also examine the sources that these scholars have consulted and the impact of time and space on their writings. It will also take into account the biases and the background of various authors. It will definitely see the conditions and circumstances in which Indian historiography on Jinnah developed and will critically analyze its method, style and content.

Hypothesis

Indian scholars consider that Jinnah play most role in the creation of Pakistan.

Scope and Significance

The time frame of the study is last hundred years (1910-2010). In 1947, Jinnah was succeeded in making Pakistan a separate homeland for the Muslims of subcontinent. The creation of Pakistan was the greatest achievement of Jinnah. Before 1947, there were some scholars who worked on Jinnah; it will be discussed in the present study.

The study would deal only Indian schools of thought. It confines only hundred years to better understand the trend and context, and concept of scholars of that school. How they looked at the personality and political career of Jinnah and what was their opinion, hypothesis about Jinnah and why they have these hypotheses, which type of sources they used and whether these scholars have same hypothesis or different? If they have the same then why they have same and if they

have different approaches about Jinnah and his role then what is the reason of having different approaches about Jinnah.

Literature Review

‘Indian scholars on Jinnah’ is a topic which is rarely touched by the historians but few scholars have systematically worked on historiography of Indian scholars. However a detailed study of writing of Indian Scholars has never been done before this. *M. A. Jinnah: Views and Reviews* by M. R. Kazimi contains a chapter on “Indian Writers on Jinnah”.³ According to author there are two types of Indian writers; one group is sympathetic with Jinnah during their analysis of partition of India while other is critical about the personality of Jinnah. Majority of the Indian writers belong to the second group. According to the author sympathetic group considers Jinnah a genuine nationalist who only wanted equality between Muslims and Hindus in free India. They criticize Gandhi and Congress generally on the base of their contradiction, their partisan phase and their orientation of religion in politics. According to them Congress rejection of Cabinet Mission Plan, left only one option: partition. However they did not consider partition was right option and wished for reunion of India.

The approach of extremist group seems to be that no matter how much irrational the approach of Congress, no matter how much defenseless the position of the Muslims had turn out to be; Jinnah should have eventually sacrificed the survival of the Muslims at the altar of Indian unity. They want a Jinnah who would bend before Nehru; they do not like a Jinnah who would unbend to Mountbatten. According to author partition of India is measured by Hindus as a catastrophe. This chapter also contains the analytical review of some books of Indian authors over Jinnah by

³ M.R. Kazimi, *M.A Jinnah: Views and Reviews* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

author. Author simply divided Indian writers into two categories namely sympathetic and extremist. However author did not classify Indian writers as academic, nonacademic and Indian political leadership.

Secular and Nationalist Jinnah by Ajeet Jawed⁴ is a thematic study of the personality and character of Jinnah. Author briefly discusses the historiography of Indian scholars on Jinnah. According to Ajeet, Jinnah is portrayed by majority of Indian scholars as a wicked brain, a strong communalist, antagonist of the freedom struggle, collaborator of the British imperialists and the one man responsible for the partition of India. She also mentions some of the Indian scholars, who consider Jinnah as an unbending adversary of British rule throughout his political career. Jinnah was a loyalist, a secular nationalist, constitutionalist and a promoter of Hindu-Muslim unity. He was the one who refused any title from the British and strove hard for united India for forty years of his life. He only wanted safeguards for Muslims in united India and after the establishment of Pakistan he wanted same safeguards for non-Muslims in Pakistan.

The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan

by Sikandar Hayat⁵ is a systematic and thematic study of Jinnah. Author discusses different studies over Jinnah. While analyzing studies, author includes Indian studies as well. According to author some Indian scholars believed that Jinnah was an ambitious person whatever he did, he did it for personal power seeking. According to author some Indian scholars consider that Jinnah was a reactionary person and his every action was the counter move to Gandhi and Gandhi dominated Congress.

⁴ Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁵ Sikandar Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Companion to Historiography by Michael Bentley⁶ contains a chapter on “Modern Indian Historiography” by C.A. Bayly. Author started with the origin of modern Indian historiography and ended up to the present time. Indian historiography is a new area and Indian historiography has strong influence of Muslim and western historiography. Author argues that history writing started with the arrival of Muslims in India. During the Muslim rule, not only Muslims, but also non-Muslims were used to write history officially or unofficially. After the establishment of British Rule in India, Indians started writing history through their prospective in response to British historian’s objections. These scholars were very critical about the British and their rule over India. During the freedom struggle, Indian scholars wrote history with nationalistic trend. After the independence, Indian historian viewed history of freedom movement through the prospective of Congress leadership.

Historical Writing on the People of Asia: Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon by C. H. Philips contains a chapter on “Nationalist Historians” by R.C. Majumdar.⁷ Author is of the view that Indian historiography began in nineteenth century. Indian historiography has the deep influence of western historiography. According to author, nationalist historians are those who interpreted Indian history according to national interest. Author also analyzed the forces that were responsible for the creation of nationalist history in India. Nationalist history of India was a response of British history of India. British tried to present India and Indians inferior to European and gave justifications of British rule in India. Indians in response presented British cunningness

⁶ C.A. Bayly, “Modern Indian Historiography”, in Michael Bentley, ed. *Companion to Historiography* (London: Routledge, 1997).

⁷ R.C. Majumdar, “Nationalist Historians”, in C. H. Philips, ed. *Historical Writing on the People of Asia: Historian of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

and cleverness who ruled India with tactics and deceptions. With the spread of nationalistic emotions, the non-Muslims began to give importance to their fights against Muslim rules. During the freedom movement, history writing was also influenced by politics. After the independence in 1947, Indian historians carried the same trend. They also made new approaches toward the study of history.

Historiography and Historian in India Since Independence by Ramesh Chandra Sharma⁸ is an analytical study of Indian historiography and Indian scholars. Author discusses the origin and development of Indian historiography and also accepts that Indian scholars took great benefit from Muslim scholars and Europeans and Indian historiography has passed through different stages before constructing a definite character. Indian scholars have to face a lot of problems. They are very nationalist in their style and approach towards a subject especially with Pakistan movement; Pakistan and Jinnah. They are looking at the personality of Jinnah through nationalist approach.

Bias in Indian Historiography by Devahuti⁹ is an analytical study of Indian historiography. The book is basically the collection of papers of different scholars on the problem of Indian historiography. According to the author, Indian history should be studied under the Indian frame of reference. It is not important what happened in history. It is important that how people interpret the facts. The important matter of Indian history is that how the Indian people perceive their history. The book deals with the different problems of Indian historiography like regionalism, Hindu-Muslim relations, religious, cultural and archeological interpretations.

⁸ Ramesh Chandra Sharma, G. Chaturvedi and A.K. Singh, *Historiography and Historian in India Since Independence* (Agra: MG publishers, 1991).

⁹ Devahuti, ed. *Bias in Indian Historiography* (Delhi: D. K. Publications, 1980).

The Origin and Development of Muslim Historiography by M.G. Rasul¹⁰ is a fine study of origin of Muslim historiography and its history. Author started with the origin of Muslim historiography in the earlier and later periods. He also discussed the style and trend of early Muslim historians. Then he moved towards Indo-Pak region and discussed the development of historiography in the subcontinent. The characteristic of historiography of Indo-Pak is of the view that Indo-Pak historiography is very different from the historiography of early ages of Islam. Historian used to write history independently and without any fear. Historians were trying to be objective. The author highlighted the trend and style of Muslim Historiography in Indo-Pak.

Framework of Reference

The work of Indian scholars over Jinnah [The founding father of Pakistan] is very important to understand the general view of Indian about Pakistan. The word "Academic scholar" is used for a person who is trained to write history or have connection with teaching. The word "Non-academic scholar" is used for a person who has no proper training to write history.

Methodology

The descriptive and analytical approach will be used for the study. Research will be based on Pakistani, British, American and Indian primary sources. The Library of National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, is enriched with the material on Jinnah. National

¹⁰ M.G. Rasul, *The Origin and Development of Muslim Historiography* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1968).

Documentation Centre, Islamabad has been consulted for the data collection. The National Library of Pakistan, Islamabad contains a section concerning with Jinnah, full with works of scholars over Jinnah. The Central and Seminar (Department of History) Libraries of Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad have also been consulted during the research.

Organization

The study is divided into four chapters. Chapter I “Academic Scholars on Jinnah” deals with the writings of Indian Academicians over Jinnah. How they look at the personality of Jinnah, his character and his role in the creation of Pakistan.

Chapter II “Moderate School of Non-academic Scholars on Jinnah” deals with the trend of writings of Moderate School of Non-academic Scholars on Jinnah. How they look at the personality of Jinnah and creation of Pakistan. How they are different from others school of Indian scholars.

Chapter III “Immoderate School of Non-academic Scholars on Jinnah” deals with the writing trend of Immoderate School of Non-academic Scholars. How they look at Jinnah and what are their opinions about Jinnah. What are their concepts about Jinnah and in which context they are looking at Jinnah and also merits and demerits of Indian Immoderate Non-academic scholars?

Chapter IV “Indian Leadership on Jinnah” deals with the point of views of Indian Leadership about Jinnah. How they look at the personality of Jinnah and the creation of Pakistan.

Finally the finding of the whole research has been recorded along with the summary in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 1

Academic Scholars on Jinnah

Muhammad Ali Jinnah has always remained a controversial figure especially amongst the Indian scholars. Majority of them basically disapprove his main stance and his decision to divide India, still they acknowledge his extraordinary capabilities of leadership. Some of them are astonished at the way by which Jinnah motivated and mobilized the Muslim masses and made alliances with Muslim elites. Others are highly appreciative of his forceful personality and strong determination. Yet some of them are not ready to accept these qualities and interpret the politics of Jinnah in highly negative terms. They consider him as a manipulator and an egoist who was solely responsible for the division of India and the resultant sufferings of the population of both countries. The basic theme of the chapter is to analytically study the view-point of the Indian academic scholars about the personality of Jinnah and the creation of Pakistan. The terminology of academic scholars is used in the study for a person, who has been trained to write history or is connected with the discipline of history by teaching or research.

Indian academic scholars have no unanimous opinion about Jinnah; however most of the Indian academic scholars consider Jinnah as an able leader. They praise his qualities until he was a nationalist. They consider him the man of great caliber, and a towering leader. He was a man of iron will, reasoned, liberal, constitutionalist, decent, and moderate, incorruptible and of impeccable character. He was a nationalist and secular leader of India who refused every offer and title from the British. He was one of the builders of modern India and Indian Congress as well. He considered the British rule in India as the dark ages and gave the slogan 'India for

Indian¹. The India of his dreams was a united India with large scale industrialization, scientific agricultural and educational advancement, enabling Indians irrespective of caste, creed and religion to live in close harmony. However, since the 1937 Congress refusal of power sharing with League, Jinnah started his struggle to fulfill this dream through constitutional method.² First shock to shatter his Hindu Muslim unity ideal was refusal of the Mahasbhite Congress to own previously accepted status of the Muslims in 1928, Nehru Report.³

Jinnah has been criticized bitterly by some Indian scholars and over the change of his interests towards the League. The shift of his political career towards Muslim League and the safeguard of the interests of only the Muslim community are taken as a huge mistake by the Indian academic scholars. In some of the cases, he is severely criticized and is considered as a diehard communalist, a Muslim fanatic, a separatist, an egoist, arrogant, an ally of the British imperialist, an opponent of freedom movement, an enemy of the Congress and particularly of its leadership Gandhi, Nehru and Patel. He is believed to be the one man responsible for the establishment of Pakistan, which implicated innumerable miseries on Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs alike. For instance Rafiq Zakria blamed him for all the evils and miseries of the Indian people.⁴

However there are some historians who have very open-mindedly admitted Jinnah's abilities and political wisdom throughout his career irrespective of the shift in his politics. For instance Ajeet Jawed and S. R. Sharma have acknowledged his political achievements. Sharma and Ajeet both

¹ Jinnah used this slogan during his presidential address at ninth session of the League at Lucknow on December 30-31, 1916. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed. *Foundations of Pakistan: All India Muslim League Documents 1906-1924*, Vol. 1 (Karachi: National Publishing House Ltd, 1969), 376; and M. A. Zaidi, *Evolution of Muslim Political Thought 1857-1916: From Syed to The Emergence of Jinnah*, Vol. 1 (Karachi: Michiko & Panjathan, 1975), 554.

² Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), ix

³ Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 101-2.

⁴ Rafiq Zakria, *The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2001).

have explored Jinnah as a nationalist leader not communalist.⁵ J. J. Pal and Lal Bahadur have suggested that although the creation of Pakistan is the greatest achievement of Jinnah however he is not a leader of Gandhi's caliber.⁶ B. R .Nanda explores Jinnah as a shrewd politician.⁷ R. Majumdar and V. B. Kulkarni recognize Jinnah as a great leader and creation of Pakistan was the result of Jinnah ambition.⁸ There is another point on which we find most of the Indian academicians united that the British were friendly towards the League and Jinnah.

Ajeet Jawed's *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*⁹ is a systematic and comparative study of the personality and politics of Jinnah. The author introduces Jinnah as a man of great qualities like honesty, iron-will, uncorrupt-able, practical and sound judgment. She compares the personality of Jinnah with the personality of Gandhi with psychological aspect and proves with facts that Jinnah was the man of higher caliber than Gandhi. According to her Jinnah was a nationalist and secular leader, who strived hard for the freedom of his motherland from the yolk of foreign rule with the Hindu Muslim unity. However Congress leadership did not like to work with Jinnah so they forced him to create Pakistan.

According to the author, Jinnah was a man of great qualities like unimpeachable public character,¹⁰ and fear and fraud were alien to his nature.¹¹ He had complete faith in his ability and

⁵ S. R. Sharma, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Hero or a Villain* (Jaipur: Sublime Publications, 2005); Ajeet .Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁶ J. J. Pal, *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Delhi: Sidhram Publications, 1983); Lal. Bahadur, *The Muslim League: Its History, Activities and Achievements* (Lahore: BookTraders, 1979) .

⁷ B. R .Nanda, *Road to Pakistan: The Life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010).

⁸ R. Majumdar, ed., *Pakistan: Jinnah to the Present Day*, Vol. I, (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1998); V. B. Kulkarni, *Pakistan: Its Origin & Relations with India* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 1988).

⁹ Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*. Dr Ajeet Jawed is a professor in the Political Science Department of Satyawati College, University of Delhi, India. She is the author of several books.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

judgment¹² and was fair and honest. In the words of Ajeet, "Jinnah hated hypocrisy and lived the way he liked and never cared for what people thought about him."¹³ Jinnah was a practical and straight forward man. He never used any word of dual meaning; he used to speak clearly and eloquently.¹⁴ He had great capability to analyze statements, decisions and arguments. He also had practical approach toward any problem either on national level or personal level. Jinnah was not a man who could be fascinated with non practical approach. In the words of Ajeet, "He had an extraordinary faculty for pouncing on the crux of an argument. He was practical and had no taste for metaphysical dissertations."¹⁵

Ajeet argues that Jinnah was a secular man in his ideas and actions. Sectarianism had no place in his life and ideas. He also did not like the idea of using religion for political purposes. Ajeet believes that, "Jinnah was secular in his thinking, approach and activities. He was devoid of any diplomacy or humbug. Religion has no place in his personal or public life".¹⁶ According to her, there were differences between Jinnah and the Congress, however, despite these differences, Jinnah time and again supported and defended Congress on national issues. The author quoted many events like; Jinnah supported the uplifting of the ban from Khudai Khidmatgar Organization and also severely opposed the government for detention of Sarat Chandra Bose. British strived hard to win Jinnah, however Jinnah was critical toward government and sided with the Congress and ultimately launched government's defeat on assembly floor, in the voting.¹⁷ Jinnah not only supported Congress time and again on national issues against the

¹² Ibid., 19.

¹³ Ibid., 14.

¹⁴ Ibid., 155.

¹⁵ Ibid., 12.

¹⁶ Ibid., 18.

¹⁷ Ibid., 57.

British but also supported every other organization or individuals who strove for the liberation of India. Jinnah supported Bhagat Singh and his fellow despite the fact that he did not like unconstitutional methods to attain freedom. Jinnah criticized the British for leaving no other option except to take law in hands. His support for these revolutionaries shows his idealistic modernism and love to constitutionalism.¹⁸

Unlike majority of the Indian authors, Ajeet believes that, Jinnah was not afraid of any Congress leader or had any grievances against them.¹⁹ She is of the opinion that Jinnah was the one of the greatest leaders of Congress and when Congress changed her ideology, he departed it. Still, he kept on working for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity and for the liberation of India with Congress. Jinnah was given a negative response with humiliation from the Congress. The author quotes an accident where Patel wanted to put Jinnah in jail.²⁰ According to her, Jinnah's demand for Pakistan was due to unreasonable attitude of Congress and Congress leaders. They forced him to create Pakistan. Author quoted two important leaders of the Congress, Abul Kalam Azad and Sarojini Naidu, who themselves confessed the unfair attitude of Congress toward Jinnah and League.²¹ She claims that, "Embittered, Jinnah became amenable to all those forces which were eagerly waiting to have him on their side. To prove himself as an equally important leader and to

¹⁸ Ibid.,182.

¹⁹ Ibid.,57.

²⁰ Author narrated the event in this way, "Immediately after office acceptance , Sardar Vallabhai Patel, as Chairman of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, held a press conference in Bombay. In this one of the journalists asked Patel what he would do if Jinnah was obstructive. 'Entirely in a jocular mood, the Sardar retorted' We shall put Jinnah and you in jail'. A week or later, Jinnah held a press conference at his house and therein that journalist told Jinnah that Sardar Patel would put him in jail and had said so", 207.

²¹ Ibid., 211.

humble the Congress, Jinnah stood on the platform which ultimately took him to Pakistan. He was neither pro British nor communalist.²²

Ajeet acknowledges that Jinnah was a diehard enemy of the British Raj in India thought-out his political career. He was a patriot, a secular nationalist, and a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. He fought with great courage for Indian interests in the Imperial Legislative Assembly, refused any title from British and struggled for united India for forty years of his life. Ajeet believes that Jinnah was the one who resisted for long the proposal of partition and only wanted fair play and safe guarded the rights of the Muslim minority in the united India. Similarly when Pakistan was established, Jinnah advocated the same rights for the Hindu minority. She quotes many events, for instance she relates an event like this, "To another question, he [Jinnah] replied that he would unhesitatingly give the Hindu minorities in Pakistan all the privileges he had demanded for the Indian Muslims".²³ Thus he was a great advocate of the right of minorities; no matter the majority of Hindus or Muslims. It clearly reflects that he was not a communalist.

Ajeet further depicts the personality of Jinnah in an optimistic manner. She gives answers to many questions over the twist and turn in Jinnah's political career. However author's view about Jinnah's role in creation of Pakistan seems superficial and has no factual grounds. Majority of scholars claim that Pakistan could not be created without Jinnah.²⁴ She argues that Jinnah was not happy over the creation of Pakistan. For instance she claims that, "He [Jinnah] cried in

²² Ibid., 211

²³ Jawed quoted this event from M.S.M.Sharma, *Peeps into Pakistan* (Patna: Pustak Bhandar, 1954), 236.

²⁴ Sikandar. Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 317; J.J. Pal, *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Delhi: Sidharam Publications, 1983), 142; Tara Chand, *History of Freedom Movement In India*, Vol. IV (Lahore: Book Traders, 1972), 541.

agony, I have committed the biggest blunder in creating Pakistan and would like to go to Delhi and tell Nehru to forget the follies of the past and become friends again”.²⁵ She quoted the incident of meeting between Jinnah and Indian Ambassador to Pakistan Sri Prakasa. During that meeting, “When Sri Prakasa [the first Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan] told him [Jinnah] that the Indian government was seeking requisition of his house he was ‘taken aback and almost pleadingly’ said: Sri Prakasa, don’t break my heart. Tell Jawaharlal Nehru not to break my heart. I have built it brick by brick. Who can live in a house like that’. He further said, ‘you do not know how I love Bombay. I still look forward to going back there’. ‘Really Mr Jinnah,’ Sri Prakasa said, ‘You desire to go back to Bombay. I know how much Bombay owes to you and your great services to the city. May I tell the Prime Minister that you are wanting to be back there?’ Jinnah replied, ‘yes, you may.”²⁶ At another place she quotes an incident in these words, “Jinnah poured out his unhappiness, anger and agony before his most favourite Hindu friend, who had his big industrial concerns at Karachi,’ Look here, I never wanted this damn partition! It was forced upon me by Sardar Patel. And now they want me to eat humble pie and raise my hands in defeat’.²⁷ She interprets it as if Jinnah was repentant over the creation of Pakistan and wanted to be reunited with India. The argument seems to be based on some personal interpretation and not on sound facts. Many scholars believe that Jinnah was very happy over the creation of Pakistan and was not feeling guilty over his greatest achievement.²⁸

²⁵ She quoted these sentences from The Times of India, 11 September, 1988. Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*, 244.

²⁶ Ibid., 243.

²⁷ Ibid., 232.

²⁸ L.H. Hiranandani; Forward, in Sheshrao Chavan, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: The Great Enigma* (Delhi: Author’s Press, 2006), xxii.

Ajeet has done a comprehensive study of the personality and the achievements of Jinnah. She tries to prove with facts that Jinnah was nationalist and liberal leader, who strove hard for the Hindu-Muslim unity and for the liberation of more than India for forty years of his life. However, he was forced to change his way by the unreasonable attitude of Congress leaders.

S. R Sharma's *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Hero or a Villain*²⁹ is a detailed analysis of Jinnah's personality and character. The study under review has great importance due to the connectivity made by author, between the behavior of Jinnah and evolution of the personality of Jinnah and also found connectivity of the historic events with the life of Jinnah. The author considers Jinnah as a man of great qualities, like courage, decision-making, constitutionalist, secular and nationalist. The importance of the book is that the author made connectivity of Jinnah's character and personality with his behavior and attitude and his methodology.

Sharma unlike many of the Indian writers thinks that Jinnah's achievements show that he was a well-educated man. Sharma has explained his early life in these words, "The fact is that the teenage Mohammad Ali was a self-taught youth, showing a mature mind, a degree of discipline far beyond his years, and a power of decision far greater than that of men of mature years".³⁰ Author acknowledges Jinnah as a man of great caliber, possessing the qualities of leadership.³¹ Jinnah had unbelievable ability of maintaining tough intellectual work and to grasp the most intricate legal and constitutional problems and had great decision making power.³² Jinnah was

²⁹ S. R. Sharma, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Hero or a Villain*. S. R. Sharma is a historian and expert of ancient Indian history.

³⁰ Ibid., 14.

³¹ Ibid., 25.

³² Ibid., 14.

bold and courageous, disciplined, hard working, careful, functional and law-abiding.³³ There are many writer who believe that Jinnah was keen interested in the games especially cricket.³⁴ Jinnah considered politics like cricket:

For Jinnah, politics was like cricket, an open-air game; to be honorably played between gentlemen. Quaid-e-Azam took to politics as a game of cricket. When, later, he was tied up in knots with the Congress, he used to say, "The Congress plays marbles. I want them to stand up and play cricket."³⁵

According to Sharma, Jinnah was not anti Hindu leader. He was against Congress leadership because they were working against the interests of Muslims. According to author's perception,

Jinnah too had no anti-Hindu bias--- but he was dead set against the Congress leadership that appeared totally myopic towards Muslims interests and resorted to questionable means to 'cut to size' a man whose political stature they could not comprehend.³⁶

Sharma further claims that Jinnah had great sense of history, clear perception and intelligent awareness.³⁷ Jinnah was incorruptible and his political strategy was very simple. He was unbending.³⁸ According to Sharma, "In spite of provocations and temptations, Jinnah remained a stead test upholder of political morality and presciently obeyed the dictates of his conscience."³⁹

According to Sharma's analysis, Jinnah was legitimate leader of Indian Muslim and he was not a communal leader instead he was a liberal leader:

³³ Ibid., 64.

³⁴ Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (London: John Murray, 1954), 5

³⁵ S. R. Sharma, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Hero or a Villain*, 29.

³⁶ Ibid, 58.

³⁷ Ibid, 68.

³⁸ Ibid, 75.

³⁹ Ibid, 141.

It would be unfair to Jinnah to regard him as communal leader. He was far above that. It is alleged by his detractor that he used the communal card as a political tactic, not an ideological commitment. In fact, he used the communal factor for none of these purposes. His outlook was much wider and his political thinking far too liberal. His primary concern was thwarting the domination of brute Hindu Majority in united India, and to let the Muslim majority provinces and area form a modern state where they could prosper unhindered by fear and prejudice.⁴⁰

Sharma's analysis of Jinnah's personality seems much unbiased. He open-mindedly admits the highly qualified leadership of Jinnah and his judgment. The author documented analyses revealing that Jinnah was not only a man of clear vision but also had the great sense of history and historical forces. That analysis of author is very much different from majority of Indian historians. The study also discloses many interesting aspects of Jinnah's personality like his love for cricket and his deep down awareness of game rules and regulations and Jinnah's love for horses. The author makes connectivity with these little things and explained different virtue of Jinnah's character. Sharma also proves with facts that Jinnah was not anti-Hindu leader in fact many of Jinnah friend were Hindu. However, unlike many Pakistani, British and Indian historians,⁴¹ Sharma insists on the friendly relationship between British and Jinnah. Probably, it was due to lack of sources consulted. Sharma has given no references, footnotes, endnotes and bibliography in the book.

R. Majumdar's *Pakistan. Jinnah to the Present Day* ⁴² is also an analytical study of Jinnah's personality and the creation of Pakistan. According to the author, Jinnah was a man of principle and never worked against the law. He was one of the greatest freedom fighter; however his whole struggle remained under the boundaries of constitution and law, that's why he was never

⁴⁰ Ibid, 348.

⁴¹ Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*, 59; H. V. Hodson, *Quaid-i-Azam and The British* in A. H. Dani, ed., *World Scholars on Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Islamabad: QAU, 1979), 241.

⁴² R. Majumdar, ed., *Pakistan: Jinnah to the Present Day*. He is a historian.

behind the bars. Mujumdar argues that Jinnah was the man who introduced the methodology of constitutional fighting for the liberation of his motherland and ultimately succeeded in establishing the second largest Islamic state on the map of the world.⁴³

Majumdar further asserts that Jinnah was a man of great caliber. Jinnah was the one, who set the correct and tasteful standards of behavior, attitude and principles during the formal discussion in the Legislative Assembly between sovereign and subject. He was very lively and humorous at the time of formal debates and diehard opponent of any form of oppression, aggression and injustice. In his own words:

He [Jinnah] introduced an element of decency, morality and sobriety in the debating duels between the rulers and the ruled. The listeners were particularly enchanted by his quick rejoinders and witty retorts. When the occasion demanded he injected wit and a humor in his remarks but he hit the hardest when it was a case of tyranny, oppressions injustice or denial of human rights.⁴⁴

Majumdar believes that Jinnah was the man of iron will, undaunted and unshakable. He was a man of principle and never cared about the difficulties and opposition. He could not compromise over principles. He was also not afraid of anything and never cared about his popularity, only cared about principles and did what he considered right, no matter what price he had to pay.

According to Majumdar:

Possessed by moral imperative he was not daunted by his own decisions to swim against the current as he never cared to look at the popularity graph. Whatever the cost or consequences, no compromise on the dictates of conscience, no bargain at the expense of principles, no deal to swerve him from the duty he had assigned to himself.⁴⁵

⁴³ R.Majumdar, ed., *Pakistan: Jinnah to the Present Day*, 186

⁴⁴ Ibid, 23.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 29.

Majumdar further argues that Jinnah was the man of reason. He was a constitutionalist and never violated the law. His struggle for Pakistan was a democratic struggle. Jinnah was a one man without any army to support him during the greatest battle of his life namely battle for the separate homeland for Indian Muslims, Pakistan. His only strength was his wisdom.

Jinnah's power did not come out from the barrel of a gun but from his mind where reason reigned supreme. It is not fair to forget that he had no armed strength to back his campaign for Pakistan. His longest and biggest gun, as he often said was reason.⁴⁶

In view of Majumdar, Jinnah played vital role in the creation of Pakistan. The author concludes, "The cultural conflict of the Hindus and the Muslims and Jinnah's ambition uncompromising leadership created Pakistan the second largest Islamic state of the world".⁴⁷

Majumdar views Jinnah's character and personality in positive manner. Jinnah was a liberal and nationalist leader who strove hard for liberation of a united India where everyone would have equal rights and duties for most of his political journey; but on failure in doing so he tried and succeeded in making Pakistan for the Muslims of India. He thus admits Jinnah's importance in the creation of Pakistan.

The next important work in the category of academic scholars is that of, J.J. Pal's *Jinnah And The Creation of Pakistan*⁴⁸. It is a critical study of Jinnah and his role in the creation of Pakistan. J.J. Pal although acknowledges that Jinnah was a great leader, who possessed qualities of statesmanship, hard work, discipline and was a constitutionalist, still he also considers him

⁴⁶ Ibid, 29.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 186.

⁴⁸ J.J. Pal, *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*. He is a historian and book under review is published Ph.D. Dissertation.

cunning, arrogant, egoist and aristocratic. The author believes that Jinnah played a very important role in the creation of Pakistan.

It was only owing to his single minded devotion to this cause that Pakistan came into being. His immense courage, unflinching determination, matchless demagoguery, farsightedness, correct grasp of the situation and arrogant and aristocratic behavior towards the Congress leaders and the British all these enabled him to attain great political heights and to become the most significant factor in creation of Pakistan.⁴⁹

Pal further praises Jinnah's statesmanship, his wisdom, determination, and unflinching faith. However he is also critical of Jinnah's cleverness, and authoritarian and dictatorial attitude. In his own words,

Jinnah was ambitious, dogmatic, confident, clever and domineering. He had complete faith and confidence in his own ability and judgment; he never thought that he might be wrong on any point. His other tactics was to be rude deliberately to score a point and to get better considerations for his views and demands. Giving his estimate of Jinnah to Mountbatten, Nehru observed that the secret of his success, which had been tremendous from all points of view, was in his capacity to resort to permanently negative attitude.⁵⁰

Pal when compares Jinnah with Gandhi, he reflects obvious influences of Gandhi. Pal is greatly impressed by the personality and politics of Gandhi and is not ready to accept anyone including Jinnah as a man of a higher caliber than Gandhi. Pal considers Gandhi as the man of great qualities and higher political wisdom. He states in this way:

By the beginning of 1945, Jinnah had fully matured as a first rate politician with remarkable insight, foresight and cunningness. He was at that time the supreme leader of the Muslims. While he was at the zenith of his political power and skill, Gandhi, the greatest Hindu leader of the period, was at the decline. No wonder he thought only Gandhi as his equal, and would refuse to talk and sit even with the Congress Presidents like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Acharya Kripalani.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 142.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 148.

Dame fortune was constantly smiling upon him, and he was growing more and more powerful and popular day by day. Thus it was not surprising that Mahatama Gandhi, the true spirit of the Congress, went to Bombay to meet him towards the end of 1944. Gandhi's purpose was to make Jinnah agree with the Rajaji-formula for a compromise between the two contending camps of Indian politics. His conviction was that unless the Congress and the Muslim League reached some accord, India would not be granted independence by the alien rulers. But Jinnah did not pay any heed to Gandhi's efforts for an agreement. He rejected Gandhi's approach as it was totally opposed to his faith of 'Two Nation Theory'.⁵¹

On the other hand some Indian scholars believe that Jinnah was one of the popular leaders long before the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. Like A.G. Noorani proved with facts that Jinnah was a popular leader even before the advent of Gandhi into the Indian politics.⁵² Likewise Jaswant Singh, in his analysis reveals that Jinnah wanted to meet Gandhi at Jinnah's own residence due to the unsuitable environment of Gandhi's residence for serious talk. Gandhi's followers often used to disturb Gandhi at his Ashram, thus no serious issue like Hindu-Muslim problem could be discussed there.⁵³ At many places, Pal has misrepresented the facts like author is of the opinion that Jinnah's title Quaid-i-Azam was given by Gandhi.⁵⁴ According to the research of Sharif-al-Mujahid, Jinnah was crowned by the title of Quaid-i-Azam by Muslims.⁵⁵ Mujahid clearly wrote that it was Maulana Ahmad Saeed, Secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind, who first used this title for Jinnah in his speech at Jamia Masjid Muradabad on 7 December 1936.⁵⁶

Pal admits that Jinnah was a man of unique qualities of heart and mind but could not stop himself to be biased against Jinnah and claimed that Gandhi was the greater leader in comparison with Jinnah. Pal could not hide his favoritism of Gandhi. He criticizes Gandhi in a very soft tone on

⁵¹ Ibid., 113.

⁵² A.G.Noorani, *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1.

⁵³ Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah :India, Partition And Independence* (New Delhi: Rupa,2009) 307.

⁵⁴ J.J. Pal, *Jinnah And The Creation of Pakistan*, 114.

⁵⁵ Sharif-al-Mujahid, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, Studies in Interpretation* (Karachi: Quaid-e-Azam Academy, 1987), 419-436.

⁵⁶ Ibid.,429.

the other hand; his criticism on Jinnah has always been very severe.⁵⁷ Psychologically, Pal like many other Indian historians is not ready to give any leader a higher status than Gandhi, who follow the stereotypes and have usually not seen the political achievements of leaders critically.

The next important work is the life history of the founding father of Pakistan. B. R. Nanda's *Road to Pakistan: The life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah*.⁵⁸ According to the author, Jinnah began his political journey as a nationalist and secular leader, who worked hard for the Hindu-Muslim Unity. However he totally changed and adopted new line of action after 1937 elections. He intensified the tension between Hindu and Muslim and finally succeeded in establishing Pakistan by dividing India.

Nanda is of the opinion that Jinnah was a nationalist leader from the beginning of his political career; time and again he tried hard for the Hindu-Muslim unity till the election of 1937, but met with failure. In the words of Nanda:

Undeterred by his bitter experience, he [Jinnah] returned again to the nationalist position and called for Muslims solidarity and Hindu-Muslim unity in a united front against the British Government. Indeed, he made it his election platform in 1936. To his deep disappointment, he was publicly rebuffed by Nehru who was Congress president at that time.⁵⁹

Thus Jinnah was not afraid of past experiences; strove hard for the united front of Hindu-Muslim against British. Even in 1936 election campaign, Jinnah wanted to work with Congress; however Congress leadership especially Congress President Nehru did not want to work with League and

⁵⁷ J. J. Pal, *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*, 152.

⁵⁸ B. R. Nanda, *Road to Pakistan: The Life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. B. R. Nanda a renowned author and historian has been a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, a trustee of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund and the Gandhi Memorial Society and Chairman of National Gandhi Museum at Delhi.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 330.

Jinnah. According to the author, Jinnah adopted a new method and a new line of action in Lucknow session of League in 1937. He decided to play politics with religion:

Jinnah's adoption of the role of savior of Islam in India evoked an immediate response. In the general election in the beginning of 1937, his party had not won a single Muslim seat in the Bihar Legislative Council by the end of the year his stock rose sky high in the province. The religion idiom clicked wherever Jinnah went.⁶⁰

On the other hand, Ajeet Jawed argues that it was Gandhi not Jinnah who used religion for political purpose and it was Jinnah who bitterly opposed that method of achieving any political favour. She also quoted both leaders statements that show Jinnah never tried to use religion for political purpose.⁶¹ Finally at the end author admitted that creation of Pakistan was the greatest achievement of Jinnah:

Jinnah's achievement in the creation of state of Pakistan was remarkable. The methods by which it was achieved accentuated communal tension and left a bitter legacy between the two successor states to British India. It is a legacy that still haunts India and Pakistan in different and painful ways.⁶²

Nanda in his analysis of the events of freedom movement keeps on defending the Congress leadership. Study reveals that author was deeply under the influence of Congress leadership and tried hard to justify every mistake and blunder of Congress during the freedom movement. Thus he writes:

After the general elections of 1937, there was, as we have seen before, a drastic reversal of Jinnah's policy. He claimed that his nominees would neither join the

⁶⁰ Ibid, 218.

⁶¹ Ajeet Jawed quoted statement of both leaders like, "I am Hindu first and therefore a true Indian. _____ Gandhi. I am Indian first and Muslim afterwards. _____ Jinnah, 154. In her analysis she also claims that, "They were antithetical to each other. Gandhi was deeply religious but Jinnah was irreligious. Gandhi used religious terminology in political discussions and addresses, Jinnah was straightforward". Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*, 155.

⁶² B. R. Nanda, *Road to Pakistan: The Life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, 333.

Congress legislative party nor accept its discipline and the principle of joint responsibility of the cabinet. The Congress leaders thus had reason to fear that if the Muslim league representative were taken into congress ministries on such terms, Jinnah would dictate the whole policy of the government through his nominees.⁶³

Nanda is also critical about the sea change in Jinnah attitude toward the Congress however Nanda being an academician should knew that Jinnah's refusal to join Congress ministry on the term of Congress would have led to the merging of the League into the Congress. That was not possible because League was an independent party like Congress. Congress leadership treated Jinnah as a subordinate even Congress allies were also complaint about the authoritative attitude of Congress.⁶⁴ The author also tried to justify the Congress leadership decision in these words:

Partition of the India was bad enough, but even worse possibilities had begun to loom before the Congress leaders. The Princely rulers of western and central India, under the inspiration of rulers of some larger states such as the Nawab of Bhopal, were thinking in terms of 'leagues of princes'. It was the intrigue of the ruler of Bastar, a small state in central India, with the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the attitude of the political department of the Government of India to it, which finally convinced Vallabha Pate that it was imperative for the Congress to secure immediate British withdrawal from India even if it meant the acceptance of partition of the country. Nehru arrived at the same conclusion after his frustrating experience in the Interim Government where he noticed 'a mental alliance' between the British officers and the leaders of the League. Thus it was that the partition of India at independence came to be accepted by all the concerned parties, the Congress, the Muslim League and the British, as the way forward.⁶⁵

The justification of Nanda could not be accepted because historical record reveals a completely different version of the story. Many Indian writers prove with the facts that Congress attitude

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⁶³ Ibid., 319-20.

⁶⁴ K.K. Aziz, *Muslims Under Congress Rule, 1937-1939*, Vol.1 (Islamabad: NCHCR, 1978), 387.

⁶⁵ B. R. Nanda, *Road to Pakistan: The Life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, 324.

played dominant role in the partition of India. It was Congress leadership who refused to give due share of power to League so forced them to search out others options.⁶⁶

The next important work, Lal Bahadar's *The Muslim League: It's History, Activities and Achievements*⁶⁷ is a study of Jinnah's personality and political thoughts. The study under review is mainly related to the League, its history, activities and achievements; however the book contains a chapter over the personality of Jinnah and his policy. Author acknowledges that Jinnah was a man of great qualities. According to the author, Jinnah was a nationalist leader in his early political life, however, he turned towards the communalist politics after leaving Congress in 1920. Author also acknowledges the role of Jinnah in the creation of Pakistan.

Bahadur admits that Muslim league's revival in third and fourth decades of 20th century was due to the leadership of Jinnah.⁶⁸ Creation of Pakistan was a 'grand achievement'⁶⁹ of Muslims

⁶⁶Seervai evaluating the attitude of top brass of Congress notes, "A great man crystallized his attitude to War in four memorable phrases: 'In war: resolution; in defeat: defiance; in victory: magnanimity; in peace: goodwill.' After Nehru's resounding victory in the 1937 elections, he showed no magnanimity towards Jinnah and the League. On the contrary, the Congress under Nehru 'adopted an imperious attitude'; it 'went beyond contemptuous words', 'the League's offer of co-operation was treated with disdain'. Nehru in his correspondence with Jinnah used language which Jinnah described as 'arrogant and militant' as though Congress were already the ruler of India, and what was even more unfortunate, Nehru in effect challenged Jinnah to establish the position of the Muslim League by its inherent strength. Finally Nehru launched a mass contact movement with Muslims which had to be given up as counterproductive. But even after the 1937 elections, Jinnah did not demand partition. He appealed to Gandhi for a nationalist solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem. It was only when that appeal failed that he braced himself to organize the political power of the Muslim League. H.M. Seervai, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, ed. 2nd, 2005), 175-76.

⁶⁷ Lal. Bahadar, *The Muslim League: Its History Activities and Achievements* (Lahore: Book Traders: 1979). Lal Bahadar, M.A His, M.A Pol. Sc, L.L.B, P.H.D, Professor of History and Political Science in Agra Collage Agra.

⁶⁸ In his analysis, Bahadar stated that, "With the assumption of Muslim leadership by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the All India Muslim League underwent a substantial measure of transformation. There were leaders before him, who preached the gospel of communal separatism and exclusiveness. There were his predecessors and precursors who suggested the remedy of division of the country for her communal ailment, though the form of partition suggested differed from individual to individual. But not one of them could formulate a comprehensive scheme that admitted the possibility of practical adoption. To Muhammad Ali Jinnah belongs the credit of subscribing to the traditional policy of Musalmans after the Mutiny and in conformity with such policy of taking the first effective step for the realization of their long cherished dreams of carving out an independent Muslim existence, 164.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 358.

under the leadership of Jinnah. Author's main argument about Jinnah's personality and political thought is that Jinnah was nationalist leader and one of the top leaders of Congress during the early years of his political life. In 1920, when Congress adopted that Gandhian program of non violence and non cooperation he resigned from Congress and committed hold to Muslim League and became a die-hard communalist.⁷⁰

Jinnah was a committed determinant and capable of dealing with worse conditions. Author acknowledges the creation of Pakistan as a result of Jinnah's struggle: "Jinnah reconstructed the League and put new life in its activates in his bogey for Pakistan, he offered a fascination for all Musalmans. Though he was not the author of the Idea of Pakistan he was solely responsible of its implementation".⁷¹

However, while dealing with the later years of Jinnah' political career Bahadar compared Jinnah and League with Hitler and Nazi Party of Germany.⁷² It is un-academic to apply the concept of Nazism on the conditions prevailing in subcontinent and on the politics of League. The circumstances in subcontinent and the politics of League were entirely different from the situation prevailing in Germany. His objection on undemocratic attitude of Jinnah due to which he compared him to Hitler is also unjustified. According to Waheed-uz-Zaman, Jinnah was a constitutionalist and democratic leader and all of his powers were given to him by League's

⁷⁰ Ibid., 176-77.

⁷¹ Ibid., 178.

⁷² Ibid., 351.

constitution and Jinnah never tried to interfere in subordinate's affairs.⁷³ Bahadur also tries to make a connection between Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Jinnah in struggle for Pakistan:

Sayyid Ahmed imbedded the lesson of separatism on Muslim minds and taught his community an abject loyalty to the British Government. Jinnah carved out a separate Muslim State by a process of vivisection of his fatherland and aligned himself definitely with the British Government. The two were the counter parts of each other and it can easily be doubted, if without Syed there could ever be a 'Jinnah of the Partition', though the latter overshadowed the former by virtue of his practical achievement of an astounding nature.⁷⁴

V. B. Kulkarni's *Pakistan: Its Origin & Relations with India*⁷⁵ is also an analytical study of Jinnah's political career and his role in the creation of Pakistan. According to author, Jinnah was a man of great qualities. He was able advocate, gifted parliamentarian,⁷⁶ a strict constitutionalist and an upright man.⁷⁷ After the dominance of Gandhi over the political stage of India, Jinnah was motivated by his ego and ambition towards the sectarian politics and also to the creation of Pakistan. In the words of author, "Thus, the irresistible urge to become an ace performer on the

⁷³ Zaman in his analysis of Jinnah's constitutional behavior quoted an incident. He stated that, "But the Quaid-i-Azam was above all a constitutionalist who scrupulously refrained from exercising any authority which was not expressly conferred on him by the Muslim League Constitution. On one occasion Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, one of the most eminent members of the League Executive, suggested at a meeting of the League Council that the Quaid-i-Azam be elected life president of the Muslim League. The Quaid discountenanced this proposal saying that 'according to democratic practices he must come to the members of the Council every year and seek a renewal of their confidence on the basis of his work and service'. He was voted as President of the Muslim League year after year as an expression of complete confidence on the part of the members of the All-India Muslim League Council in his leadership. He quoted another event like this, "In the by-election of 1941 for a seat in the Punjab Legislative Assembly from the Constituency of the city of Lahore two Leaguers, namely Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi and Mian Amir-ud-Din applied for the party ticket. Maulana Niazi approached Quaid-i-Azam for help. Personally the Quaid preferred him to his rival but he refused to interfere. 'It is difficult for me' he wrote to Maulana Niazi, 'to give you the League ticket over the head of the Parliamentary Board of the Provincial Muslim League, Punjab. I cannot overrule the decision of the Punjab Parliamentary Board'. Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Myth and Reality* (Islamabad: NIHCR, ed. 3rd, 2001), 128-30; Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, *Glimpses of Quaid-i-Azam* (Karachi: Educational Press, 1960), 51-54; A.A. Ravoof, *Meet Mr Jinnah* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1955), 167.

⁷⁴ Lal. Bahadur, *The Muslim League*, 179.

⁷⁵ V.B Kulkarni, *Pakistan: Its Origin and Relationship with India* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 1988). He is a renowned historian.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

Indian political stage drove Jinnah remorselessly towards sectarian politics".⁷⁸ Kulkarni further argues that Jinnah's ambition forced him towards the partition of India and creation of Pakistan. In his own words, "It was, indeed, the frustrated personal ambition of Jinnah which drove him to the extreme length of striving for the subversion of India's territorial sovereignty".⁷⁹

Kulkarni's depiction of Jinnah is only representation of historical analysis without pretext and context. Historical evidence proves that it was not Jinnah who did not want to share power with other parties. It was the Congress leadership who never wanted to share power with League and its leader Jinnah. It was League and its leader Jinnah who accepted Cabinet Mission Plan and it was Congress President Nehru whose irresponsible attitude spoiled the last opportunity of saving Indian integrity. It was again Nehru and Patel who were the biggest obstacles in the last effort of Gandhi for the unity of India. Many scholars also mention about that offer. According to Mehta, "Gandhi suggested [Cabinet Mission] that Jinnah should be ask to form the first government. If Jinnah refused, then the offer should be made to the Congress"⁸⁰. He praises the Gandhi decision and criticized Nehru in this way, but his heir Jawaharlal Nehru was not prepared to wait for a moment to be the first Prime Minister of independent India"⁸¹.

The next important work is Rafiq Zakria's *The Man Who Divided India. An Insight Into Jinnah's Leadership And Its Aftermath*⁸² is a biographical analysis of Jinnah. As the title of the book suggests, the author keeps a very strict opinion about the personality and politics of Jinnah. In his

⁷⁸ Ibid, 59.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 87.

⁸⁰ Dhuru. S. Mehta, "Preface in Sheshrao Chavan, *Muhammad Ali Jinnah: The Great Enigma* (Delhi, Author's Press, 2006) xl.

⁸¹ Ibid, xlviii.

⁸² Rafiq. Zakria, *The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath*. He had a distinguished career in fields of law, education, journalism, politics and Islamic Studies. He is the author of many books.

title, he has already concluded the rest of his research. In the preface of the book author reveals the purpose of writing a book on Jinnah:

I told my wife that my next book would be on Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Quaid-i-Azam or 'Great Leader' of the Muslims of undivided India. I said I plan to unearth the truth about his proclaimed love for Islam and his so-called concern for his co-religionists in the subcontinent....Fatima was not impressed. She said, 'Haven't you already written enough about him in your published work?'I said what I had written so far was from a general political viewpoint; this book would concentrate on how and why he sought to divide Hindus and Muslims and brought about the division of India. The divide may not have been of his making; it had a historical and political background but it could certainly have been avoided had Jinnah not been so adamant about it. Was he in-fact as his followers have hailed him - a true Muslim, a defender of the faith, the savior of Indian Muslims?⁸³

According to Zakaria, Jinnah did not join Khilafat movement because he did not like to embarrass British and because he had no place for religion in life.⁸⁴ M. Naeem Qureshi, proves with historical record that Jinnah was one of the strong supporters of Khilafat movement.⁸⁵ Ajeet Jawed proves that Jinnah was the strongest enemy of British rule in India even British themselves consider him diehard enemy and also tried to pressurize those who join him.⁸⁶ British official, from judges to the prime ministers tried their best to win Jinnah but met with failure.⁸⁷

⁸³ Ibid., ix.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 24.

⁸⁵ M. Naeem Qureshi states, "The moderate League leaders, however did not like the excited tenor of the proceedings of course, they were equally concerned about the fate of Turkey but they held that Ansari and his friends had no right to jeopardize Muslim interests by ventilating grievances in such an aggressive manner. Jinnah was foremost among them. His protest was to methods rather than to motives. He had been a consistent and staunch supporter of Turkey and Pan-Islam though his approach was pragmatic and not emotional. In fact, he was the first Indian leader who formally took up the Khilafat issue from the League platform as early as December 1916. At times he even donned a Turkish Fez after the popular fashion to demonstrate his Ottoman sympathies. But he was a constitutionalist and did not believe in threats that he knew could not be translated into action. In the Subjects Committee Meeting at Ajmal Khan's house, Jinnah, along with Syed Nabiullah and Saiyid Wazir Hasan unsuccessfully tried to impress upon the delegates that nothing should be done which might compromise their national position at that particular Juncture. But he was overruled. Ansari, Ajmal Khan and several others by playing upon the religious feelings of the Muslims carried the majority with them. Jinnah staged a walk-out, followed by the Raja of Mahmudabad, the permanent president of the League at that time. M. Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British India: The Politics of the Khilafat Movement, 1918-1924* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 66-67.

⁸⁶ Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*, 59.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 21.

According to Zakria, from the start of his political career Jinnah was liberal and nationalist leader and worked for the Hindu-Muslim unity but failed. After he returned from England after temporarily retirement from politics he came back with new communal line of politics. He became an anti Hindu leader and heated up the hatred between Muslims and Hindus for his political purposes:

Jinnah however could not rest content for long; his burning desire was to be in the limelight and this drove him to regain his position. He went back to India with a new determination. From an avowed nationalist, he became an arch communalist. He took an aggressive anti-Hindus stand and concentrated all his energies on mobilizing the Muslims. He made it his mission to unite the Muslims and activate the moribund League. He became a born-again Muslim hoping to rise on the convenient shoulders of communalism. ⁸⁸

Zakria admits the skill of Jinnah to organize League and to transform it into mass movement. He also confesses that it was only due to the abilities of Jinnah, British and Congress were forced to admit that League and Jinnah was the only representative of the Muslims in India. According to the author, Jinnah did all this for his political success. He describes the politics of Jinnah in these words:

And thus he took charge of the League and mobilized the Muslims under its aegis and with his mesmerizing technique, he galvanized them into a force to reckon with. He made himself so politically invulnerable that the British accepted him as the authentic representative of the Muslims and eventually the Congress too conceded that status to him, even if unwillingly. ⁸⁹

Rafiq Zakria also blamed Jinnah for raising the sentiments of Hindus and for arousing their hatred. Author believed that it was due to the policies of Jinnah that Hindus started anti-Muslim campaign in India. ⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Rafiq. Zakria, *The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath*, 221.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 224.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 228.

Zakaria believes that the partition of India and creation of Pakistan did not bring any relief to the Muslims.⁹¹ He also made Jinnah responsible for the misdeeds of later Pakistani leadership and every evil in Pakistan.⁹² Although the author admitted that creation of Pakistan was a greatest achievement of Jinnah, however Jinnah was responsible for every miser and every pain to India and its people:

What did the Muslims of the subcontinent gain by the creation of Pakistan? It has been universally regarded as the most precious gift Jinnah gave them. He alone was undoubtedly its sole founder. Single-handedly he fought for it and the entire credit for its formation must go to him. But so should the blame, for the dreadful consequences that followed.⁹³

Although Zakaria acknowledges that Jinnah was man of great qualities however he left no stone unturned to prove Jinnah the only obstacle in the happiness of Indian people. The author himself claims that his research was pre-concluded. Study seems to be a character assassination of Jinnah.⁹⁴ The author lost credibility by molding and hiding facts. It was misinterpretation of facts. For instance author in his evaluations of Khilafat movement is of the opinion that Jinnah did not like to challenge the authorities and never wanted to have clashes with the police. In his own words, "He [Jinnah] was totally averse to clashing with the police on the streets and organizing protest marches".⁹⁵ However Zakaria totally ignored several incidents where Jinnah openly clashed with the police for the sake of his principles. For instance he spoiled the farewell party of Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay as he was disliked by the people of Bombay and

⁹¹ Ibid., 230.

⁹² Ibid., 231.

⁹³ Ibid., 219.

⁹⁴ Author is not only biased with Jinnah but also biased with every person who had contributed in the struggle for Pakistan. His other works are also revealing his biases against the great leaders of freedom struggle for instance his book over the early stage of freedom struggle is full of biases against Syed Ahmed. Rafiq Zakaria, *Rise of Muslims in Indian Politics: An Analysis of Development from 1885-1906* (Bombay: Somaiya Publication, ed. 2nd, 1971).

⁹⁵ Rafiq. Zakaria, *The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath*, 24.

they did not want to give him farewell. It was all an official drama which was organized to show that the people of Bombay liked the rule of Willingdon. Jinnah entered in the hall without extreme police protection and had open clashes with the police. The people of Bombay have built a hall 'Jinnah's people hall' to recognize the victory of people of Bombay under the leadership of Jinnah against British authority in 1918. That hall is still standing today as a witness of Jinnah's mass politics.⁹⁶

Conclusion

At the nutshell Indian academic scholars have no unanimous opinion about Jinnah. However majority of the Indian academic scholars admire Jinnah's personality and character. They consider Jinnah as a man of action, reason, logic, fearless and man of law, wedded with the ideas of liberalism and modernization.

According to the majority of Indian scholars, Jinnah was a great nationalist and secular leader. Jinnah possessed the high degree of morality, clean and clear character. No one could buy him and no one could dictate him. He was guided by logic and reason. They had bright images of Jinnah's personality and political career. They also believe that Jinnah worked very hard for Hindu-Muslim unity and was a die-hard opponent of British rule. They also claim that Jinnah was a great opponent of partition of India and he strove very hard to avoid partition. However when partition was unavoidable then he accepted it as the second best alternative.

⁹⁶ A.G. Noorani, *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 33; Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, 78; Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, 60.

Similarly majority of the Indian academic scholars also insist that Jinnah was not serious about his demand for a separate homeland for Muslims, Pakistan. Jinnah only used Pakistan's demand as a bargain with Congress for power share. And it was Congress's unreasonable leadership who forced Jinnah to make Pakistan. However, some academic scholars have views that Jinnah played most important role in the creation of Pakistan.

Conversely, some of the academic scholars consider him as a great communalist, a fanatic Muslim, the man who divided India. Although they praise Jinnah's courage, unflinching determination, farsightedness, correct grasp of the situation; but they also consider him egoistic, and arrogant, opportunist and ambitious person. According to them Jinnah was a party of British and enemy of Congress and its leadership. They try to present a negative image of Jinnah. Still, they also admit that Pakistan was the greatest achievement of Jinnah.

Indian academic scholars have severe problems when they were dealing the last decade of freedom struggle. Majority of the Indian scholars believe that 1937 was very important year in the history of India, during which Jinnah totally changed his political career from a nationalist leader to a communalist leader. While matter of fact is that it was not Jinnah, who passed through change it was Congress whose behavior towards Jinnah changed. In 1937, Jinnah reorganized Muslim League and transformed its character from an elite party to a mass movement. Congress tried to ignore him than defame him and finally unleashed campaign of hate against him and vandalize his image. Congress's tactics finally met with failure. Jinnah became the most popular and most trusted Indian Muslim.

Many of the Indian academicians are of the opinion that British were very friendly towards Jinnah. However matter of fact is that British never liked him. British never liked a man who could neither be bought nor bent. British were also dead opponent of Pakistan. Pakistan was the greatest achievement of Jinnah despite the teeth opposition of both Congress and British. All of these scholars believe that India should remain united and they have either put the blame of division of India on Congress or on Jinnah. None of them is convinced of the usefulness and importance of the creation of Pakistan except few like Sharma, who argued that it was a blessing for the Hindus that India has been divided. He believes that Hindus should be thankful to Jinnah for his deed of dividing India and saving Hindus from the constant fear of Muslims.

On the whole, Indian academic scholars keep contradictory views about Jinnah and differ with each other. They are biased in their approach towards Jinnah either they consider Jinnah a nationalist or a communalist. They are telling the half truth about Jinnah. They were misrepresenting Jinnah and his role in freedom movement. Basically all of them wrote about Jinnah due to certain of their own motives thus they were more interested in fulfilling their motives, instead of critically analyzing the achievements of Jinnah. For instance Ajeet was an opponent of Gandhi thus she tries to present Jinnah as an alternate and that's why her picture of Jinnah seems very positive. Similarly Zakaria was thoroughly biased against him and before he wrote the book, he concluded certain assumptions that Jinnah was not religious and that he was solely responsible for the division of India. This kind of attitude places a question mark on the seriousness of scientific and critical research.

Chapter 2

Moderate School of Nonacademic Scholars on Jinnah

The main aim of this chepter is to analytically expose the opinion of moderate school of Indian non academic scholars; it is to know how they looked at the personality of Jinnah and the creation of Pakistan. Term of nonacademic scholar is used in the research for a person, who has no proper training for writing history; still he has produced some works of history. Indian nonacademic scholars have no unanimous view point about Jinnah. However, they could be divided mainly into two schools of thought namely moderate and immoderate. The present chapter would focuses on the analysis or view point of moderate school of nonacademic scholars.

Moderate scholars consider Jinnah as a nationalist, secular and liberal leader who worked hard for the Hindu-Muslim unity, a matchless straight fighter, man of steel nerves, clear in thinking and action. Jinnah was a man of principle and high morality. Some of the scholars of this school also believe that Jinnah was a leader of masses even before the arrival of Gandhi into Indian politics. Majority of the moderate scholars also criticize Congress leadership for not accommodating Jinnah. Thus due to the unreasonable attitude of Congress leadership, he turned toward the creation of Pakistan. They are also presenting the picture of Jinnah in bright colours. They are not under the influence of Congress leadership. According to them, Jinnah was a constitutionalist, and honest, some of the writers of this school also criticize Gandhi and his method for the creation of separatism between Hindus and Muslims which led to the partition. They also believe that Jinnah did not really want partition of India or establishment of Pakistan. Congress was not accommodating him in united India so he had no choice except partition.

The most important work of moderate nonacademic scholars is A. G. Noorani's *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle*.¹ The study under review is a systematic analysis of Jinnah and Tilak's personalities, their ideology and the role played by them in freedom struggle. Majority of the scholars used to compare Jinnah with Gandhi however present work is very different from other works on Jinnah. According to the author, Jinnah was a leader of masses from the early stage of his political life. He remained a liberal, constitutionalist, secular and nationalist leader of modern India throughout his life. However on the other hand there was no leader of Tilak's caliber with whom Jinnah could make a pact like Lucknow Pact.

Noorani believes that Jinnah was a mass political leader from the beginning of his political career and the second decade of the twentieth century witnessed the only two great political centers in the city of Bombay, Jinnah's chamber and Sardar Griha of Tilak. Both were the leaders of masses and friends of each other.² According to Noorani, Jinnah with his colleagues organized a mass protest against the farewell party of Governor of Bombay and that was the first successful showdown of mass power in the political history of Bombay.³

According to Noorani, unlike many of the Indian scholars, Jinnah was not opposing Gandhi's program because of Gandhi's unconstitutional methods but because of unrealistic and impractical nature of Gandhi's program.⁴

¹ A.G.Noorani, *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle* (Karachi: Oxford University Press,2010). Noorani is an advocate, Supreme Court of India and a leading constitutional expert, columnist, and author of many books.

² Ibid., 1.

³ Ibid., 29.

⁴ Ibid., 82.

The author comes up with the fact that all the liberal and reasonable leaders opposed the change in Congress methodology. According to Noorani, transformation of Congress by Gandhi was also disliked by the great leaders of freedom movement like Tilak, Lajpat Rai and Gokhale along with Jinnah:

In the discourse about the transformation which Gandhi brought about in the Congress the aspects of religiosity and dictatorial authority are overlooked. Gandhi raised the level of political consciousness in the masses and heightened their self-respect. He was one of the century's greatest communicators, beyond a doubt. But the transformation he ushered in had its harmful consequences. Tilak, Lajpat Rai and Gokhale-Titans all- would never have submitted to this. Nor did Jinnah.⁵

Unlike majority of Indian scholars, Noorani is of the opinion that Jinnah was the strongest enemy of British. He was as anti-British like the Congressmen.⁶ Unlike majority of Indian writers, Noorani also believes that Jinnah was a popular leader of Indian Muslims so it was meaningless for him that Congress considered him a popular leader or not. In the words of the author, 'Jinnah derived his strength and representative status from the support of the Muslim masses, not from the Congress recognition.'⁷

According to Noorani, Congress leaders Patel, Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were responsible for partition of India. They were not ready to have reconciliation with Jinnah and League and moved forward to divide India.⁸ On the other hand, Jinnah wanted to settle the matter⁹; however

⁵ Ibid., 140.

⁶ Ibid., 76.

⁷ Ibid., 169.

⁸ Ibid., 236-7.

⁹ Kanji also have similar point of view and stated Jinnah own's words "My dear Kanji, one gesture, one friendly gesture was all that I was asking for and it was not forth coming from the Congress. If the Congress would make this

there was no man with whom he could settle the problem. He missed his colleague and friend Tilak, after his death in 1920. So finally he changed the way and moved toward the other option:

Deep with he had remained the conciliator of old. Only this time around, there is no Tilak with whom to forge a pact on national unity. An altogether different political ethos had possessed the land. Jinnah adopted the very weapons of mobilization which Congress had deployed for long. Both sides miscalculated with tragic consequences.¹⁰

Noorani claims that unlike Tilak, all the three important leader Jinnah, Gandhi and Nehru all failed to fully touch the heart of their people:

None of the iconic figures Gandhi, Jinnah and Nehru had a sure grasp of the temper of the people who loved them. They understood only in past. In this, Tilak was unique. He belonged to the masses.....None of the first three could have felt comfortable in the moral, legal or political culture of the countries they had created.¹¹

According to Noorani, Jinnah and Nehru were secular, however, their policies resulted in totally antithesis of their ideologies and were influenced by extremist forces:

Jinnah and Nehru were two secularists who pursued policies and initiated trend over which they lost control and were overcome by forces neither respect. For none but none, had understood the temper of the people. Civil disobedience led to violence and disregard for the law. Nehru's denial of the minority's problems created a dead lock. Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory encouraged communalist and sectarian forces that have no interest in his 11 August 1947 speech.¹²

According to Noorani, partition of India happened due to the denial of Congress leadership specially Gandhi for accommodation of League and Jinnah in united India. Cabinet Mission Plan failed due to the immature attitude of Nehru and move for unity of Bengal failed due to the unrealistic demand of mentor of Congress namely Gandhi.

gesture, the whole problem would not be difficult to solve". Kanji Dwarkadas, *Ten Years to Freedom* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1968),78-79

¹⁰ A.G.Noorani, *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle*, 242.

¹¹ Ibid., 247.

¹² Ibid., 250.

It was a willful refusal by the Congress to share power with the League which led to, both the collapse of the Mission's Plan and defeated of the moves for a United Bengal as the third independent state on the subcontinent. The safeguards which Gandhi demanded for the Hindus of Bengal, in his letter to Sarat Bose on 25 May, were never offered to Muslims in the union either by him, or by the Congress. Indeed, the Muslim League never demanded that 'every act of Government' must be supported by two-third of the Muslims' in the Executive and the Legislature. This makes governance impossible. Gandhi's terms were impossible.¹³

According to the author, Jinnah tried his best to avert the partition but Congress was not ready for united India with Jinnah. They want to get rid of Jinnah at any price even at the cost of partition of India:

But a united India implied a sharing of power, which the Congress abhorred. Worse still, it had no role for Jinnah as a partner in a united India. He had 'no real place in the country' Nehru maintained repeatedly. The assertion was made first in a diary entry on 25 December 1943 ('keep Jinnah faraway'). It was made openly to the mediators, the Cabinet Mission, on 10 June 1946: Jinnah had 'no real place in the country'.¹⁴

Noorani believes that in united India, Congress had to share power with League and Jinnah for whom Congress and Nehru were not ready. Even Nehru suggested to the British that Jinnah would have no space in India.¹⁵ Thus the unreasonable attitude of Congress forced him to create Pakistan. According to Noorani, Jinnah was not happy over the creation of Pakistan. He was unhappy due to the aftermath of the partition of India. In the words of the author, "Jinnah was not exactly a picture of joy when Pakistan was established. Events had overwhelmed him and his miscalculations, rash as they were, diverted to a course he could not have imagined. His style

¹³ Ibid., 260.

¹⁴ Ibid., 270.

¹⁵ Ibid. Also see Alan Campbell-Jonson, *Mission With Mountbatten* (London: Robert Hale, 1951), 49.

foiled his policies.¹⁶ According to author, Jinnah was unhappy because of the unpleasant and creepy events that occurred as a result of partition, not because of the establishment of Pakistan. The views of Noorani thus are very different from the majority of the Indian scholars. Many Indian writers besides the Pakistani and British believe that Jinnah was happy over the creation of Pakistan. By and large study has unique features and it opens the new avenues of research over Jinnah. Study under review is the first comparison of Jinnah with other Hindu leader, Tilak than Gandhi. Perhaps the study brought the rare aspect of Jinnah's life in to limelight. Noorani also tried to answer many questions related to the personality of Jinnah and his political career. However, the work is a fine and valuable research over the personality of Jinnah and his political career.

The next important work is of S.K. Majumdar's *Jinnah and Gandhi. Their Role in India's Quest for Freedom*.¹⁷ The work under review is a comparative study of two great freedom fighters, Jinnah and Gandhi, their personality, ideology, politics and their tactics. Jinnah and Gandhi belonged to two different political ideologies. Jinnah believed in liberalism and constitutionalism while Gandhi was totally against western civilization. He also had no faith in constitutional methods for struggle. Thus the conflict between them is inevitable and resulted in the partition of India and creation of Pakistan.

According to the author, Jinnah was a man of steel nerves,¹⁸ fearless and constitutionalist. In the view point of author, Jinnah believed in the constitutional struggle for the freedom of India with

¹⁶ Ibid., 266.

¹⁷ S. K. Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi: Their Role in India's Quest For Freedom* (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1976). S. K. Majumdar, Barrister-at-Law Advocate, Patna High Court and Supreme Court of India.

¹⁸ Ibid., 78.

the united effort of Hindus and Muslims. His dream of united India had equality in every sphere of life for both communities. Jinnah had no faith in Gandhi's methodology of law breaking and noncooperation. In the words of author:

He believed passionately in the constitutional progress of the country on the bed-rock of Hindu-Muslim unity based on political and economic justice to both communities. He did not believe in Gandhian shortcut by way of Non-cooperation or Khilafat.¹⁹

Jinnah did not like back door and back channels. He was matchless in straight combatant.²⁰ After 1937, Jinnah and League were forced by the unreasonable attitude of Gandhian Congress's leadership specially Nehru, to deviate from the nationalist path.²¹ With the adoption of Lahore Resolution in 1940, Jinnah and League chose their final option for the solution of Hindu-Muslim problem in India.²²

Unlike many of the Indian authors, Majumdar believes that Gandhi and his policies and methodology and ambition, not Jinnah and his policies, played vital role in the creation of Pakistan and partition of India. According to the author, Gandhi's ambition to be the saviour of Indians spoiled the unity of Indian. His untimely 'Quit India Movement' led to intensification of hatred between Hindus and Muslims and also paved the path of Jinnah and League to march towards the creation of Pakistan. In the words of the author:

In his intense desire to fly in the ethereal region and to play the part of a Messiah, Gandhi forgets the mundane interest of India. He did not see the red signs in the way Quit India move added fuel to the fire and burnt all obstruction in the path of the Muslim League for the creation of a

¹⁹ Ibid., 109.

²⁰ Ibid., 156.

²¹ Ibid., 164.

²² Ibid., 171.

separate sovereign Muslim state. Quit India Movement cleared the way for the birth of Pakistan. Gandhi's gamble ended in a boomerang against himself and India.²³

According to the author, Gandhian Congress left no room for Jinnah and League in united India and was not ready to accommodate them so Jinnah and League chose the other option of division of India and the creation of Pakistan.

The research is first systematic, comparative and analytical study of any Indian author, free from the influence of Congress thought. Majumdar exposes Gandhi and his policies and tactics in Indian politics. It is highlighted that how Gandhi created hurdle in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity and how he sabotaged the pacts which were about to be signed for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Study also reveals that Jinnah was a man of higher caliber than Gandhi. Jinnah never compromised on principle and always remained a constitutionalist while Gandhi changed his position from time to time. It was Gandhi who first used religion for political purposes and it was again Gandhi who wanted to be the saviour of India and his unreasonable and miscalculate decision paved the way for Jinnah to create Pakistan. However author is not realistic when he suggests that the future of subcontinent lay in the reunion of Pakistan and India. It might be utopian dream that India and Pakistan would reunite again.

However, at some places, the author presents fact without context and pretext, for example according to author, British should not have given too much importance to the demand of Jinnah:

²³ Ibid., 198.

The failure of Simla Conference was a great triumph for Jinnah with an immense enhancement of his prestige. The undue respect shown to the unreasonable demands of Jinnah by the Viceroy against the moderate and middle of the path Muslim politicians was a clear directive to the Muslims in general that it is Jinnah and Jinnah alone who is able to deliver goods to them. The consequence was that the ranks of communally-minded Muslims increased and the position of the non-League Muslim was much weakened.²⁴

However, matter of the fact is that Jinnah reorganized Muslims under League flag many years before the Conference and Viceroy only admitted that fact, he had no other choice. Nevertheless study is very worthy for its fine comparison of Gandhi and Jinnah as politicians and leaders of masses. Study under review was first attempt of any Indian writer to compare Jinnah with Gandhi as a leader, their ideologies, and methodologies and believes, free from the influence of Congress.

The next important work over Jinnah is by Jagdish Mitter Sarin and Brig. Pramodh Sarin's *Who Made Me Refugee: Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru, Mountbatten*.²⁵ The study under review is a comprehensive analysis of freedom movement and also about the main actor of freedom movement. According to the authors, Jinnah was a nationalist and liberal leader of freedom struggle. Jinnah was one of the most bright and charismatic leader and a constitutionalist. According to the authors, partition was the result of clash of personalities of Jinnah and Gandhi.

²⁴ Ibid., 215.

²⁵ Jagdish Mitter Sarin and Brig. Pramodh Sarin, *Who Made Me Refugee: Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru, Mountbatten* (New Delhi: Manas Publication, 2006). Jagdish Mitter Sarin was an MA in History from the Punjab University Lahore was working on a book at the time of his death entitled *History of Freedom Movement From 1909 to 1920*. His son, Brigadier Pramodh Sarin undertook the task of giving final shape to the unfinished work of his father and taking the subject to the logical conclusion-up to the year 1947. Brig Pramodh Sarin (Retd.) is also the author of many books.

According to the authors, Jinnah's demand for Pakistan was a bargain to get more safeguards for his community from Hindu leaders. He was the leader of all India level. He cooperated with Congress for the interest of Indians. With the development of the freedom movement, demand of Muslim political interests also developed. Muslim consciousness also arose in Muslim majority areas. Muslim leaders were demanding an Independent Muslim majority state. Hindu leaders were strongly reacting against it. Congress leadership did not try to solve the problem. Jinnah, to maintain his position, also joined the separatists however he never imagined that Hindu leadership of Congress would agree over the partition of country:

Throughout the 1920s and for a long while thereafter his [Jinnah] political ambition remained at the all-India level, he along with his liberal allies cooperated with the Congress Swaraj Party in demanding introduction of political responsibility for the Indians. However, by then demands of Muslim political interests had also escalated; both in Punjab and Bengal. The regional leaders had started talking of Muslim majority independent states. Their Hindu counterparts were equally vociferous in negating any such call. Senior Congress leadership made no effort to quell such divisive calls, or made any gestures that could convince the Muslim leadership that in an independent India both Hindus and Muslims would co-exist as equals. Jinnah in order to retain hold on his flock gradually fell in line with the demands of the 'separatists.' He never really expected that such brilliant Hindu leaders would agree for a break up of the country in such a manner and that a Pakistan would be carved out which would be totally disconnected.²⁶

The authors severely criticize Congress leadership's attitude especially of Gandhi and Nehru toward minorities. According to the authors, Congress claim of being sole representative of whole India, might be right to bargain with British but resulted in fiasco for multinational Indian society. Mitter Sarin and Pramodh Sarin believe that simultaneously with freedom movement a situation developed which was never understood by main parties. Finally partition became the price of freedom. Congress leadership was eager to get freedom in hurry so partition of country

²⁶ Ibid.,370.

was done in hurry and resulted in holocaust and price of their foolishness had to be paid by common man of India, common Hindu, Sikh and Muslim:

For the Congress to refuse to think in terms of coalition, to attempt to undermine the leadership of the minority community by means of mass contact movements, to insist to the end that Congress alone represented the whole of India may have been necessary for the rhetoric of nationalism and bargaining with the British, but it had serious consequences for India's plural society. This aspect was never understood by the party leadership, for that matter even Mahatma failed to appreciate the significance of divisive developments, which had made serious inroads in the Indian political psyche with the introduction of separate electoral colleges in the 1920s when the process of seeking freedom from the British effectively took off. Gradually and along with the freedom movement gaining momentum a situation arose where the main Indian parties failed to identify any method of governing the 'now united Indian Empire.' They could not agree upon any solution that could have retained the country's identity. The price of freedom became partition. The partition holocaust does not justify Gandhi's lofty claim that the freedom was free of bloodshed. Ask the refugees from both sides, ask those who saw their dear ones slaughtered on either side of the divide and ask those whose women were raped and houses plundered if Gandhi had any reason to gloat over his strategy; or if Nehru had any reason to be proud of what he and his party did to this country. That these leaders were aging and were in a hurry to see India free in their lifetime is no justification for what price the common Hindu, Sikh or Muslim paid for their foolhardiness.²⁷

Mitter Sarin and Pramodh Sarin severely criticize Congress party and its leadership for not understanding the ground realities of situation. According to the authors, it was Congress whose attitude with others was not good that's why partition of India took place and there was no justification of Congress leadership for partition and freedom. The whole price of partition was paid by common man irrespective of religion and no justification could bring any relief to the victims of partition. Study justifies Jinnah's move and demand and severely criticizes Congress for not accommodating Muslims.

²⁷ Ibid.,371.

The next important writing over Jinnah is under the title of moderate Indian scholars is that of L. H. Hiranandani's forward in Sheshrao Chavan's *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: The Great Enigma*.²⁸ The study is a brief but comprehensive analysis of Jinnah's political life. In the opinion of the author, Jinnah was a nationalist, liberal and secular leader who worked hard for the unity between Muslims and Hindus to attain freedom for India. However, he was failed by the unreasonable attitude of Congress leadership, thus Jinnah changed his way and strove hard for the separate home land for the Muslims of India. Author also believes that Jinnah was very happy over the establishment of Pakistan.

Hiranandani claims that Jinnah was a nationalist and liberal leader, free from religious attachment during the early years of his life. He strove hard for the Hindu-Muslim unity and received the title of the "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity" from Gokhale.²⁹ He was one of the top rank leaders of Congress all those year.

According to Hiranandani, three events turned Jinnah from Congress to other options. First was the Khilafat movement and Gandhian support to it left no place for Jinnah in Congress. Jinnah did not like to involve religious sentiments in politics and was aware of their aftershocks.

Here one finds Jinnah reasonable and logical in his public stand on the issue of Khilafat. He spoke as a true patriot and not one guided by religious sentiments. As thing turned out, Gandhi did successes in attracting Muslim closer to the Congress by supporting the Khilafat movement but it was a temporary gain. Before long Muslim deserted the Congress.³⁰

²⁸ L.H. Hiranandani; Forward, in Sheshrao Chavan, *Muhammad Ali Jinnah: The Great Enigma* (Delhi: Authorspress, 2006). He is a renowned ENT surgeon, witness of fateful year of freedom struggle and once examine Jinnah for his minor ENT complaint. x.

²⁹ Ibid., xl.

³⁰ Ibid., xv.

Nevertheless, I am happy to see Pakistan making steady progress as a civilized developing nation. In 1982, I visited Pakistan. I met both Hindus and Muslims and tried to obtain their opinion of Pakistan. I found people happier than I had expected. Partition is thus a history. Let us accept it without grudge. The focus should now be on India and Pakistan becoming good neighbours.³⁶

Hiranandani also does not consider Gandhi, Nehru, and Patel, responsible for creation of Pakistan. According to the author, they accepted it as there was no other alternative to it.³⁷ Author's analysis about British is also very different from other Indian scholars. According to him the British were never in mood of leaving India, they tried their best to engage Indian leaders in one act and other to restrain them from demanding complete independence finally after the WWII it was impossible for British to hold India economically so they decided to leave:

The British had no desire to give independence to India. The Minto-Morley Reforms (1909), the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms (1919), the Simon Commission (1927), the Round Table Conferences (1930-33) [32], the Government of India Act 1935, were all attempts to keep Indians engaged and desist from demanding total independence. One of the less cited reasons why the British gave independence to India was that financially it had become difficult for them to carry on with colonies.³⁸

The author open heartily praises Jinnah and his political moves. He also open heartily accepts partition of India and Pakistan and predicts future in very realistic manner. The opinion of the author is free from any political biases. Author is by profession a medical doctor perhaps that is the reason of his very realistic opinion.

³⁶ Ibid., xxii.

³⁷ Ibid., xxiii.

³⁸ Ibid., xlx.

The next important work over Jinnah is Sheshrao Chavan's *Muhammad Ali Jinnah: The Great Enigma*³⁹. The study under review is a survey of political career of Jinnah. Jinnah started his political journey as a nationalist and liberal leader of Congress. However, four major events transformed him from a nationalist to a communist. First blow to Jinnah's political journey was his rejection and humiliation at the Nagpur session of Congress in 1920. Jinnah received the second shock of his political career in the form of his humiliation at the All Parties' Conference held in 1928. Jinnah's political career was hit by third blow at the hand of Nehru and his party after the election of 1937. They tried their best to humiliate Jinnah and end his political journey. Final blow struck Jinnah's political career with the passing of Lahore Resolution of League in 1940. According to Chavan these four events altered, the Jinnah's political journey from the nationalist course to the communalist course.⁴⁰

The author is of the opinion that Jinnah was nationalist, secular and liberal leader and worked hard for Hindu-Muslim unity. Jinnah played very important role in the Lucknow Pact of Hindu-Muslim unity along with Tilak and Annie Besant.⁴¹ Jinnah left the Congress after Nagpur's humiliation; however he did not stop working for Hindu-Muslim unity. For this purpose Jinnah again and again extended his hand of cooperation to the Congress. On the other hand, Congress leadership turned him down every time. To teach them a lesson and to prove himself as more able than Gandhian Congress, Jinnah pushed himself to create Pakistan. In the words of the author, "It was only for psychological satisfaction to show that, he was more than a match to

³⁹ Sheshrao. Chavan, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah; The Great Enigma* (Delhi: Authorspress, 2006). Chavan is the vice president of the Associate of World Citizen, Chairman, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's Aurangabad Center and author of many books on freedom movement mainly Gandhi.

⁴⁰ Ibid., ivi.

⁴¹ Ibid., 17.

Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and Azad all put together because they had hurt his ego in one way or the other and did not give him recognition as he expected".⁴²

Contrary to many Indian writers, Chavan also admits that Gandhi's non-corporation and non-violence program pull the trigger of separation between Hindus and Muslims and brought violence, chaos and disunity among them. When Gandhi started his program, many people revoked their titles. Schools and colleges were shut down and lawyers boycotted courts. In short, Gandhi's program of noncooperation turned down the wheel of Indian development and modernization. In the words of the author:

Soon after the Nagpur session, as a result of the agitation started by Gandhi, title was renounced by a few. Attempts were made to close down schools and colleges. Law courts were boycotted at some places. Some lawyers gave up their practice. A number of graduates tore up their degrees. Government servants resigned their posts. Mob fury came into vogue. The arrest of Ail Brothers at Karachi added fuel to the fire. The communal riots became the order of the day.⁴³

The author praises Jinnah's wisdom and vision for not joining the Khilafat movement.⁴⁴ Unlike majority of Indian writers, author is of the opinion that title of Jinnah 'Quaid-i-Azam' was given to him by his own people, not by Gandhi. According to the author, "But since he became the protagonist advocate of Pakistan, he became a man commanding immense mass appeal. He was no longer above them. He was amongst them. Masses raised him above themselves and called him 'Quaid-e-Azam'.⁴⁵ Author praises Jinnah's personality with open heart. However author considers every party of freedom struggle, Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and British all were responsible for the Partition of India:

⁴² Ibid., 292.

⁴³ Ibid., 23.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 58.

⁴⁵ Ibid., ivii, see detailed discussion of the title of Jinnah in 1st chapter, 26.

Jinnah was certainly responsible for the partition of India as he rode on the cry of the two-nation theory, which was in fact voiced by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan way back in 1888. Jinnah only echoed it to remain number one. But the triumvirate- Gandhi, Nehru and Patel- are equally responsible. Nehru for his ambition to become the first Prime Minister of free and independent India; Sardar to remain King Maker; Gandhi for his exhaustion in the evening of his life to create a new set of leaders to launch a movement to adhere to his vow that the vivisection of India will be over his dead body.⁴⁶

Study under review contains some contradictions like author claims that British had supported Jinnah on the other hand he himself mentions about a treaty namely Treaty of Filkins 1938, of power transfer between Nehru and Labour party leadership.⁴⁷ However he does not find any pact between Jinnah and the British. These type of mistakes show that author is confused or perhaps could not criticize Congress leadership for their misdeeds so tried to satisfy himself otherwise historical fact reveal the true story of freedom struggle. Many Indian scholars themselves admit that Jinnah was the strongest enemy of British rule in India. In fact British are very much anti-Jinnah and liked Congress.

There is another contradiction in the argument of Chavan; in one place he himself claims that “Jinnah took pride in saying that he created Pakistan with the help of his stenographer and his typewriter” on the other hand he claims that Jinnah was feeling guilty over creation of Pakistan. Perhaps author’s statement was for his own satisfaction otherwise historical fact was revealing the other side of the picture. However, this is a good attempt to reevaluate the account of freedom movement. Chavan considers all the three Congress leaders Nehru, Patel, Gandhi as

⁴⁶ Ibid, lviii.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 308.

equally responsible for partition. This interpretation is very much contrary to common Indian writer's interpretation.

Another important work over Jinnah is H.M Seervai's *Partition of India: Legend and Reality*.⁴⁸ The study is a systemic study of partition of India. The author also discusses Jinnah's personality, tactic and politics in a lucid account. He believes that Jinnah was a man of courage, will power, principle and a constitutionalist. He was a liberal and secular leader who worked hard for the freedom of India with united front of Hindus and Muslims. However he was failed by the unwise attitude of Congress leadership and he was forced by Congress leadership to create Pakistan.

The author recognizes the statesmanship, political wisdom and sound Judgment of Jinnah. He was a nationalist leader and main player of the Hindu-Muslim Unity. He left Congress, when Congress changed her policy from constitutional method to unconstitutional method to achieve freedom. Jinnah knew the effect of unconstitutional ways would be violence, chaos and disorder so he parted away from the Congress:

He was a political leader of formidable powers. He had joined the Congress as a nationalist Muslim. In 1916 he dominated the Congress and the (Muslim) League for he was the principle architect of the Lucknow Pact and was regarded as the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity. When Gandhi took over the leadership of the Congress and abandoned constitutional methods to achieve swaraj for India, Jinnah left the Congress and the Home Rule League because he believed that unconstitutional methods would lead to violence and mass conflict. Jinnah was wedded to constitutional ways. He believed that direct action by the masses would lead to large scale violence, and would provoke mass conflict between Hindu and Muslims.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, ed. 2nd. 2005). He is an advocate and author of many books.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 51-2.

Seervia unlike many Indian scholars also believes that change in the attitude of Jinnah was for the self-protection against the rude attitude of Nehru and Gandhi. Jinnah wanted to settle Hindu-Muslim problem and most important leaders of Congress were not serious or deliberately never wanted to settle the main issue. Nehru in his own idealistic state of mind never realized the ground reality and Gandhi's spiritualism also failed to grasp the situation. Thus Jinnah being a practical man had no choice except to change his method of dealing these extra smart people.

After the 1937 elections, Nehru proclaimed that there was no such thing as the Hindu-Muslim question or the minority question in India, and when Gandhi cried in vain for divine help to solve the question of Hindu-Muslim unity, Jinnah responded with a speech at the session of the All India Muslim League in October 1937. Gandhi described that speech as a 'declaration of war'. A declaration of war it certainly was, but the declaration was made in self-defence, as Jinnah said in his reply to Gandhi.⁵⁰

Seervai is of the opinion that Cabinet Mission Plan was failed due to negative attitude of Congress. According to the author, Congress was the bigger partner and being the representative party of the majority community would have big heart for minorities' especially very conscious community the Muslims and their representative party League. Congress failed to fulfill that demand so as a result Cabinet Mission Plan failed:

It is clear that the Plan could have worked successfully only if the Congress showed goodwill towards Jinnah and the Muslim League. The Plan upheld the Congress demand for a united India. Equally, the 'acute and genuine' fears of the Muslim community which lay behind the demand of Pakistan, were recognized, and met by giving the Muslims effective safe-guards under a Constitution to be framed for a united India. Once the League accepted the unity of India, it had nothing more to give to the Congress. Only the Congress, representing the majority community could show good will by

⁵⁰ Ibid, 53.

working the plan in the spirit in which it was indented to be worked, namely, for the Congress to share power with the Muslim League. However, the Congress showed no good will towards the League and the plan failed.⁵¹

Seervai's main argument is that it was Congress not Jinnah who was responsible for the partition of India. Jinnah and League tried their best to be with Congress in united India. Congress failed to give concession to Muslims and left Jinnah and League with no choice except Pakistan. This analysis is very much different from majority of Indian scholars. The author not only looks at the failure of Cabinet Mission Plan, from different angle than majority of the Indian writers but also analyzes failure of Simla Conference in different way. He is of the opinion that Conference failed due to the too much demands of Jinnah, however, time proved the demands of Jinnah very realistic:

In June 1945 he [Wavell] held the Simla Conference, but it failed because of Jinnah's insistence that he should be recognized as the sole representative of the Muslim and should have the right to submit the names of Muslim members for appointments to the Interim Government. In logic and in theory, Jinnah's stand was indefensible. But, as later events were to show, the reasons for his stand were practical.⁵²

Many Indian writers severely criticize the attitude of Jinnah during the last decade of freedom struggle⁵³. The study under review is very much different in this regard also. Seervai does not criticize Jinnah's attitude; on the other hand he severely criticizes the attitude of Congress leadership. Perhaps the reason of not criticizing Jinnah's attitude might be that the author is a lawyer himself so he could understand better than any other person the politics of the three lawyers Jinnah, Gandhi, and Nehru. In nutshell, he discussed the lucid account of freedom

⁵¹ Ibid, 65.

⁵² Ibid, 176.

⁵³ P. N. Chopra, *Towards Freedom, 1937-47: Experiment with Provincial Autonomy, 1Jan-31Dec1937* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1985), X; Ishwari Prasad and S. K. Subedar, *Hindu-Muslim Problems* (Allahabad: Chagh Publications, 1974), 216-18; B. R. Nanda, *Mahatma Gandhi: A Biography* (London: Unwin Books, 1965), 208; V. P. Menon, *Transfer of Power In India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 437.

movement and presented very different interpretation of some facts from majority of Indian scholars concluding in these words, "It is reasonably clear that it was the Congress which wanted partition. It was Jinnah who was against partition, but accepted it as the second best."⁵⁴ According to the author, it was Congress who was responsible for partition and it was Jinnah who opposed it bitterly. Finally, when Congress left no room for Jinnah in united India then he accepted it as the second best option.

Seervai praises Jinnah as a great nationalist leader. According to him, Jinnah was against the partition; however Congress was ready to share power with Jinnah and League so Jinnah had no choice except for partition of India. The author also considers Gandhi as a human not as a super human and also criticizes him for the introduction of religion in the politics and his unreasonable method.⁵⁵

Conclusion

The moderate section of nonacademic Indian scholars open heartily praises Jinnah's personality. Everyone is agreed on that Jinnah was a nationalist and liberal leader. They consider that Jinnah was forced to transform otherwise he was nationalist leader till the end. They depict Jinnah in bright colours and also criticize severely Gandhi and his methods which led to partition. Some writers of this school also believe that British were supporting Jinnah and the League and many of the Indian scholars themselves mention a pact of Nehru with a Liberal leader and friendship between the British and Congress. On the other hand British were as dead enemy of Jinnah as Congress leadership. Both had common interests and tried to tooth to nail to retain unity of India

⁵⁴ Ibid, 178.

⁵⁵ Ibid.,11.

but failed by the determination and iron will of Jinnah. On the other hand majority of the scholars believe that Jinnah was the strongest enemy of British rule in India. He was the one who rejected every offer, every title and every office from British. He was the only man who could not be purchased or bent by British. He was the only man who was not afraid of them.

Some of the writers believe that Jinnah did not want partition of India or Pakistan. When Congress was not ready to accommodate him, he had no choice except Pakistan. The issue that he was feeling guilty over the creation of Pakistan is also not true. In fact Jinnah wanted Pakistan and only Pakistan. One of the authors met with all responsible people and got fact that Jinnah was really wanting Pakistan. His feeling guilty over his greatest and matchless achievement is also self assume story, had no solid foundation and was created for self justification. On the other hand some scholars of this school also believe that Jinnah wanted Pakistan and was very happy over his great achievement of separate country.

Majority of the moderate nonacademic scholars were from the discipline of law, the very own profession of Jinnah. Perhaps that's why; all these scholars could understand Jinnah's personality from a different angle than rest of the Indian scholars. All these writers very openheartedly praise the personality and character of Jinnah. On the other hand they criticize Congress and its leadership very strictly in general and Gandhi in particular.

Chapter 3

Immoderate Nonacademic Scholars on Jinnah

The main aim of the chepter is to analytically expose the opinion of Immoderate Indian non academic scholars, how they looked at the personality of Jinnah and the creation of Pakistan. Immoderate Indian nonacademic scholars are the diehard critics of Jinnah's personality, character, and his ideology, beliefs and his deeds.

They consider Jinnah ambitious, egoistic, arrogant, communalist and hungry for power. Although they also admit that Jinnah was a secular, liberal, honest, farsighted, determinant, constitutionalist and did not like mass politics of Gandhi. Still they consider him a man of strong will power. According to them, Jinnah was an enemy of Congress leadership. Some of the writers of this section also admit that Congress leadership did not accommodate Jinnah well and humiliated him many time. Thus Jinnah being an egoistic turned toward communal politics and he created Pakistan for his personal revenge from Gandhi and Congress leadership. According to some writers of this school of thought, Jinnah was the man who created hatred between Hindus and Muslims.

Immoderate Indian non academic scholars also believe that Jinnah used religion for political purposes and for political success. He could not work on number two position so he left the Congress and created Pakistan. They also believe that Jinnah was the person who heated up separatism among Hindu-Muslim by presenting two-Nation theory for the realization of his dream. They also believe that Jinnah was supported by the British.

Parkash Almeida's *Jinnah: Man of Destiny*¹ is an analysis of the partition of India and also the biographical study of the personality and character of Jinnah. He claims that Jinnah was an arrogant, egotist and frustrated person. However he also confesses that Jinnah was a man of law, honest, strong will power, and a great debater. According to the author, Jinnah created Pakistan to take revenge from Gandhi. The whole analysis was made under the shadow of the influence of Gandhi's personality. The author's approach is very biased. He analyzes the events of freedom movement and personality of Jinnah in the light of the actions and doings of Gandhi and it seems that Jinnah could only be understood by comparing and contrasting him with Gandhi whom he declares to be the 'Beacon of light' and stated that:

Jinnah as a person cannot be understood unless viewed in the light of Gandhi. They were inseparable. More light needed to be shed on Jinnah Gandhi relationship in which, the secret of partition lay; and I even believe that the last phase of freedom struggle unfortunately took a shape of Gandhi vs. Jinnah.²

Although Prakash praises the qualities of Jinnah, and terms him as a man of iron will,³ and honesty,⁴ still he has also termed him as arrogant and egotist.⁵ The author believes that Jinnah had great power of argument.⁶ Jinnah was a faithful constitutionalist, who never liked untrained mass involvement in politics:

As a staunch constitutionalist he never believed in mass mobilization for political gain and no wonder that he later rejected Gandhi's method of mass movements which invariably ended in failures. The parting of the way was imminent as their methods were never to have any meeting ground.⁷

¹ Parkash Almeida, *Jinnah; Man of Destiny* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2001). He is founder of ISAPS, Director, Institute for Study of Economic Issue and Anuwad Communication Services, author of many books on partition.

² Ibid., 48.

³ Ibid., 15.

⁴ Ibid., 29.

⁵ Ibid., 30.

⁶ Ibid., 29.

⁷ Ibid., 49.

However Prakash confesses the farsightedness and correct judgment of Jinnah. It was Jinnah who opposed the active involvement of illiterate masses in to the politics because he knew the dangerous impact of that involvement. In his own words, "Jinnah who was against the sudden politicization of ignorant masses; was proved right by every Gandian movement that essentially ended in violence but unfailingly confirmed and strengthened Gandhi's leadership, utopian though".⁸ According to the author Gandhi's entry into politics and his hold over Congress left no room for Jinnah in Congress. Thus Jinnah due to his egoist nature raised the issue of a separate nation just to take revenge from Gandhi:

Disappointed, Jinnah left the Congress with irresistible urge to become an ace performer on the political stage of India. And the day Jinnah turned his back on Congress with frustration due to Gandhi's absolute dominance launched the question of partition.⁹

Matter of fact Jinnah supported Congress on nationalistic issues despite his personal humiliation in Nagpur session of Congress in 1920 and in All Parties Convention in Calcutta 1928 at the hands of Congress under the leadership of Gandhi. Jinnah only separated his path from Congress when Congress totally dominated by Hindus and only guarded the interest of Hindus.¹⁰ Prakash admits that Jinnah's role was very important in the creation of Pakistan. Jinnah was not supported by any army during the most furious battle of his life. He won that battle with his faith and unbreakable will. In his own words, "Jinnah with the wings to his indomitable will, and himself as his one man army created a nation-state".¹¹ However the author did not consider Jinnah as the only man responsible for the partition of India or for the creation of Pakistan.

⁸ Ibid., 75.

⁹ Ibid., 238.

¹⁰ M. M. Saleem Qureshi, *The Politics of Jinnah* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1988), 110.

¹¹ Parkash Almeida, *Jinnah; Man of Destiny*, 15.

According to the author, British policy of divide and rule, and their constant support to Muslims instead of Congress, lusty leadership of Congress and their hunger for power also played their part in the partition of India and for the creation of Pakistan:

Jinnah got his Pakistan, which he never expected to get in his life time, because they were people who were eager [to] give it to him. If Jinnah raised the sail not knowing the destination, then the Congress leaders hungry and anxious for power in free India provided much of the wind under the British command.¹²

Prakash severely criticizes the British rulers for their support to Jinnah. However, on many places, he himself mentions about the secret treaty of Nehru with British for the transfer of power. On June 24, 1938, Nehru and Labour leaders at the residence of Stafford Cripps signed a secret pact for the transfer of power.¹³ There are Indian scholars beside Pakistani and British scholars, who believe that it was Jinnah who refused every offer, every title and every office of the British.¹⁴

Moreover, there is no connectivity in the argument of the author. He tries tooth to nail to save Gandhi from every mistake and blunder which he made during his life time and portrays him as god like figure. 'But Gandhi should not be hold responsible for the partition as much as Nehru, Patel and Jinnah, though he has his share of the bitter cup'¹⁵ The Study seems to be the explanation and justification of adventures and misadventures of Gandhi than Jinnah's

¹² Ibid., 232.

¹³ Ibid., 197.

¹⁴ Ajeet Jawed and A. G. Noorani, believe that Jinnah was not supported by British. Many British historians also believe that Jinnah was not won by British; Like H. V. Hodson. Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 211; A. G. Noorani, *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 76; H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1985), 39.

¹⁵ Parkash. Almeida, *Jinnah; Man of Destiny*, 198.

biographical analysis. The author wanted that Jinnah should have surrendered in front of Gandhi. Whatever Gandhi did, right or wrong, Jinnah should have obeyed him unconditionally. In his own words:

Tragically, Jinnah failed to see and appreciate Gandhi whom he saw only in political light. And Gandhi too failed in making himself more understandable. Jinnah's failure to understand Gandhi going beyond politics was indeed tragic. He dealt only with the political Gandhi-but Gandhi was more than what constitutes politics and that is why his relevance to the future was more than what it was to the past..... Gandhi's tragedy lied in his blunders and mistakes which resulted out of the conflict between the 'Saint Mahatma Gandhi and the politician Mr Gandhi'. Even if Indians are going to stop talking about Gandhi, the foreigners are not.¹⁶

Parkash confesses that Jinnah possessed the unique qualities. He was a farsighted person with practical approach to any matter and his judgment proved right during the freedom struggle; however, he had no courage and strength to admit the truth which he knew through facts. It seems that the book was a praise of Gandhi instead of a biography on Jinnah. Furthermore, as the author was a non-academic scholar and had no proper training for writing history thus he did not know to respect the facts and added his emotions to a much greater level in his research than the academic scholars. Thus Parkash was not much concerned about the facts and truth revealed by the facts and wrote according to personal desires. Study seems to be the example of misinterpretation of facts.

¹⁶ Ibid., 118.

Dhiru. S. Mehta's preface in Sheshrao Chavan's *Muhammad Ali Jinnah: The Great Enigma*¹⁷ is a brief and comprehensive study of Jinnah's political career. The author believes that Jinnah was egoist, lusty for power, selfish and ambitious by nature. He started his political journey as a nationalist leader and tried hard for Hindu-Muslim unity. When Gandhi entered into Indian politics and dominated the Congress, Jinnah being an egoist and ambitious person left Congress and with the help of communal card won the battle for Pakistan with his League. The author held everyone responsible except Gandhi for the partition of India.

According to Mehta, Jinnah started his political career from the platform of Congress and he was a nationalist and liberal leader who strove hard for the Hindu-Muslim Unity and won the title of "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity".¹⁸ According to the author, after the humiliation in 1928 convention, Jinnah quitted from congress and never come again.¹⁹ He is also of the opinion that Jinnah left Home Rule League due to the conflict with Gandhi.²⁰

The author's viewpoint discloses that Jinnah's transformation from a nationalist to communalist was due to his personal motives, ambitions, egoistic nature and hunger for power. He thinks that Jinnah considered Nehru as his rival in power struggle. He states that:

Having seen the position and respect Aga Khan enjoyed at the Round Table Conference, Jinnah was in search of a new identity that could satisfy his ego, his desire to be number one after British left. He was sure that in a battle for power, Gandhi would never be in his competition, but that Nehru will always see that he became number one after the British left—a case of personal egos, ambitions and

¹⁷ Dhiru. S.Mehta, Preface in Sheshrao Chavan, *Muhammad Ali Jinnah: The Great Enigma* (Delhi, Author's Press, 2006). Mehta is the president of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust.

¹⁸ Ibid., xxvi-xxvii.

¹⁹ Ibid., xxx.

²⁰ Ibid., xxxi.

to do anything to achieve his goal. His friends, both in the Muslim League and among the British encouraged him.²¹

Mehta considers everybody responsible for partition of India except Gandhi.²² Study reveals that the author was under deep influence of Gandhi and never criticized Gandhi whatever he did during freedom struggle and criticizes every other party. Mehta tries to justify Gandhi's decision of accepting partition. He states that, "Shri Sheshrao Chavan says that Gandhiji should have remained firm on his stand statements. But had he done so, there would have been mass revolt against Nehru and Patel, in particular, and the Congress, in general. Gandhiji, being a practical visionary, realized this".²³

The author, like majority of the Indian writers, believes that British were supporting Jinnah. While matter of fact is that Nehru had a deal with the British for the transfer of power not Jinnah and majority of British had friendly relationships with Congress leaders not with League and Jinnah.²⁴ Mehta throughout his analysis criticizes British for their support to Jinnah without any factual proof. However, his only cited fact proves that Jinnah was the man who could not be bought:

To secure greater cooperation from Jinnah Ramsay Mac-Donald gave him a hint that in view of the forthcoming changes in India, the British government would be looking for distinguished Indians for appointment as Provincial Governors. As a sharp reaction to this, Jinnah told MacDonald that his services were not available for sale and firmly rejected the offer, which he believed was nothing short of an attempt to bribe him.²⁵

²¹ Ibid., xxxiv.

²² Ibid., xlvii-l.

²³ Ibid., xlviii-xlix.

²⁴ Larry Collins, and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975),98; V. P.Menon, *Transfer of Power In India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957),99.

²⁵ Dhiru. S.Mehta, Preface in Sheshrao Chavan, *Muhammad Ali Jinnah: The Great Enigma*, xxxi.

The approach of Mehta is biased in dealing with the events of freedom struggle. He criticizes Jinnah's personality and his actions and on the other hand he tries his best to save Gandhi from blames and justifies every action of Gandhi. Perhaps the reason for justification of the every act of Gandhi by author is that he was brought up with Gandhian philosophy and is also a diehard preacher of Gandhian philosophy.²⁶

S. K. Bandopadhyaya's *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*²⁷ is a biographical study of Jinnah. The study is also the comparison of Jinnah and Gandhi, their ideology, their personality and their methodology. The author claims that Jinnah was egocentric, proud, serious, and hardhearted, aristocratic and communalist person. He, however, admits that he was also a liberal, moderate, nationalist and constitutionalist, courageous and determinant person. Furthermore Bandopadhyaya claims that Jinnah being an egoist could not work under any body so he created Pakistan. This author also seems to be under the deep influence of Gandhi and his preaching. He stated that, 'Gandhi has been my beacon-light since my youth .And yet I have ventured to undertake this study of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, his political adversary.'²⁸

According to Bandopadhyaya, Jinnah was a great lawyer, moderate and liberal person and did not care about rituals. In the words of the author, "Jinnah was not only an outstanding barrister of his time, he was also modern and up-to-date right from his dress to food-habits, speech, mannerism, and etiquette. He did not care to observe the rituals of the Indian Muslims of his day, like saying

²⁶ Ibid., lx.

²⁷ Sailesh. Kumar. Bandopadhyaya, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (New Delhi: Strling Publishers, 1991). He was a Congress worker and worked under several Gandhian programs. He is also the author of many books.

²⁸ Ibid., 1.

of regular prayers (Namaz), growing of beards, etc".²⁹ Author also admits Jinnah's mental courage, and decision making power.³⁰

According to Bandopadhyaya, Jinnah left Congress in 1920 due to the clash with Gandhian methodology. Jinnah was a constitutionalist and elitist so he did not accommodate himself with the Gandhian mythology of mass mobilization, non-violence and non-cooperation:

The reason for Jinnah's leaving Congress in late 1920 was both clash of personality with Gandhi and the former's distaste for the style of Gandhian leadership direct popular movements. Being basically elitist and constitutionalist, Jinnah, like many others of his time, restricted his opposition to the British to the fields of legislatures, newspapers and meetings of English educated gentry. As against this Gandhi mobilized the common men, irrespective of educated and uneducated, urban or rural, in his anti-British non-violent direct mass struggles, non-cooperation, civil disobedience and many other Satyagrahas.³¹

Jinnah also did not like second place to anybody especially to Gandhi who was a junior to Jinnah in Indian politics. In the words of Bandopadhyaya, "it was not easy for Jinnah to play the second fiddle giving a walkover to Gandhi comparatively a newcomer to national politics". The author admitted that Pakistan was the greatest achievement of Jinnah. Jinnah created Pakistan in only seven years after passing of Pakistan Resolution due to his political skill and tact:

The creation of the independent sovereign state of Pakistan was undoubted the greatest achievement of Jinnah. It is in no way an exaggeration to concede that "Pakistan was the one-man achievement of Mohammad Ali Jinnah." He has made possible by his political manoeuvring of a short span of seven years.³²

²⁹ Ibid., 4.

³⁰ Ibid., 10.

³¹ Ibid., 343.

³² Ibid., 334.

The author considers that Jinnah was a political leader while Gandhi was more than political leader he was a spiritual leader. In his own words:

But for the sake of fair play we have to admit that being unequals in this sphere, there could be no comparison between Jinnah and Gandhi on this line. For, we have seen earlier that even though Providence force Gandhi to jump into the political fray, essentially his personality was not of a political leader. His mission, as he said, was to 'spiritualise politics'.³³

According to Bandopadhaya, British also played very important role in the partition of India. Yet the author had soft corner for Attlee government and Mountbatten, perhaps due to their friendship with the Congress. He further claims that British policy of divide and rule played decisive role in the partition of India. On the one hand, author claims that British officials supported League instead of Congress on the other hand he did not consider Attlee Government and last Viceroy Mountbatten responsible for the partition of India. In his words:

The British Government did assume a prominent role in the partition of India by adopting the policy of divide et impera with a view to perpetuating its imperialist rule. On the eve of transfer of power, a large section of the highly placed British officials in India in particular did support the demand of the League for partitioning India, often overtly and more often covertly, to resist the Congress which had challenged their authority. Since this is the game played by the imperialists during all ages, hence the British imperialists cannot be blamed particularly for their role in India. We must not also forget that to begin with the Attlee government, which had decided to transfer power and even its Viceroy Mountbatten, were not in favour of the division of India.³⁴

He further argues that the British officials were supportive towards League, however, he did not consider Atlee government and Lord Mountbatten as responsible for partition. The statement is a combination of contradictions. How it was possible that top bras of government is on one side and lower bras are on the other side. By law, lower bras could not work against its own top bras

³³ Ibid., 344.

³⁴ Ibid., 352-3.

of any organization or any government. Matter of the fact is that historical record reveals that there was much deep relationship between Congress leadership and top bras of British government.

Bandopadhyaya also defends the mistake of Nehru and justifies Patel's attitude. He does not criticize for his mistake and blunders. On the other side, he tries to justify Gandhi's weaknesses by declaring him spiritual rather than political leader and also justified Congress leadership. In the words of the author:

Contrary to the advice of Gandhi and even without informing him [Gandhi] Nehru and Patel had prevailed upon the Congress Working Committee to demand division of the Punjab on March 8, 1947, which culminated in accepting the Mountbatten Plan on June 2. But Jawaharlal also did not do so willingly, he was compelled to act in the manner he did. Nehru had certainly his share of responsibility in paving the path of partition of India by keeping the Muslim League out of the U.P. Cabinet in 1937 and provoking Jinnah to reject the Cabinet Mission Plan by his own interpretation dated July 10, 1946. But to say that India was partitioned because of those two unfortunate incidents only is unhistoric The same is applicable to Vallabhai Patel.³⁵

Study also reveals that Bandopadhyaya is under the deep influence of the Congress. He criticizes Jinnah and his personality and actions severely and justifies every action of Congress. He himself states that Gandhi is his ideal. His open claim shows his biases in favour of Congress. He even does not criticize Congress friends like Atlee government and Mountbatten. He severely takes on Jinnah and his League.

³⁵ Ibid., 354.

M. K. Akbar's *Pakistan: From Jinnah to Sharif*,³⁶ is an analytical study of contemporary history of Pakistan. While discussing contemporary history, he also analyzes Jinnah's personality and his political career. Jinnah was a nationalist and secular leader, who strived hard to create unity between Hindus and Muslim. Lucknow Pact was also at his credit. Till the adoption of Gandhian program of non-cooperation by Congress, Jinnah was one of the prominent leaders of both Congress and League³⁷

According to Akbar, Jinnah was an ambitious person whatever he did he did for his personal grandeur. He left Congress when he found it misfit for his future magnificence. In the presence of Gandhi, he could only become one of the top leaders of Congress and only in League he could be the sole spokes man.

Besides, a man of Jinnah's personal ambition could hardly find sufficient scope for personal glory in the Congress which claimed the best intelligentsia in its fold and where men of all talents were in superfluity. As a member of the Indian National Congress, he could, at best, be one of the top leaders, but in the League he had the chance of being recognized as the leader of a community which would blindly follow his dictatorship. His participation in the National Congress from an early stage of life till his viewpoint was rejected was natural in the absence of any other powerful political organization which provided an opportunity for his progress. His rejection of the offer of a monthly salary rising up to Rs.1,500/ in the hope of earning an equal amount per day, his assumption of the permanent presidentship of the Muslim League, his renunciation of his flourishing legal practice for devoting himself entirely to politics, and ultimately his holding the double offices of 'Governor General' and the president of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan' are conclusive evidences of his extra-ordinary ambition for personal progress.³⁸

Akbar quotes facts without context and pretext. He moulds facts according to his own need. He argues that Jinnah left Congress for his personal motive. Many historians proved with facts that

³⁶ M. K. Akbar, *Pakistan: From Jinnah to Sharif* (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1997). He is a renowned writer.

³⁷ Ibid., 20.

³⁸ Ibid., 27-8.

Jinnah left Congress for impracticable approach. Jinnah was permanent League president by the full confidence of League executive body. For instance, Ziring and Ayesha Jalal justified Jinnah's decision of containing the portfolio of Governor General. According to Ziring, Jinnah accepted the post of governorship to deal with the tremendous problems faced by Pakistan and Ayesha Jalal explain why Jinnah was not in favour of common Governor General.³⁹ The author believes that Jinnah used the policy of Muslim isolationism to attain Pakistan. No Muslim leader before Jinnah could succeed in achieving any convenient result for Muslims of India.

To Muhammad Ali Jinnah belongs the credit of subscribing to the Traditional policy of Muslim isolationism after the Mutiny and, in conformity with such a policy, of taking the first effective step for the realization of their long-cherished dreams of carving out an independent Muslim state. The separatist tendencies of the Indian Muslims desired the preservation of a separate communal identity. But no practical solution backed by vigorous effort to attain that ideal was discovered or attempted until Jinnah undertook the task of asserting Muslim claims in this direction.⁴⁰

Akbar considers Jinnah as the man who took full advantage of isolationism of Muslims and succeeded in establishing an independent state for Muslims. Akbar like many Indian writers believes that without Syed Ahmed, Jinnah could never have succeeded in the establishment of Pakistan. Syed was the pioneer of creating separatism in Muslims from Hindus and loyalty for British masters and Jinnah created Pakistan by the way of dividing his mother land and forge

³⁹ He states that, The euphoria was short-lived. Pakistan was a reality but the country was without the rudiments of a government. It possessed neither a treasury nor resources. It was dependent upon the Indian government's division of stores and finances. The army and bureaucracy had to be quickly assembled from remnants of the British colonial system. Millions of refugees had to be cared for, riots had to be contained, particularly in the Punjab, and hostilities had commenced with India over the disputed kingdom of Kashmir. There was little wonder that skeptics believed the country would crumble, and indeed, had it not been for Jinnah's large presence and his capacity to motivate sacrifice on a grand scale, Pakistan may have collapsed within weeks of independence. Jinnah was taken up with the enormous problems facing the nation and could not, like Gandhi, remove himself from the political picture. Instead, he became Pakistan's first head-of-state or Governor-General, a position granted to him by the country's Constituent Assembly...He lived long enough to give Pakistan breath and it was now the responsibility of his successors to see it that the country was sustained. Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan: The Enigma of Political Development* (England: Westview Press, Inc. 1980), 71. Also see Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 180.

⁴⁰ M. K. Akbar, *Pakistan: From Jinnah to Sharif*, 18.

alliances with British. Both harmonized each other. Jinnah outshone Syed by his amazing convenient attainment.

What Sayyid Ahmed Khan aspired for the Muslims in the nineteenth century, Jinnah accomplished it in the twentieth. Sayyid Ahmed embedded the lesson of separatism on Muslim minds and taught his community an abject loyalty to the British Government. Jinnah carved out a separate Muslim State by a process of vivisection of his native land and aligned himself definitely with the British Government. The two were the counterparts of each other. It can easily be doubt that there could ever been 'Jinnah of Partition' without Sayyid's pioneering activities, though Jinnah overshadowed Sayyid by virtue of his astounding practical achievement.⁴¹

Further relating and comparing the two leaders, Akbar creates a link between Jinnah and Syed Ahmed. He claims that both were leaders of freedom struggle. Syed Ahmed led Muslims of India during the stormy years of nineteenth century and Jinnah guided Indian Muslims during the fateful years of twentieth century. Jinnah exceeded due to his achievement of the creation of Pakistan. Akbar admits reluctantly that Jinnah was man of great qualities and severely criticizes Jinnah every move and step. He further claims that Jinnah was an ambitious person who's every action and every move was taken for the sake of his personal ambition. Study seems to be the example of misrepresentation of facts. Akbar seems to be biased in favour of Congress and he severely criticizes every action and move of Jinnah and does not even say anything to Congress leadership.

Kuldip Nayar's *Wall at Wagah: India Pakistan Relations* ⁴² is an analytical study of the relationship between India and Pakistan. Before discussing the relationship, he discusses the partition and role played by main actors in the freedom struggle, which also highlighted the role

⁴¹ Ibid., 34.

⁴² Kuldip Nayar, *Wall at Wagah: India- Pakistan Relations* (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2003). He is a renowned journalist and writer.

and politics of Jinnah during freedom struggle. According to him, Jinnah was a opportunist, and selfish person. Still author admits that Jinnah was once ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity. He compares Jinnah with Gandhi and of the opinion that Jinnah was a westernized man and Gandhi was a very much Indian in his outlook and their ideologies were also contrary like their outlooks.⁴³ He discusses briefly the events of freedom movement from 1937 onwards.

According to Nayar, 1937 was the most important year in the history of India. Before 1937 there were differences between Hindus and Muslims but with the passages of this fateful year these differences intensified and Jinnah took the full advantage of the situation:

There is no doubt that 1937 was a watershed for Hindu-Muslims relationship. For them on the differences which were earlier based on prejudice and social attitudes between the two communities began to institutionalize. Jinnah took full advantage of the situation and stoked the fires of separation from then onwards.⁴⁴

Study reveals that it was unreasonable attitude and language of Congress president Nehru which compelled Jinnah to revive and reorganize League. In the words of the author, "Jinnah neither forgot the words nor forgave Nehru for having uttered them. Instead, he [Jinnah] tried to muster support of the Muslims so that the League would have them all. He approached different Muslim leaders in different provinces".⁴⁵ According to Nayar, Jinnah's strategy was to bring all Muslim leaders under League flag to show Congress generally and Nehru particularly that Jinnah and His

⁴³ Ibid., 49.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 31.

⁴⁵ Author quotes here the event after 1937 election, when Congress started its Muslim Mass Contact campaign. Author states that "Leave the Muslims alone," warned Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Muslim League president. His words were directed against Jawaharlal Nehru, president of the Congress party, which had members of all communities, including Jinnah at one time. Nehru's sarcastic reply was: "What does the Muslim League stand for? Does it stand for independence of India?"

And Nehru himself went on to answer the question. "It represents a group of Muslims, no doubt highly estimable persons, for functioning in the higher regions of upper middle classes and having no connection with the Muslim masses and few even within lower middle classes." His last sentence was acerbic: "May I suggest to Mr Jinnah that I come into greater touch with the Muslim masses than most members of the League." Ibid., 32.

League was the only representative of Muslims in India. In his own words, Jinnah's plan was to bring all Muslim leaders on one platform to prove to Congress, more so to Nehru, that the League or, for that matter, he represented the Muslims – and he alone. He want [wants] about his business relentlessly and with an evangelist – like zeal. Compromises did not matter.⁴⁶

According to Nayar, British and Congress both gave undue importance to Jinnah which helped him in creating his influence among the Muslims:

Linlithgow and, for that matter, the Viceroys before and after him treated Jinnah on a par with Gandhiji; this impressed dissenting Muslim opinion. Here, not only the British but the Congress also was to blame because both Gandhi and Nehru again and again held talks with Jinnah and wrote to him to find out what the League wanted and what its grievances were. The more the Congress leaders gave him importance, the taller Jinnah grew in stature, much to the exasperation and detriment [detriment] of other Muslim leaders whom Jinnah was denigrating as “showboys” of the Hindus.⁴⁷

Matter of the fact is that Jinnah was dealt by the British on equal footings with Gandhi only when his popularity amongst the Muslims increased instead vice-versa. Due to the increasing popularity of Jinnah, British could no more ignore Jinnah and same is the case with the Congress.⁴⁸ The author discusses partition and he is of the opinion that Jinnah wanted Pakistan and was never in the favour of other options, and the author met with almost all important persons of that time and reveals that Jinnah was strongly in favour of Pakistan and only Pakistan.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Ibid., 34.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 37-38.

⁴⁸ K. K. Aziz, *The Making Of Pakistan: Study in Nationalism* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publication, 2009), 63.

⁴⁹ In reply to my repeated queries whether Jinnah had second thoughts on Pakistan, when he realized that it was an accomplished fact, Brockman (Personal Secretary of Mountbatten during that time) said : “Never.” Not even for a second Jinnah hesitated and there was a feeling of triumph on his face when Pakistan was conceded, he said. Another person, who came to throw light on this, is Campbell-Johnson, who was Mountbatten's Press Attache during those days. When I talked to him in London, where he is living presently, Campbell-Johnson said that none in the team, he included Mountbatten in it, ever doubted, from the first meeting with Jinnah, about his determination

Study is different from many earlier Indian non-academic scholars whose opinion is that Jinnah never wanted Pakistan. Nayar proves with facts that Jinnah only wanted Pakistan for whom he struggled hard. Author's comparison between Jinnah and Congress leadership shows his biased approach. He strongly criticizes every move and step of Jinnah and defended and justified every act of Congress leadership. For this purpose, author quotes facts without pretext and context:

Again, when Gandhi conferred on Jinnah the title of Quaid-e-Azam(the biggest leader) the latter merely said: "What is in a prefix? After all, a rose called by any other name smells just as sweet". In reply to Nehru's letter of April 16, 1938, saying that "the Muslim League is an important communal organization... but the other organizations, even though they might be younger and smaller, cannot be ignored," Jinnah said: "Your tone and language again display the same arrogance and militant spirit, as if the Congress is the sovereign power... Unless the Congress recognizes the Muslim League on a footing of complete equality and it prepared as such to negotiate for a Hindu- Muslim settlement, we shall have to wait and depend on our inherent strength."⁵⁰

First of all, Jinnah's title of Quaid-i-Azam was given to him by his own people not Gandhi. Gandhi only admitted it as a fact. Gandhi in fact tried to appease Jinnah and once asked him about his name. Gandhi informed Jinnah of his confusion about Jinnah's name and told him that he used to call him 'Janab Jinnah Sahib' according to the advice of Ansari. But he was told by Azad that in circle of League you are called as Quaid-i-Azam, tell me what should I call you. Jinnah then replied "What is in a prefix? After all, a rose called by any other name smells just as

to get Pakistan. Campbell-Johnson recalled how on April 7, 1947 Jinnah, during a dinner at the Viceroy's House, was so worried about Pakistan eluding him that he said: "The Congress would accept even dominion status to deprive me of Pakistan."

More than 20 years ago, when I met Mountbatten (October 1, 1971) at his mansion, Broadlands, near London, he told me that once the Congress accepted the Partition, he took Jinnah to his room and asked him specifically whether he still insisted on Pakistan. Jinnah's reply was: "Only an independent country of Pakistan."

I even checked with Cyril Radcliffe, who gave the verdict on the dividing lines between the two Punjabs and the two Bengals, the only two states of India that were split after the partition. Our meeting took place in London in 1971. To my question whether Jinnah had hesitated when Pakistan was conceded, he said: "It's very unlikely", 22-23.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 35.

sweet.”⁵¹ Same is the case with second citation of the author; matter of fact is that it was Nehru who first taunted Jinnah to rely on internal strength; Jinnah only reminded him of his own words. The study seems to be a twist of facts in order to achieve some desired results. Nayar like majority of the Indian authors severely criticizes Jinnah and does not criticize Congress leadership.

M. J. Akbar's *India: The Siege Within Challenges to a Nation's Unity*⁵² is an analytical study of India's problem before and after partition. The author discusses the freedom struggle in first part of the book and after that gives brief biographical sketch of Jinnah. According to the author, Jinnah was a nationalist and liberal leader and had no affiliation for religious persons who were playing religion in politics. Author states that, "Right up to the mid thirties he [Jinnah] proudly claimed that he was an "Indian first and a Muslim second".⁵³

Jinnah was a very important leader in both League and Congress in 1920. His clash with Gandhi was due to the Gandhi's method of using religion in politics. In the words of Akbar, "In 1920 he [Jinnah] was both President of the Muslim League and a senior leader of the Congress. He began

⁵¹ Gandhi in his letter to Jinnah on January 16, 1940 wrote, I hate to write 'Mr.' before any Indian name. It is so unnatural. Hence I have been writing of you as 'Janab Jinnah Sahib', according to usage taught me by the late Hakim Sahib. But Abul Kalam tells me that in the League Circles you are always called "Quaid-e-Azam" And you will see from the enclosed how the finishing touch was given by a telegram I received from Gulburga. I hope you will accept my assurance that what I have done, has been done in good faith and out of regard for you. If, however, you would have me address you otherwise, I shall respect your wishes. Jinnah in his reply wrote on January 21, 1940, I thank you for your anxiety to respect my wishes in the matter of the prefix you should use with my name. What is in a prefix after all, a rose called by any other name smells just as sweet. So I leave the matter entirely to you, and have no particular wish in the matter. I really do not know why you are worried so much about it. I, however notice that the present prefix you are using is according to the usage taught to you by the late Hakim Sahib. But surprisingly enough during his lifetime and till long after his death, you addressed me as "Mr.", then quite recently you addressed me as "Shree", and in between as "friend", but please do not bother about this matter. Syed Sarifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (Karachi: East and West Publishing Company, 1977), 95-98.

⁵² M.J. Akbar, *India: The Siege Within Challenges to Nation's Unity* (New Delhi: Roli Books, 2003). He is a renowned writer.

⁵³ Ibid., 34.

moving away from Gandhi initially because, in fact, he felt that Gandhi was introducing religiosity into political".⁵⁴

According to Akbar, by the mid thirties Jinnah deviated from his past course of nationalism and adopted a new line of communalism when 1935 Act was activated and election were held in 1936-7. During the election campaign, Jinnah unleashed his anti-Congress and anti-Hindu campaign and also severely criticized Congress Muslim leaders. In the words of author:

On 2 July 1935 the Government of India Act received the royal assent and the stage was set for the 1937 elections, through which power would for the first time be transferred in the provinces to Indian parties. This was the opportunity for both the Congress and the Muslim League to display how much support they had from the masses they claimed to represent. Jinnah did his best. Backed by the mullahs who went to canvass from door to door, he made 'Hindu tyranny' the hub of his campaign. The 230 million Hindus were going to wipe out the 70million Muslims, he said, and the Congress was the cunning instrument of annihilation that the Hindus had found. In his 1937 presidential address to the Muslim League he told the Muslims that there were forces which would 'bully you, tyrannize over you and intimidate you'. In his 1938 address he said the Congress wanted the Muslims to 'submit unconditionally to Hindu raj...the high command of the Congress is determined, absolutely determined, to crush all other communities and culture in this country and to establish [Hindu] raj...[Gandhi's] ideal is to revive Hindu religion and establish Hindu raj in this country'. Indian nationalism was defined as slavery of the Muslims, and therefore the worst enemies were those Muslims who remained in the Congress, Like Maulana Azad and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.⁵⁵

As a matter of fact, Jinnah and League started their election campaign in conciliatory mood⁵⁶, however after the election Congress leadership mood was totally changed and they started dictating others. In that mood Congress president Nehru declared that in India there are only two powers, the British and Congress thus other should line up. Jinnah responded him that there is

⁵⁴ Ibid., 33.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 27

⁵⁶ Sikandar. Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 101.

third party Muslim, Congress can neglect them at their own.⁵⁷ Congress leadership not only refused to share power with League but also started projecting and promoting Hinduism⁵⁸ and to counter League claim of representing Muslim started Mass Contact Movement among Muslims in order to deal that situation Jinnah came out to safeguards the interest of Indian Muslims.⁵⁹ In 1940 League under Jinnah's president ship adopted the resolution for separate homeland for Muslims in India. And after seven years they were victorious in their struggle for separate homeland for Muslims.⁶⁰ Akbar admits that Pakistan could not be achieved without the dynamic leadership of Jinnah. In the words of the author, "Jinnah's belief that he had created Pakistan was an illusion which everyone encouraged because they needed a leader of his extra ordinary determination, talent and sophistication. And it is too that without such qualities as Jinnah had, Pakistan might never have become a reality".⁶¹

Like majority of Indian writers, author is also of the opinion that Jinnah turned to secularism again after achieving Pakistan. In the words of the author, it was after he had got his Pakistan that Jinnah discovered that he did not know what to do with it. Suddenly he became liberal again. At a press conference on 4 July 1947 a journalist asked him if Pakistan would be a religious state. Replied Jinnah, 'you are asking a question that is absurd. I do not know what a theocratic state means.'⁶² He quotes Jinnah's 11 August 1947 speech after it.

⁵⁷ Further detail is in footnote 45 and 64.

⁵⁸ K. K. Aziz, *Muslims Under Congress Rule, 1937-1939*, Vol.1 (Islamabad: NCHCR, 1978), 387; Choudhri Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1973), 29.

⁵⁹ Sikandar. Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader*, 336.

⁶⁰ M.J. Akbar, *India*, 34

⁶¹ Ibid., 32.

⁶² Ibid., 34.

Akbar is not reliable authority as he made many mistakes and perhaps some of them were deliberate. He moulds facts according to the need of his own argument. He is of the view that League and Jinnah started their election campaign in 1937 by severe charges against Congress and tried to create communal fever in favour of them.⁶³ Matter of fact is that Jinnah launched counter attack only after the Congress offence against League and Jinnah and when Congress refused to share power with league. He also did not mention that what was Congress leadership doing at that time. On the other hand many Indian scholars themselves claim that Congress was the one who unleashed the tongue of war against League. Ajeet Jawed proves with the fact that it was Congress president Nehru who started tongue of war against Jinnah and League.⁶⁴ Author choices of fact show that he was biased in his approach. And he can mould the fact or hid for the sake of his own pre concluded argument. However, it was a useful study as it unravels some hidden aspects of Jinnah's personality.

Conclusion

Although Immoderate Indian writers severely criticize Jinnah and it seems that they were personally not agreeing upon his politics of still some of them also praise Jinnah's personality. Most of them argue that Jinnah was a nationalist and liberal leader during the early years of his political life. They have difference over where and when Jinnah transformed from nationalist to

⁶³ Ibid., 27.

⁶⁴ She states that, Nehru talking the campaign trail declared: 'There are only two forces in the country, the Congress and the government', and 'it is the Congress alone which is capable of fighting the government'. He also emphasized that the parties that mattered in India were the Congress and the British and that others should line up. 'I refuse to line up with the congress' Jinnah retorted when he heard Nehru's remarks in Calcutta in January 1937. 'There is a third party namely the Muslims. We are not going to be the camp-follower of any party. We are ready to walk as equal partners for the welfare of India'. A few days later Jinnah publicly warned Nehru and the Congress to 'leave the Muslims alone', but sensing victory Nehru refused to be intimidated and decided instead to attack the Muslim League and Jinnah. Mr Jinnah objects to the Congress interfering with Muslim affairs in Bengal and calls upon the Congress to leave Muslims alone...who are the Muslims? Apparently only those who follow Mr Jinnah and the Muslim League. Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*, 200-201.also see Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*(New York: Oxford University Press,1984), 147-48.

communalist. On one side, immoderate writers consider him ruthless, egocentric, and proud and lusty for power, vanguard, and self-seeking. They depict Jinnah in a dark shade as a selfish person ambitious and egoist person who can do anything for his purpose. However on the other side, they also admit that Jinnah was a man of principle, iron will, determinant and farsighted. Some of the writers of this school also acknowledge the organizational skills and statesmanship of Jinnah. There seems to be a contradiction within their interpretation. They were not in a position to deny some of the very well-known facts but still they were not ready to accept the superiority or great leadership qualities and strategies of Jinnah.

Some of the immoderate scholars also believe that British were supporting Jinnah and League. But they themselves mention a pact of Nehru with a Labour Party Leaders and friendship between the British and Congress. Many scholars believe that British were as dead enemy of Jinnah as Congress Leadership. Both have common interest and tried tooth to nail to retain unity of India but failed by the determination and iron will of Jinnah.

Unlike moderate school of non academic scholars, immoderate school of non academic also openly admit that Jinnah was the most important factor in the creation of Pakistan. In fact one of the writers met with all responsible people and got data that Jinnah really wanted Pakistan. They also claim that Jinnah created Pakistan to take revenge from Gandhi.

The group of Immoderate Indian non academic scholars seems to balance their writings between their personal choices, emotions and the facts. They were not in a position to deny some of the well-known facts however when it was the case of interpretation, they tried to interpret it against

Jinnah. The most important things that seem unanimous about these scholars are that they never criticize their own leadership, instead always praise them. Unlike academic scholars, they never felt the duty of pointing out the mistakes of their own leadership and correcting it. Instead their whole focus was to justify whatever Congress and Gandhi did. Some of them even seem to do the character assassination of Jinnah and called him power hungry. According to them, he could not make conciliation with Congress because he wanted to dominate which was not possible in Congress. This group of scholars chose those set of facts which suited their purpose and completely neglected the earlier part or career of Jinnah's politics in which he tried his level best to bring unity between Hindus and Muslims. They also ignored that Jinnah kept on doing these efforts still he became totally hopeless. Thus some of the authors molded misinterpreted and hid facts. Some of them analyzed facts without context and pretext.

Perhaps the reason of misrepresentation of facts is lack of proper training of writing history and also lack of understanding of historical processes by some of the authors of this school. However the personal likes and dislikes also played a very important role in developing the final analysis and interpretations of these scholars and it can be said that majority of them were biased against Jinnah.

Chapter 4

Indian Leadership on Jinnah

The basic theme of the chapter is to analytically study the view point of Indian leadership about Jinnah. How they look at him as the contemporary or as a leader of freedom movement, his personality and his politics, his methods and ideas. Indian leadership could be divided into two schools of thought namely the Congress school and the non Congress school.

Congress School

The Congress Party was not only the rival party of League; however, it was once the party of Jinnah. And Congressmen were once colleagues of Jinnah. When after the Nagpur session, Congress adopted the unconstitutional methods like non-violence and non-co-operation for freedom struggle, Jinnah being a hard core constitutionalist left the Congress. While he tried hard for seeking co-operation of Congressmen for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity during freedom struggle but met with failure. Jinnah resumed the president ship of the League in 1935 and revived and reorganized it. League, under the leadership of Jinnah, became a popular organization of the Muslims in India perhaps the only popular organization of this country.

While Congress in self assumed the custodian of whole India did not like Jinnah and his League. First reaction of Congress towards League and Jinnah was to ignore them, then taunted them and finally launched a full-fledged campaign of hate against him. Thus the writing of Congressmen

proved above situation. Riaz Ahmad is of the opinion that congress leaders's writings are not reliable due to the jealousy and biasness of Congress leaders towards Jinnah.¹

Non Congress School:

All the other leadership of India considers Congress leadership responsible for partition of India with Jinnah or without Jinnah. They are of the view that it was unreasonable and unrealistic attitude of Congress leadership especially Nehru which forced Jinnah's transformation from a diehard nationalist to be the father of new nation state of Muslim Pakistan.

The most important work is by once Jinnah best friend's son and Congress president and first prime minister of India and arch rival of Jinnah. Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India*² is a brief history of India and beside that a brief life history of author as well as freedom movement. According to the author Jinnah was a man of negative attitude who loved to pronounce no.³ The writer claims that Jinnah was a lawyer politician and tactician but did not have any knowledge of economical problems of India:

About his [Jinnah] ability as a politician there is no doubt, but somehow that ability is tied up with the peculiar conditions of British rule in India today. He shines as a lawyer-politician, as a tactician, as one who thinks that he holds the balance between nationalist India and the British rule in India power. If conditions were different and he had to face real problems, political and economic, it is difficult to say how far his ability would carry him.⁴

¹ He states that, Chagla, Jayakar and Dwarkadas were Jinnah's colleague in the Congress. After leaving Congress, when Jinnah enthusiastically worked for revival of Muslim League in the years of this study, they turned against him. They were becoming more and more hostile towards Jinnah as the latter showed his increasing concern for the Muslims. They became responsible in the Congress circle to invent some false stories about Jinnah. Hence their observations cannot be accepted fair or balanced. They are merely conglomerations of biased opinions on their old colleague whose only crime was that he had come to champion the cause of the Muslims of South Asia. Riaz Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam's Role in South Asian Political Crisis, 1921-1924* (Rawalpindi: Alvi Publishers, n.d), 2-3

² Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (Calcutta; The Signet Press, 1946). He was the second most important leader of Congress during the freedom struggle and first P.M of India and author of many books.

³ Ibid., 340.

⁴ Ibid., 339.

The author further declares that Jinnah left Congress because he could not adopt himself with the new mass-politics of Congress not because of any difference over Hindu –Muslim problem. Jinnah did not like general public; his political style was of higher diversity which was most suitable for legal profession:

He left the Congress not because of any difference of opinion on the Hindu-Muslim question but because he could not adopt himself to new and more advanced ideology and even more so because he disliked the crowds of ill-dressed people, talking in Hindustani, who filled the Congress. His idea of politics was of a superior variety, more suited to the legislative chamber or to the committee room.⁵

While according to Ajeet Jawed, Jinnah was the one of the important leader of Congress and preacher of its ideology, he left the Congress when he felt that Congress was deviating from its principle of Constitutionalism to non Constitutionalism.⁶ Jinnah was the leader of masses even before the Congress adoption of Gandhian program of mass agitation and P. J. Hall [Bombay] is still stands as a mark of Jinnah successful mass agitation.⁷

According to author Jinnah did not like Congress while author's own words show that how much he dislikes Jinnah, "He seems to have a hatred for the Congress which has grown with years. His aversions and dislikes are obvious, but what does him like? With all his strong strength and tenacity, he is a strangely negative person whose appropriate symbol might well be a "no."⁸ At another place Nehru stated that:

Jinnah...offers an obvious example of an utter lack of the civilized mind. With all his cleverness and ability, he produces an impression on me of utter ignorance

⁵ Ibid., 314

⁶ Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University press 2009), 206.

⁷ Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 60.

⁸ Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 340.

and lack of understanding and even the capacity to understand this world and its problems...instinctively I think it is better to (give) Pakistan or almost anything if only to keep Jinnah far away and not allow his muddled and arrogant head from interfering continually in India's progress.⁹

According to Nehru he and other Congress leaders had tried to settle the problem of Hindu-Muslim with Jinnah but failed due to the unreasonable demands of Jinnah. Author is of the opinion that Congress leaderships held talks with Jinnah many times to settle the disputes between them but resulted fruitless. Congress could not meet the demand of Jinnah and he was not ready to settle the disputes. Author states that:

Subsequently Gandhiji and others amongst us met Mr. Jinnah several times. They talked for hours but never got beyond a preliminary stage. Our proposal was that representatives of the Congress and the League should meet and discuss all their mutual problems. Mr. Jinnah said that this could only be done after we recognized publicly that the Moslem League was the sole representative organization of the Moslems of India, and the Congress should consider itself a purely Hindu organization. This created an obvious difficulty. We recognized of course the importance of the League and because of that we had approached it. But how could we ignore many other Moslem organizations in the country, some closely associated with us? Also there were large numbers of Moslems in the Congress itself and in our highest executives. To admit Mr. Jinnah's claim meant in effect to push out our old Moslem colleagues from the Congress and declare that the Congress was not open to them. It was to change the fundamental character of the Congress, and from a national organization, open to all, convert it into a communal body. That was inconceivable for us. If the Congress had not already been there, we would have had to build up a new national organization open to every Indian.

We could not understand Mr. Jinnah's insistence on this and refusing to discuss any other matter. Again we could only conclude that he did not want any settlement, nor did he want to commit himself in any way. He was satisfied in letting matters drift and in expecting that he could get more out of the British Government this way.¹⁰

⁹ Quoted by Sing from Sunil Khilnani essay 'Nehru's Judgement' in Richard Bourke and Raymond Geuss, ed., *Political Judgement: Essays in honour of John Dunn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) in Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India, Partition Independence* (New Delhi: Rupa; 2009), 505.

¹⁰ Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 341.

Matter of fact negotiation fail because Congress not ready to accept the basic principle separation first and if they were not agree on that principle than how could they solved problems.¹¹ On the other hand Rajmohan Gandhi, the grandson of Gandhi, reveals the other side of the story. He is of the opinion that Jinnah even after the election of 1937, once again tried to settle Hindu-Muslim problem with Gandhi and again disappointed by Gandhi.¹² Matter of fact is that Jinnah working for the Hindu-Muslim unity from the start of his political career in 1906. And Lucknow Pact [1916], which was the only successful agreement between League and Congress, was mainly designed by Jinnah. On the other hand Congress leaders sabotaged every effort of Jinnah for Hindu-Muslim unity. Author himself also had credit of spoiling of the last effort of Jinnah of Cabinet Mission [1946], acceptance by unreasonable utterances. Saad R Khairi proof with historical facts that Jinnah was remain Nationalist till the end it was Congress whose policies and ideologies changed time to time and finally left no option except Pakistan for Jinnah.¹³

The author approach is biased and he misrepresented the facts. His selection of facts and harsh tone show that how much he disliked Jinnah. He wanted to get rid of Jinnah at any cost even partition of India. Author claims that Congress leadership tried to settle the disputes between them and Jinnah's response was not positive. It is fact that Congress leadership tried to win Jinnah after 1938, however historical facts show that Jinnah was working for settlement of

¹¹ Beverley Nichols, *Verdict on India* (Bombay: Thacker&Co., 1946),189.

¹²Rajmohan Gandhi the grandson of Gandhi and C. Rajagopalachari, states that [after the 1937 election], Jinnah sent a private message to Gandhi, who despite his withdrawal, was Congress's guide. [the message was conveyed to Gandhi] by B. G. Kher, who had been elected the leader of the Congress's triumphant group in the Bombay [Legislative] Assembly. [The circumstances surrounding Jinnah's message] suggest that Jinnah had in mind a Congress-League settlement involving, among other things, power-sharing in the Provinces. Gandhi's written reply, which must have seemed a rebuff to Jinnah, was: 'Kher has given me your message. I wish I could do something, but I am helpless. My faith in unity is bright as ever; only I see no daylight but impenetrable darkness and in such distress I cry out to God for light'. ...it is noteworthy that he was unresponsive when Jinnah sent that private message via Kher. Rajmohan Gandhi, *Eight Live: A Study of the Hindu- Muslim Encounter* (New Delhi: Roli Books, 1986),145-46.

¹³ Saad R. Khairi, *Jinnah Reinterpreted: The Journey from Indian Nationalism to Muslim Statehood* (Karachi: Oxford University Press,1996),452-453.

Hindu- Muslim disputes from the start of his political journey and every effort of Jinnah was spoiled by Congress. In fact many time author himself taunts Jinnah and questions about his leadership.¹⁴ Many Indian writers also criticize Congress leadership for their actions which ultimately led to the partition beside Jinnah and League.¹⁵ Bakshi showering too much praise over Nehru and his writing ultimately admits that Nehru approach was more international than national in writings.¹⁶

The next important work is Rajendar Prasad's *Indian Divided*.¹⁷ The study under review is an analytical study of communal problems during the freedom struggle. Author also analyzes the politics of Jinnah and his personality. According to him, the two nation theory of Jinnah had not been supported by history and facts and if it be assumed that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations on that bases division of India was not justifiable and would created more problem.¹⁸ According to Saleem Qureshi Jinnah and League was not the only one who were presenting 'Two Nation Theory', at that time some Hindu leaders were also presenting same views.¹⁹ According to the author, negotiations between Jinnah and different Congress leaders failed due to the unreasonable demands of Jinnah:

The prolonged correspondence and negotiations between Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the one hand and Mr. M.A.Jinnah on the other did not proceed beyond the stage of scrutinizing the credentials of the negotiating parties to arrive at a settlement. Mr. Jinnah insisted that the League should be recognized as the one and single body that represents

¹⁴ Full discussion of event is in the foot notes of chapter 3, 45 and 64.

¹⁵ Uma Kaura, *Muslims And Indian Nationalism: The Emergence of the Demand for India's Partition, 1928-40* (Lahore: Book Traders, n.d), 170; Padmasha, *Indian National Congress and the Muslims, 1928-1947* (New Delhi: Rajesh Publications, 1980), 219; Bipan Chandra, Mridula Mukherjee, Aditya Mukherjee, K. N. Panikkar and Sucheta Mahajan, *India's Struggle for Independence, 1857-1947* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1988), 442.

¹⁶ S. R. Bakshi, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Role in Freedom Struggle* (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1990), 238.

¹⁷ Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1978). He was one of the most prominent leaders of Congress during freedom struggle and served as the President of India.

¹⁸ Ibid., vii

¹⁹ M.M. Saleem Qureshi, *Jinnah and The Making Of A Nation* (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1969), 62.

the entire Muslim community and that the Congress should speak on behalf of Hindus. The Congress was unable to concede any of these points and indeed it could not. The negotiations did not succeed even in getting a formulation of the demands of the Muslim League.²⁰

According to the author Congress could not meet with the demand of Jinnah to recognize League as the only authoritative organization of Muslims because there were working many Muslim organizations,²¹ whereas, the Congress leadership was trying from 1937 to settle communal problem with the League but failed because British were supporting League indirectly. Fourteen Points of Jinnah [1929], had been practically conceded by British Government in 1935 Act.²² The British adopted the policy of appeasement toward League and that policy widened the gulf between different communities of India. All this was claimed by the author:

In this race between Muslim League demands and British Government concession the League is always ahead of the British Government by few lengths, and the Hindu majority and all other minorities cannot have even an entry. No wonder the base of the communal triangle lengths and the angle of communal differences widen.²³

However, for the correction of the record it is now well recognized fact that it was Nehru not Jinnah who had secret pact with British for transfer of power in India in 1938. Writer's arguments are typical Congress accusation against Jinnah and the League. Author's approach is biased and at many places he hides facts like he does not mention who was the architect of Lucknow Pact, the only successful agreement between League and Congress. There are many Indian writers

²⁰ Ibid., 153.

²¹ Ibid., 153.

²² Ibid., 152.

²³ Ibid., 171.

who severely criticizes Jinnah and League for the Partition of India, however they also criticize Congress for providing opportunities to Jinnah for the Partition of India.²⁴

Another important work over Jinnah is Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad's *India Wins Freedom: The Complete Version*.²⁵ The study under review is a personal account of the author about the fateful decade of freedom movement and it also sheds light on the role of Jinnah in these stormy years. According to the writer Jinnah was no more a prominent political leader after he left the Congress. It was Gandhi who gave him undue respect by negotiating with him in 1944 as the sole representative of Muslims. And with that move of Gandhi, Jinnah regained his political importance:

I think Gandhiji's approach to Mr. Jinnah on this occasion was a great political blunder. It gave a new and added importance to Mr. Jinnah which he later exploited fully. Gandhiji had in fact adopted a peculiar attitude to Jinnah from the very beginning. Jinnah had lost much of his political importance after he left the Congress in the twenties. It was largely due to Gandhiji's acts of commission and omission that Jinnah regained his importance in Indian political life.²⁶

Matter of fact is that Jinnah was a prominent leader even before the arrival of Gandhi in India. His decision of leaving Congress did not defame him in the eyes of his followers. It was his leadership which transformed League from the party of elites to the party of masses and that was done even many years before Gandhi started negotiations with Jinnah.

²⁴ Narendra Singh Sarila, *The Shadow of the Great Game: The Untold Story of India's Partition* (New Delhi: Harper Collins, 2005), 91; Durga Das, *India: From Curzon to Nehru & After* (London: Collins, 1969), 181-83.

²⁵ Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom: The Complete Version* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1988). He was one of the most prominent Congress man and Scholar and author of many books.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 96-7.

According to Dr. Ambedkar and Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, it was the need of Gandhi to turn toward Jinnah, not Jinnah because he failed in obtaining any fruit from his ill-timed 'Quid India Movement' [1942], and also lost respect in the eyes of British.²⁷

Azad claims that the title of Quaid-i-Azam was given to him by Gandhi²⁸ also had no factual proof. Actually this title was given by him by Muslims and Gandhi only admitted it as a fact.²⁹ A critic of Azad, Wahid Khan reveals the reason of Azad's antipathy of Jinnah is that Jinnah's sharp explanation of Azad as a 'show boy' of Congress and refused to negotiate with him hurt Azad deep down. Throughout his life Azad strived hard to come out of that humiliation. In fact it was that insult which forced Azad to write this book.³⁰ Rajmohan Gandhi also criticizes Azad for his unreliable sources, 'The haste and anxiety, and the fact that he relied on his memory, have produced some one-sided judgments and also several simple inaccuracies'.³¹ Syeda also believes that there is serious contradiction between the personality of Azad and his accounts.³²

Azad put blame of partition on every other person except himself.³³ Author confessed that there were some serious mistakes committed by Congress leadership which led to the partition of

²⁷ B. R. Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India* (Lahore: Book Traders, n.d), 407; Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1969), 178.

²⁸ Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, 97.

²⁹ Full discussion over the title of Jinnah is in chapter 1, 26.

³⁰ Abdul Waheed Khan, *India wins Freedom: The Other Side* (Karachi: Pakistan Educational Publishers Ltd, 1961), 19.

³¹ Rajmohan Gandhi, *India Wins Errors: A Scrutiny of Maulana Azad's India Wins Freedom* (New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1989), 251.

³² Syeda Saiyidain Hameed, *Islamic Seal on India's Independence Abul Kalam Azad: A Fresh Look* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998), 198.

³³ Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, 201-3.

India.³⁴ The account also revealed that Congress was not a democratic organization. It was led by only one man, Gandhi and all other followed him blindly:

I have always had the feeling that these colleagues and friends did not exercise their own and friends did not exercise their own mind on most political issues. They were out and out followers of Gandhi. Whenever a question arose they waited to see how he would reach.³⁵

Azad reveals that Congress was not a democratic party and Gandhi has unlimited power. He was obeyed without any objection. His will was the will of Congress. It is a self projection of author and justification of his action. Author also misrepresents facts and statements. It seemed that author was victim of inferiority complex towards Jinnah. Historical facts reveal that Jinnah had no special clash with Azad. He tried his best to prove himself the more able than anybody in the freedom struggle. Study seems fail to fulfill the requirement to become an historical work.

The next important work on Jinnah is K. M. Ashraf's *Hindu-Muslim Question and Our Freedom Struggle (1857-1935)*.³⁶ The work under review is an analytical study of Hindu Muslim problem in India during the freedom struggle. Author also describes the personality and politics of Jinnah during the freedom struggle. According to author Jinnah and his followers wanted to work with Congress for the future constitutional development in India.³⁷

According to author after coming back home Jinnah revived and recognized the League and mostly progressive groups and ulema supported him.³⁸ In League Session, at Lucknow, adopted

³⁴ Ibid., 170.

³⁵ Ibid., 98-9.

³⁶ K. M. Ashraf, *Hindu-Muslim Question and Our Freedom Struggle 1857-1935* (New Delhi: Sunrise Publications; Vol. I & II, 2005). The author is a congress leader of U.P.

³⁷ Ibid., Vol. I, 197.

³⁸ Ibid., 277.

new program and new approach of separatism.³⁹ The author blames that League's outlook was negative which led the Leaguers to reactionary policy, and it made alliance with undemocratic forces of the country:

The negative and sectarian outlook of League leaders finally led them to adopt a disruptive and reactionary policy towards the people of the state and to seek for the alliance of the autocratic princes in combating the imperialist plan of All-India federation.⁴⁰

According to Ashraf Congress leadership tried their best to satisfy the sentiments of Muslims.

However, they failed to win the confidence of majority of Muslims. In the words of author,

An uncompromising national attitude was taken by the Congress leadership in the matter of exclusively Hindu symbols which were banned in the Congress and mandatory instructions were issued on that behalf to all Congress Committees. These conciliatory measures, however, signally failed to win over the bulk of Musalmans to the Congress ideals of Nationalism⁴¹

As a matter of fact it was constant usage of religious Hindu vocabulary by Congress leadership which created fear among Muslims of Hindu raj. According to Ashraf, Jinnah failed to check to evil and he himself was moving with that evil.⁴² According to author Jinnah got dominance only after Congress left political stage and started Quit India move. Jinnah got time to consolidate his and League's position in Muslim majority areas. In the words of author, "It may be recalled that Mr. Jinnah came to acquire a dominating position in Muslims politics only after the abandonment of Direct Action by Congress and the inauguration of the Provincial Ministries under the new Act in 1937".⁴³ Matter of fact is that Jinnah was prominent leader in Muslim

³⁹ Ibid., Vol. II, 46.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 61.

⁴¹ Ibid., 67.

⁴² Ibid., 70.

⁴³ Ibid., 154.

politics that is why many Muslim leaders were insisting that Jinnah should take the presidency of League and they even elected him in his absence⁴⁴

In Ashraf's opinion as a result of 1945-6 elections Congress and League got the mandate against each other not against common enemy and elections also sealed the fate of nationalist Muslim leaders.⁴⁵ Author's approach towards Jinnah is biased and like a Congress leader he did not praise Jinnah. There is also misrepresentation of facts by the author.

Sarojini Naidu's *Mohomed Ali Jinnah: An Ambassador of Unity: A Pen Portrait* ⁴⁶ is a brief analysis of Jinnah's personality and politics during his early years of political career. According to the author Jinnah was a man of great qualities like clear perception, austere, honest and committed person:

But the criterion of his greatness lies not in the range and variety of his knowledge and experience but in the faultless perception and flawless refinement of his subtle mind and spirit not in adversity of aims and the challenge of a towering personality but rather in a lofty singleness and sincerity of purpose and the last charm of a character animated by a brave conception of duty and an austere and lovely code of private honor and public integrity. ⁴⁷

According to author Jinnah was a great advocate,⁴⁸ brave, determinant,⁴⁹ calm, liberal, rational and practical,⁵⁰ great patriot and an Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. He rose quickly to the

⁴⁴ M. H. Saiyed, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1954), 228.

⁴⁵ Ashraf, *Hindu- Muslim Question*, 206.

⁴⁶ Sarojini. Naidu, *Mohomed Ali Jinnah: An Ambassador of Unity: A Pen Portrait*, in *Mohomed Ali Jinnah: An Ambassador of Unity: His Speeches and Writings 1912-1947* (Lahore: Atishfishan Publications, 1989). She was one of the older Congress Leaders and also poetess and renowned as night angle of India.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 23.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 22.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 15.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 14.

front line leader of national movement.⁵¹ The writer acknowledges his efforts and role, he played in Lucknow Pact:

But it is none the less his personal triumph and a testimony to his authentic mission that he stands approved and confirmed by his countrymen not merely as an ambassador, but as an embodied symbol of the Hindu-Muslim unity.⁵²

The importance of the work is that the analysis was written in 1917 only a year after the Lucknow Pact. The study was the first analysis of personality and politics of Jinnah during the early stage of his political career. The author had balanced view about Jinnah in Congress perhaps she knew him earlier than any other Congress leader. Jinnah and author had worked together in Gokhale's Congress. She had no personal prejudices against Jinnah and never spoke against him even after partition. She always had great regard for Jinnah. She openly confessed after partition that Congress treatment of Jinnah was not fair.⁵³

B. R. Ambedkar's *Pakistan or the Partition of India*,⁵⁴ is a analytical study of Hindu-Muslim problem in India, beside that it is also a fair study of Jinnah's personality and his politics. According to the author Jinnah was a man of incorruptible character, could not be bought, an egoistic, arrogant and strong enemy of the British rule in India:

He maybe too self opinionated, an egotist without the mask and has perhaps a degree of arrogant which is not compensated by any extraordinary intellect or equipment. It may be on that account he is unable to reconcile himself to a second place and work with other in that capacity for a public cause. At the same time it is doubtful if there is a politician in India to whom the adjective incorruptible can be more fittingly applied. Anyone who knows what his relations with the British Government have been, will admit that he has always

⁵¹ Ibid., 13.

⁵² Ibid., 24.

⁵³ Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*, 211

⁵⁴ Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India*. Dr. Ambedkar was the leader of depress class during freedom movement and architect of Indian constitution.

been their critic, if indeed; he has not been their adversary. No one can buy him. For it must be said to his credit that he has never been a soldier of fortune.⁵⁵

According to the author Jinnah was a nationalist leader and capable of organization. He reentered in politics after mid thirties and under his leadership League was revived and reorganized and became mass based party.

Mr. Jinnah made his entry into Muslim politics and strangely enough he regenerated the Muslim League which was dying and decaying and of which only a few years ago he would have been glad to witness the funeral. However regrettable the starting to such a communal political party may have been, there was in it one relieving feature, that was the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. Everybody felt that with the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. The League could never become a merely communal party.⁵⁶

According to Ambedkar Jinnah reentered into politics and took the leadership of League and reorganized the League and also gathered Muslims under its flag. On the other side Gandhi was not ready to accept that fact. In the words of author:

Mr. Gandhi started by protesting that the Muslim League did not represent the Muslims and that Pakistan was only a fancy of Mr. Jinnah. It is difficult to understand how Mr. Gandhi could be so blind as not to see how Mr. Jinnah's influence over the Muslim masses has been growing day by day and how he has engaged himself in mobilizing all his forces for battle.⁵⁷

According to the writer Jinnah's personality and politics was also changed and he became the leader of masses and also not only emerged a devoted Muslim but ready to die for Islam. Jinnah used to participate in the religious activities, visit mosques and Muslim gatherings after the transformation:

Today one finds a complete change in Mr. Jinnah. He has become a man of the masses. He is no longer above them. He is among them. Now they have raised

⁵⁵ Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India*, 323.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 356-57.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 405.

him above themselves and call him their Quaid-e-Azam. He has not only become a believer in Islam, but is prepared to die for Islam than mere Kalama. Today, he goes to the mosque to hear Khutba and takes delight in joining the Id congregational prayers. Dongri and Null Bazaar once knew Mr. Jinnah by name. Today they know him by his presence. No Muslim meeting in Bombay begins or ends without Allah-oh-Akbar and Long Live Quaid-e-Azam.⁵⁸

Ambedkar believes that Jinnah's transformation in mid thirty is not fully true. Many event shows that Jinnah was a leader of masses from the early years of his political life like protest against Willingdon the Governor of Bombay's farewell party. He was a devoted Muslim for the start however he never showed off his religion. According to author, with the failure of Quit India Movement and loss of respect in the eyes of British, Gandhi turned towards Jinnah:

On coming out of gaol , he found that he and the Congress had not only missed the bus but had also lost the road. To retrieve the position and win for the Congress the respect of the British Government as a premier party in the country which it had lost by reason of the failure of the campaign that followed up the Quit India Resolution, and the violence which accompanied it, he started negotiating with the Viceroy. Thwarted in that attempt, Mr. Gandhi turned to Mr. Jinnah. On the 17th July 1944 Mr. Gandhi wrote to Mr. Jinnah expressing his desire to meet him and discuss with him the communal question. Mr. Jinnah agreed to receive Mr. Gandhi in his house in Bombay. They met on the 9th September 1944. It was good that at long last wisdom dawned on Mr. Gandhi and he agreed to see the light which was staring him in the face and which he had so far refused to see.⁵⁹

Author's views are different from Azad. According to him Jinnah did not need any recognition from Gandhi or Congress because he was already the leader of Muslims, their Quaid-i-Azam. At that time it was the need of Gandhi to negotiate with Jinnah. It was an attempt by Gandhi, to regain credibility which was lost due to his untimely move. Study portrays Jinnah in very positive manner and author praises Jinnah's personality with open heart. The author also

⁵⁸ Ibid., 405-6.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 407.

deciphers many facts about freedom movement; he is the forerunner of moderate and optimistic group of Indian writers of freedom movement and Jinnah.

Jaswant Singh's *Jinnah: India-Partition Independence* ⁶⁰ is a biography of Jinnah, his political career and the role he played during the freedom struggle of India, written by a political leader of India after sixty years of partition. According to the author, Jinnah was a nationalist leader, self made, and self educated, determinant person. Jinnah was a man of constitution and principles and strong opponent of foreign rule.⁶¹

Zealous for reform, his enthusiasm was always marked by his sense of constitutional propriety, for which characteristic his great legal practice was to the account. He was typical of those earned influence through his own efforts on merit and by remaining committed to principles. Possessing no other tools he employed these very attributes and his principles to combat India's imperial overlords.⁶²

According to Singh, Jinnah skillfully united Indian political forces against British rule till the arrival of Gandhian methodology which relieved British from that pressure. In the words of author:

Subsequently, of course, Gandhi differing with Jinnah on the working of these reforms carved his own path and went to civil disobedience and the agitational methodology of satyagraha. Until 1920, though, Jinnah had successfully kept the Indian political forces together, simultaneously exerting pressure dissipated and the British Raj remained for three more decades.⁶³

According to the writer, author Jinnah was committed to his objective and never changed his position. He began his political career as great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity beside with the

⁶⁰ Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India- partition independence* (New Delhi: Rupa; 2009). He was one of the prominent leader of BJP and held many important portfolios.

⁶¹ Ibid., 72.

⁶² Ibid., 72.

⁶³ Ibid., 99.

determined for the freedom from British Raj. Jinnah strove for the freedom of India from British Raj beside that he wanted safeguards for Muslims in India. For that purpose he worked interminably for Hindu-Muslim unity. To attain unity, Hindus had to give some safeguards to Muslims. Thus with skillful strategy Jinnah was victorious in attaining Pakistan. In the words of Singh:

Jinnah, on the other hand, was and remained fixed and unwavering in both his aim, also the means to achieve them. He worked for freedom from British rule but simultaneously, he sought a special status and special rights for the Muslims, working ceaselessly for both these aims. He recognized that an attainment of freedom from the British was 'unlikely unless Hindus and Muslims united', for such unity he believed the senior partner, Hindus, had to give more; it is they, Hindus, who he felt 'must provide the needed assurance to the Muslim' minority that their rights would be safe in a self-governing India. He perfected the art of negotiating from a position of weakness, for either he had learnt it or experience had taught him the implacable and exasperating power of a 'No', endlessly repeated, and a 'demand sheet' that kept growing endlessly longer until finally when he ran slap into the sign board of 'No Road Ahead', then 'Pakistan', with no accompanying territorial definition was presented as a solution. Besides, he was by then, and he knew it too, terminally ill. He had to hurry, for time now, was not on his side.⁶⁴

The author has observed that, Jinnah's struggle was political and his demand for Pakistan was political too and religion was not used by Jinnah deliberately. And Jinnah was not only in need for the creation of Pakistan, but Pakistan was also the need of Jinnah's personality and character:

The Muslim community for Jinnah became an electoral body; his call for a Muslim nation his political platform; the battles he fought was entirely political-between the Muslim League and the Congress; Pakistan was his political demand over which he and the Muslim League could rule. Religion in all this was entirely incidental; Pakistan alone gave him all that his personality and character demanded. If Mr. Jinnah was necessary for achieving Pakistan, Pakistan, too was necessary for the fulfillment of Mr. Jinnah.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Ibid., 485.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 486.

Author is also of the opinion that partition was the result of clash between Jinnah and Nehru. Nehru was very much allergic with Jinnah, he wanted to get ride out of him, that clash ultimately led to the partition of India.⁶⁶ It was claim of the writer that Congress leadership was unable to understand the ground realities of situation. Singh states that, "Congress also, always over-estimated its strength, its influence, and its leaders were extremely reluctant to accept Jinnah as the leader of not just the Muslim League but eventually of most Muslims in India. The Congress leadership, sadly, also lacked a befitting sense of reality".⁶⁷

Jaswant Singh views were very much different to majority of Indian scholars. He not only depicted Jinnah's personality in positive manner but also tried to answer many questions about Jinnah's personality and politics as well as to freedom struggle. He explained that Jinnah was not willing to meet Gandhi at Gandhi residence not because of Jinnah was arrogant and desired to disgrace Gandhi, in fact Jinnah knew that at Gandhi's residence, there were always rush of devotees of Gandhi, who never allowed uninterrupted talks.⁶⁸

The next important work on Jinnah is by L. K. Advani's *My Country: My Life*.⁶⁹ The book under review is an autobiography of the author. However, he gave his analysis of freedom struggle, Jinnah's role in the freedom struggle. According to author Jinnah started his political career as a nationalist leader of Congress. He worked hard for the Hindu-Muslim unity and

⁶⁶ Ibid., 504-9.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 509.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 307.

⁶⁹ L.K Advani, *My Country: My Life* (New Delhi: Rupa & Co, 2008). He was the one of the prominent leader and President of second most important political party of India B.J.P.

played major role in the Lucknow Pact along with Tilak, which remained as a hallmark of Hindu-Muslim unity.⁷⁰

Advani observes that Jinnah was changed due to the emergence of Gandhi in the Indian political life and Jinnah being an egoist could not bear that, so he totally transformed his personality and politics. Gandhi and Jinnah were totally different to each other; Gandhi believed in morality and nonviolence while Jinnah only believed to in harsh realities of politics:

He had to be a leader, and the prime mover in whatever cause he worked. With the emergence of Gandhiji in Indian politics, Jinnah felt that his importance would gradually diminish. Jinnah was the complete anti-thesis of Gandhiji. While Gandhiji believed in religion, in abstract moral values, in non-violence, Jinnah only believed in hard practical politics.⁷¹

Jinnah also did not like Nehru. Jinnah and Nehru were also different personalities and had different ideologies.⁷² Like many of the Indian writers, author believed that Jinnah played central role in the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan:

Among all the leaders involved in India's freedom struggle Jinnah must bear the largest share of blame for the tragedy of partition. For it was his fanatical resolve, his tenacious personality, and his skillful and community inspired manipulation of the separatist mindset that helped the Muslim League mobilize large-scale mass support for its demand for the division of India and creation of a separate 'Muslim Nation' called Pakistan.⁷³

Author's views are very much similar the majority of Indian writers. However, analytical study of his view about Jinnah had importance due to his views and his visit to Pakistan as the

⁷⁰ Ibid., 819..

⁷¹ Ibid., 821.

⁷² Ibid., 821.

⁷³ Ibid., 818.

president of second main political party BJP, regenerated a debate about Jinnah in India and net result of that debate was new arrival of analysis of Jinnah in India started again.

Conclusion

Jinnah was the ex-congress man and during the last phase of the freedom struggle, Congress and Jinnah become arch rivals. In fact Jinnah was the prominent leader of Congress 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity', 'Uncrowned prince of Bombay' and source of inspiration even before the arrival of Gandhi and Nehru in Indian political arena.

Jinnah was the part of Congress of Gokhale [d.1915] and Tilak [d.1920]. He strove hard for the Hindu Muslim unity and had major share in Lucknow Pact. He had left the Congress due to the change of Congress creed while he did not stop working for Hindu-Muslim unity and co-operation between League and Congress for the freedom of India. However, every effort for unity and cooperation of Jinnah was met with failure due to the arrogance and negative attitude of Congress leadership specially Nehru. Then Jinnah for the safety of Muslims of India chose another way, perhaps the only way to solve the problem of India. He demanded separate homeland for the Indian Muslims, strove hard and finally won Pakistan in the teeth of Congress and British's opposition.

Congress Leadership could not forgive Jinnah for this deed. And they tried their best to create hurdles in the way of Jinnah but failed to stop him from victory. Thus, the majority of Congress leadership writings show the psychological inferiority complex of Congress leadership towards Jinnah and also the jealousy and personal grudges.

They tried to defame Jinnah through every possible way but could not succeed. However, every non-Congress leader considers Jinnah a high caliber leader than whole of the Congress leadership. They also blamed Congress for not dealing Jinnah fairly and have a larger share in the partition. Their narration shows that it was Congress, not Jinnah who did not reconcile with others. It was again Congress who denied safeguard for Muslims in India and paved the way for the separation of Muslim majority areas from the India.

Conclusion

Relative and investigative study reveals that Indian scholars have no common view about Jinnah, his political strategy and his achievements. Indian school might be understood in better way if it would be classified into three categories namely; academic scholars, nonacademic scholars and political leadership. Academic scholars are trained properly to write history so their views could not be compared with Nonacademic scholars. Political leadership is the history maker thus without their views study would be incomplete. Many of Indian political leaders were also participants of the one party or other party of freedom struggle so their views would be analyses separately from academic scholars.

Indian academic Scholars have no unanimous opinion about Jinnah. Majority of the Indian academic scholars admire Jinnah's personality and character. They consider Jinnah a man of action, reason, logic, fearless and man of law, wedded with the ideas of liberalism and modernization. According to majority of Indian academic scholars Jinnah was a great nationalist and secular leader. Jinnah possessed the high degree of morality, clean and clear character. No one could buy him and no one could dictate him. He was guided by logic and reason. They have bright image of Jinnah's personality and political career. They also believe that Jinnah worked very hard for Hindu-Muslim unity and was die-hard opponent of British rule. They also believe that Jinnah was a great opponent of partition of India and he strove very hard to avoid partition. However, when partition was unavoidable then he accepted it as the second best alternative.

According to majority of Indian academic scholars, Jinnah was not serious about his demand for a separate homeland for Muslims, Pakistan. Jinnah only used demand of Pakistan as a bargain

with Congress for power share in united India. And it was Congress's unreasonable leadership which forced Jinnah to make Pakistan. Although some academic scholars also admit that Jinnah played most important role in the creation of Pakistan.

On the other hand some of the academic scholars consider him great communalist, a fanatic Muslim, the man who divided India. Although they praise Jinnah's courage, unflinching determination, farsightedness, correct grasp of the situation. Nevertheless they also consider him egoistic, and arrogant, opportunist and ambitious person. According to them Jinnah was an ally of the British and enemy of Congress and its leadership, they portrait Jinnah in dark shade. Nevertheless they admitted that Pakistan was the greatest achievement of Jinnah.

Thus Indian academic scholars have very much contradictory view with each other. They are biased in their approach towards Jinnah either they consider Jinnah a nationalist or communalist. They are telling the half truth about Jinnah. They are misrepresenting him and his role in freedom movement.

Indian academic scholars have several problems when they are dealing with the last decade of freedom struggle. Majority of the Indian scholars believe that 1937 was very important year in the history of India, during which Jinnah was totally changed from a nationalist leader to a communalist leader. While matter of fact is that it was not Jinnah, who passed through change it was Congress whose behavior towards Jinnah was changed. In 1937, Jinnah reorganized Muslim league and transformed its character from an elite party to a mass movement. Congress tried to ignore him than defame him and finally unleashed campaign of hate against him and vandalize

his image. Congress's tactics finally met with failure. Jinnah became the most popular and most trusted Indian Muslim.

Many of the Indian academicians are of the opinion that British were very friendly towards Jinnah. However matter of fact is that British never liked him. British never liked a man who could neither be bought nor bent. British were also dead opponent of Pakistan. Pakistan was the greatest achievement of Jinnah despite the teeth opposition of both Congress and British. All of these scholars believed that India should remain united and they have either put the blame of division of India on Congress or on Jinnah. None of them is convinced of the usefulness and importance of the creation of Pakistan except few like sharma, who argues that it was a blessing for the Hindus that India has been divided. He believes that Hindus should be thankful to Jinnah for his deed of dividing India and saving Hindus from the constant fear of Muslims.

However, Indian nonacademic scholars could be divided in to two groups namely, moderate and immoderate. Indian writers either they are moderate or immoderate they praise Jinnah's personality. Everyone is agreed that Jinnah was a nationalist and liberal leader. They have conflicting views over where and when Jinnah was transformed from nationalist to communalist. Moderate consider Jinnah was forced to be transformed otherwise he was nationalist leader till the end. They depict Jinnah in bright colour and also criticize Gandhi and his methods which led to partition. While immoderate depict Jinnah in a dark shade as a selfish person ambitious and egoist person who could do anything for his designs. While majority believe that British were supporting Jinnah and League on the other hand many Indian scholars themselves have mention a pact of Nehru with Labour leaders and friendship between the British and the Congress.

On the other hand British were as dead enemy of Jinnah as Congress Leadership. Both had common interests and tried tooth to nail to retain unity of India but failed by the determination and iron will of Jinnah. Some of the writers believe that Jinnah did not want Pakistan or he was feeling guilty over the creation of Pakistan that is also not true. In fact Jinnah wanted Pakistan and only Pakistan. One of the Indian writers, himself met with all responsible people and got the fact that Jinnah really wanted the Pakistan. His feeling guilty over his greatest and matchless achievement is also self assumed story, had no solid argument created for self justification.

Jinnah was an ex-Congress man and during the last phase of the freedom of struggle, Congress and Jinnah became arch rivals. In fact Jinnah was the prominent leader of Congress, 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity', 'Uncrown prince of Bombay' and source of inspiration even before the arrival of Gandhi and Nehru in Indian political arena. Jinnah was the part of Congress of Gokhale and Tilak. He strove hard for the Hindu Muslim unity and had major share in making of the Lucknow Pact. He had left the Congress due to the change of Congress creed while he did not stop working for Hindu-Muslim unity and co-operation between League and Congress for the freedom of India and every effort for unity and cooperation of Jinnah was met with failure due to the arrogance and negative attitude of Congress leadership specially Nehru.

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the psychological inferiority complex of Congress leadership towards Jinnah and also the jealousy and personal grudges. They tried to defame Jinnah through every possible way but could not successes.

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All those who use the accounts of Congress leadership to explore the personality of Jinnah they are very critical about Jinnah and all those who use the writings of non Congress leadership or other than the Congress leadership are very neutral about Jinnah. Indian scholars either praise Jinnah or criticize him and consider him the most important factor in the creation of Pakistan. They are either moderate or immoderate, bias and are not convince that India could be divided. They want the reunification of India.

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