

**HISTORY AND NATIONAL NARRATIVES: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PAKISTANI AND INDIAN
HISTORICAL WORKS ON QUAID-I-AZAM
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH**



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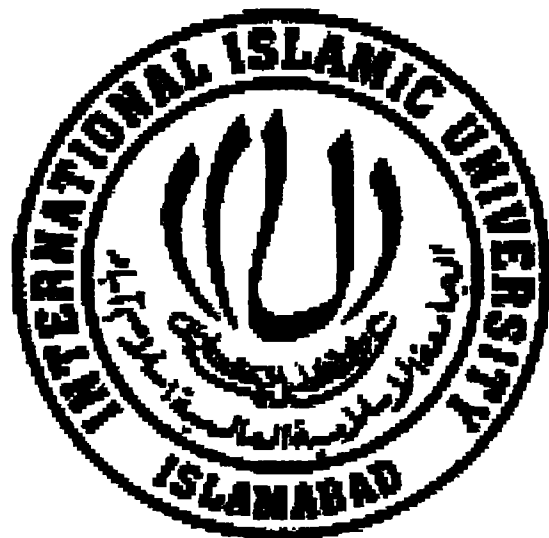
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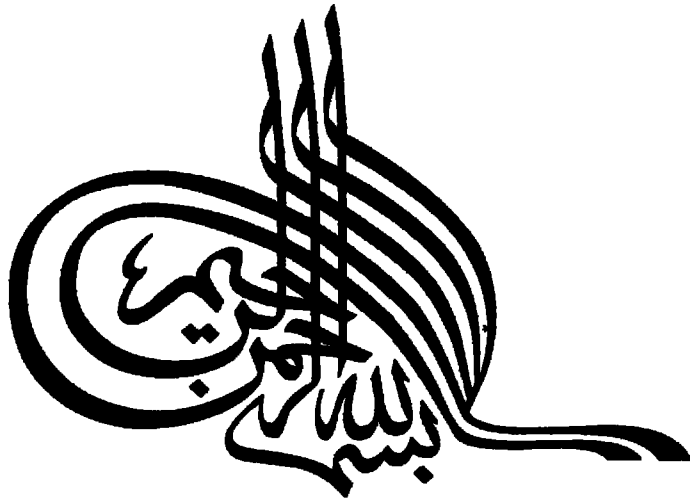
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**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

2020



*In the name of Allah,
the Most Beneficent,
the Most Merciful*

DEDICATED

To

My Praiseworthy AMMI Gee

DECLARATION

I, **Zeenat-Un-Nisa**, hereby declare that this dissertation has been written by me in its entirety on the basis of my research work under the sincere & heartfelt guidance of my supervisor- Assistant Professor Abdul Zahoor Khan, PhD, and Co-Supervisor- Professor Amna Mahmood, PhD at the Department of History & Pakistan Studies-Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad. No portion of this Dissertation has been copied from any source. No portion of the research, presented in this Dissertation, has been submitted before for any degree or qualification in this or any other university or educational institution.



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FORWARDING SHEET

The Dissertation; titled “HISTORY AND NATIONAL NARRATIVES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PAKISTANI AND INDIAN HISTORICAL WORKS ON QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH” put forward by MS. ZEENAT-UN-NISA, Regd. No. 9-FSS/PHDHIS/F-12 in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of *Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)* in History, has been successfully completed under our guidance, care and supervision.

We are satisfied with the excellence of scholar’s research work and she is now allowed to get this Dissertation submitted for the finishing point of go forward course of action so that she may be awarded the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) in History as per modus operandi of International Islamic University, Islamabad.



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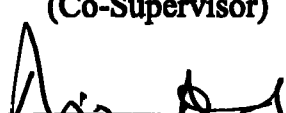
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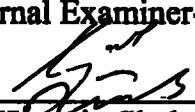
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ABSTRACT

“History and National narratives: A Comparative study of Pakistani and Indian historical works on Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah” is a study of historiography of Pakistani and Indian authors on Jinnah. It discloses how they have measured the persona and politics of Jinnah. The foremost purpose of the research is to comprehend and significantly scrutinize the narrative of Pakistani and Indian authors about Jinnah and his role in freedom struggle and in formation of Pakistan. All those dynamics which manipulate the narrative of Pakistani and Indian authors about Jinnah have been accounted. It has also inspected to which extent those dynamics manipulated the narrative of Pakistani and Indian authors.

History is a study of past events and analysis of these events how, when and why these events were unfolded. It could be biography of those personalities who were got involved in those happenings. It could be treasure of keys to solve today's problems in the light of bygone generation's experimentations and investigations. It is hope and light for humankind. Ibn Khaldun has explained history writing and problems of historian and then set the rules for history writing in his book.

In addition, National Narratives are constructed on solid chronicles related to the significant and earth-shattering occasions existing in the paradigms and prototypes of history. They narrate the past of the nation in these chronicles which develop into a model of the matchless mannerisms of a nation. That narrative is a source of national individuality and also maintains the authenticity of the regimes. A National Narrative provides citizen consciousness of their common traits and behaviors as a nation. It is a cause of pleasure and esteem for nation. However the narrative can be cultivated by reinterpretation and accumulation of the records. National narratives are very important factors in the progression of history writing and elucidation of antiquity and bygone days.

In case of the development of Pakistani and Indian historical writing, their national narrative has played major role in interpretation of history. Both schools have their own national narrative which is not surprisingly, totally pole apart from each other. Both schools have developed historical works according to their national narrative. However some of the writer of both schools interpret history not in line with their national narrative. Historical works on Jinnah by these two schools reveal a substantial influence of national narrative on history writings. Pakistani national narrative is that the partition of India was the only way to save humanity from the worst form of serfdom and especially Muslims from permanent humiliation and destruction. Jinnah was a savior, knight in the shining armor, protagonist, hero and leader of the Muslims of the subcontinent.

On the other hand Indian national narrative is that the partition was a wrong outcome of the Hindu Muslim problem in India and it should be reversed and Jinnah was the man who is responsible for partition. Thus both of the school explores history under the the respective lines. Nevertheless, Pakistani historical work is found more unprejudiced, evenhanded and logical than that of the Indian school. Although both schools of the writers have explored Jinnah from diversified approaches and trends, from theoretical framework to issue-based discussions, from a pile of work to single study, from a general study to specific study. Their analysis also ranged from a praised study to an authoritarian and domineering criticism.

There were so many freedom fighters are witnessed in history during the 20th century but Jinnah maintained a unique place due to the role he played during struggle to liberate the sub-continent from British rule. Jinnah started his political career as an open-minded and

pro-self-government leader who ceaselessly endeavoured to form a joint front of Hindus and Muslims to attain freedom from British crown. However his efforts resulted fruitless due to the awkward behaviour of Congress leaders. Thus finally he for the sake of freedom of Muslims in Indian sub-continent, changed his strategy and after a furious struggle he was victorious in achieving a special state for Muslims, in which they could live without the permanent Hindu majority.

The logic of Jinnah's political deeds and manners is a subject of significance and concern for both Pakistani and Indian historians who have shaped the differentiated form of narratives, concerning the various traits of Jinnah's political life. In the current research, an effort has been made to scrutinize the narrative cultivated by Pakistani and Indian historians in a serious manner while writing on the nature, politics and persona of Jinnah. Pakistani and Indian authors, mostly accept that Jinnah was a great leader who played a significant role in the establishment of Pakistan. Thus, most of them have seen the position of Jinnah with a miscellaneous potential. They have presented the sundry, dissimilar and conflicting analysis about the political character and attractiveness of Mr. Jinnah.

The current study has examined the narrative of these authors taking into account the sources consulted by them and the impact of the time and space on their writings. It has also considered and made unearthed the prejudices and the intellectual environment of various authors. It has categorically seen the conditions and circumstances in which Pakistani and Indian historiography on Jinnah developed and has seriously examined its method, style and content.

Pakistani and India authors have developed a different framework during the 70 years while writing on Jinnah. They have produced a lot of works on the personality, character and politics of Jinnah. Both schools have evaluated the personality of Jinnah and his role during freedom struggle from different perspectives. These writers have described the position of Jinnah at various stages of his political career. Pakistani and Indian writer further categorized into three main classes namely Historian, Non-Historian and Political leaders for the present study. Historian is a writer who has obtained skill from institutions to write history. Non-Historian is a writer who has lack of skill to write history. Political leader is a person who adopts politics as a profession may be or may not be skilled to write the history. However for this study, archetypal works have been selected on the basis of the worth, uniqueness of analysis and importance of the author.

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ZEENAT-UN-NISA

INTRODUCTION

The 20th century witnesses a lot of great leaders who served and saved their nations from the earth shattering event occurred at that time, but Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah[Jinnah] held a unique place among them due to his unique methodology of achieving his objective. His extraordinary accomplishment that differentiates him from the rest of the leaders is, that he used logic and reason to overcome his opponents who were more powerful than him. However, in spite of the hardships, Jinnah remained victorious against British Government and All India National Congress [Congress], because of his courageous proposals, unrivaled expertise and a wonderful wisdom.

Jinnah was born on Dec. 25, 1876 and died on Sept. 11, 1948. Karachi was not only his birth place but also the last resting place.¹ He joined Indian political arena through the platform of All Indian National Congress [Congress] in 1906 and Joined All India Muslim League [League] in 1913 as well. He was one of the zealous opponent of British rule in India and to liberate Indian sub-continent from British clutches, he adopted the strategy of a joint front of Muslims and Hindus being the two main nations of Indian sub-continent. He was one of the architects of the Lucknow Pact which was the only successful effort to bring Muslims and Hindus closer to each other under the platform of Congress and League.

In 1920 congress adopted the unconstitutional program of Gandhi but Jinnah being a hard core constitutionalist, resigned from Congress and dedicated all his energies for the protection of the Muslims` rights in the subcontinent through the platform of League. In 1928, Congress brought up a proposal for future constitutional

¹ Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*. (London: John Murray, 1954), 3.

development of India with the name of Nehru Report which reversed the Lucknow pact. As a counter Measure, Jinnah put forward his fourteen points in 1929 which presented the political demands of the Muslims. In 1936, once again Jinnah was selected as the president of League and started to restructure and revive the party.

Under the command of Jinnah, League approved a resolution which claimed a new country for Indian Muslims on March 23, 1940 in Lahore. League attained a total victory in central as well as in provincial assembly elections of 1945-46 in Muslims constituencies. After seven years of the approval of Lahore Resolution of 1940, Pakistan came into being on Aug. 14, 1947. Jinnah was the first Governor General of Pakistan. Although he was seriously ill, he remained busy in establishing the structure of government for the new born state. Unfortunately, he died on Sept. 11, 1948. He was crowned with the title of "Quaid-i-Azam" [the Greatest Leader] by his nation due to his services for the nation. On 12 August 1947 first prime minister of the Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan put forward a resolution in constitutional Assembly of Pakistan which stated "that this Assembly resolves that Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and Governor- General of Pakistan to be addressed as Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 'Governor-General of Pakistan' in all official Acts, documents, letters and correspondence from 15 August 1947."²

The logic of Jinnah's political deeds and manners is a subject of significance and concern not only for Pakistani historians, but also for the Indian and world historians who have shaped a lot of narratives concerning the diverse characteristics of Jinnah political life. In the present research, an effort is made to scrutinize the narrative cultivated by Pakistani and Indian historians' writings on the nature, politics and persona of Jinnah. Pakistani and Indian authors somehow acknowledged Jinnah as a

² *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates*, 12 August 1947. Vol. I, No. 3, pp.36-37.

great leader who played a significant role in the establishment of Pakistan; thus they have perceived the position of Jinnah through a diverse potential. They have presented the diverse and contradictory analysis about the political character of Jinnah. These writers have measured the contribution of Jinnah during the freedom struggle at a variety of stages.

The current study examines the narrative of these authors. It also looks at the sources that these authors have consulted and the impact of the time and space on their writings. It also considers the prejudices and the environment of the authors. It categorically sees the surroundings and circumstances in which Pakistani and Indian historiography on Jinnah was cultivated and seriously examines its mode, approach and essence.

Pakistani authors and India authors have developed a different framework during the 70 years while writing on Jinnah. They have produced a lot of work on the personality, character and politics of Jinnah. Both schools have evaluated the personality of Jinnah and his role during freedom struggle from different perspectives. They have maintained the dissimilar and contradictory analysis about the politics, and personality of Jinnah. These writers have described the position of Jinnah at diverse stages of his political career. Pakistani and Indian schools of writers are further categorized into three main classes namely Historians, Non-Historians and political leaders for the present study. Historian is a writer who has obtained skill from institutions to write history. Non-Historian is a writer who lacks the professional expertise and skill to write history. Political leader is a person who adopts politics as a profession, and may or may not be skilled to write history. However for this study, representative works have been selected on the basis of worth of knowledge, uniqueness of analysis and importance of the author.

Pakistani School of Writers

Pakistani Historians:

Pakistani historians provide a diverse form of historical work on the personality and politics of Jinnah like; from a theoretical framework to issue-based discussions, from a response study to innovative type. These writers also produce the historical work on different phases of Jinnah's politics like; early years of his political career and the last decade of freedom struggle, from a pile of work on the politics and persona of Jinnah to single study, from a general study to specific study. Their analysis also ranged from praised study to severe criticism.

Pakistani Non-Historians:

Pakistani Non-Historian writers have also produced a variety of historical works on the persona and politics of Jinnah from a thematic study to a biographical one. While working on the biography of Jinnah, writers also show the diversity like; biography based on personal memories, non-official narrative of biography and well researched biography. Pakistani Non-Historians also produce chapters on political career of Jinnah through collection and compilation of historical material on Jinnah and League. Early works of this section are mainly considered as primary sources on Jinnah and are based on the personal memories of the authors. While in later time period, historical works of this section were more research-oriented and have refined analysis. Emotions affected the early works of this school however, with the passage of time factual data replaced the emotions.

Pakistani Political Leaders:

Pakistani political leaders also produce varieties of historical work on the personality and politics of Jinnah. The early works of this section are based on the personal memories and personal relationship of the authors with Jinnah. While with the

passage of time they have developed very unique and innovative approach. They justify the creation of Pakistan in a very logical manner.

Indian School of Writers

Indian Historians:

Indian Historians have also produced a variety of historical work on the personality and politics of Jinnah. Writers mainly presented a systematic study or a thematic approach. They have produced biographical sketches of Jinnah however with a particular motive. They have worked on social-political history with the short biographical history of Jinnah. Their analysis about Jinnah also varied from work to work, from appreciation to severe criticism. The common thing of this section is that the authors have produced work with pre-decided conclusions and did not care about the factual data.

Indian Non-Historians:

Non-Historians have also produced piles of books on the personality and politics of Jinnah. Some writers examined the character and nature of Jinnah and his political career with logic and legal mind, but on the other hand, some writers wrote about Jinnah in order to pay tribute to their favorite leaders. They could not accept the reality and still insist on living in utopian world. They are deeply emotional while working on Jinnah thus there is less objectivity in their writing. However, some of them presented very unbiased and objective analysis and exposed some unique aspects of Jinnah's political life.

Indian Political Leaders:

The early writings of this section hold the position of primary sources and are based on personal memories. The authors were the participants of freedom struggle. So, they have produced a large amount of work to justify their political struggle. On the other

hand, non congress writers not only appreciated Jinnah but also criticized Congress leaders for their unfair approach. These Writings are full of biases and prejudice.

Structural Biases and Partialities of Different Writers on Jinnah:

The main aim of the section is to categorize the biases and difference of opinion of Pakistani and Indian authors to better understand the narrative of both schools. Jinnah had a political career of almost 40 years. The main contribution of Jinnah was the creation of Pakistan and saved Muslims from total extinction in Indian subcontinent. However he was always busy in fighting for common people throughout his political career by constitutional means. From negotiation to constitutional formulae he vigorously participated in every activity within the domain of law. His politics and personality is an area of great interest for Pakistani and Indian author from historians, non-historians to political leaders, they produce a lot of work on politics and personality of Jinnah. However they have difference of opinion for many reasons. Thus their main differences have been discussed one by one in this chapter.

1- Jinnah as a Populist Leader and his Affiliation with the Masses

According to main stream Pakistani authors Jinnah was the populist leader. They adopt more sensible and logical approach by developing the argument about Jinnah. They consider that throughout his political career he advocated and guarded the interests of the deprive class of society without pitying them or demanding extra favor from ruling elites. His contribution for Waqaf-alal- Aulad bill for Muslim and his support for Gokhale bill of Elementary Education not only reveal the importance of Jinnah in Indian politics but also depict the unbiased and rational approach of Jinnah.³ Authors like Waheed –uz-Zaman and Riaz Ahmad consider that Jinnah was a strong

³ Pirzada, *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. 21-34.

advocate of Muslims right and interest right from the start of his political career.⁴ According to K. H. Kurshid, Jinnah was very much caring about his follower he used to reply every letter of his followers no matter how much they were. He used to sign the receiving slip of every money order and cheque for League. He also read daily newspapers for almost an hour as a routine thus he was very much aware of the mind and heart of his follower.⁵

Cross check examination has been reveal limitation and drawback of Indian school. They are unable to understand the feeling, choices and options of minorities in united India. As result their analysis about Jinnah bound to be biased. Main stream Indian authors have been accusing Jinnah for using the tool of separatism to attain popularity and Pakistan. They have accused that being an egoist person Jinnah could not live in a united India where Gandhi as spiritual and political leader was ruling over the heart and mind of people.⁶ However some authors have different point of views like Ajeet Jawed, Sarojini Naidu and Amedkar.⁷ Ajeet Jawed has claimed that Jinnah was popular leader from the early years of political life. However arrival of Gandhi and shift of ideology in Congress disappointed Jinnah so badly that as revenge he created Pakistan.

⁴ Waheed -uz Zaman, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Myth and Reality* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1976) .2; Riaz. Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: the formative years, 1882-1920* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1988) 88.

⁵ K. H. Kurshid, *Memories of Jinnah*, ed. By Khalid Hasan(Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001).76-77.

⁶ J. J. Pal, *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Delhi: Sidharam Publications, 1983), 148; Lal. Bahadur, *The Muslim League: Its History, Activities and Achievements* (Lahore: Book Traders: 1979)176-77.

⁷ Ajeet. Jawed, *Secular And Nationalist Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009).57; 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),13; Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India*(Lahore: Book Traders, n.d.)405.

2- Jinnah's Discontinuity With Congress

Main stream Pakistani authors consider that Jinnah swore his ties with Congress when Congress transformed from a moderate political party to extremist political party under the leadership of Gandhi and his successor.⁸ On the other hand mostly Indians authors believe Jinnah left Congress because he could not work under the command of Gandhi.⁹ However some Indian authors like Ajeet Jawed, and S. K. Majumdar contradict with main authors and of the opinion rude and arrogant behavior of Congress leadership force Jinnah to left Congress.¹⁰ Noorani is of the opinion there was no one leader such as Tilak who could reasonable accommodate Jinnah in Congress.¹¹ Matter of fact Jinnah letter to Gandhi itself explain the Jinnah's point of views about Gandhi Non-cooperation program what Jinnah predict about the fate of Non-cooperation all come true in later period.¹² It is very interesting that Pakistani authors praise Jinnah for his farsighted and in-depth approach by quoting this letter and on the other side Indian author either they quoted from this letter or got information from Azad and Nehru they most accused Jinnah being arrogant, rude and cold-blooded.

⁸ Sikandar. Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008). 50-51.

⁹ Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (Calcutta: The Signet Press, 1946).314.

¹⁰ Ajeet. Jawed. *Secular And Nationalist Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009),124; S. K. Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi Their Role in India's Quest for Freedom* (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1976), 58.

¹¹ A. G. Noorani, *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle* (Karachi: Oxford University Press,2010),242.

¹² Jinnah in his reply stated that, if by 'new life' you mean your methods your programme. I am afraid I cannot accept them: for I am fully convinced that it must lead to disaster.....people generally are desperate all over the country and your extreme programme has for the moment struck the imagination mostly of the inexperience youth and the ignorant and the illiterate. All this means complete disorganization and chaos. What the consequence of this may be, I shudder to contemplate. Pirzada, *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, 400.

3- The Role of Jinnah in Revival of the Muslim League:

According to Sikandar Hayat, Jinnah took the leadership and governance of the League at very critical stage, when the League and Muslims both very vulnerable and leaderless because traditional leadership was unable to understand the demands of Muslims and prerequisite of the situation. Thus Muslim asked Jinnah to take the command of League in his hand and save the Muslims intended for certain death. Thus Jinnah led and organized the League and then Muslim under its banner and presented the formula for the salvation of Muslims in India which was the real reason of the Muslims to gather under his leadership. They sit on negotiation table and following a hard and difficult conciliation he got Pakistan a peaceful homeland for Muslims.¹³ On other hand most of Indian authors consider that Jinnah use religion and separatism to gather Muslims under the League banner and with the help of British he created Pakistan.¹⁴ One of the Indian author imaginations has gone so far and considers League as a fascist party like Nazi party of Germany and Jinnah with Hitler.¹⁵ However historical fact reveal that Gandhi was the first who use religion as a tool in politics in Indian arena successfully and added more fuel to the fire to create a state of abomination between Hindus and the Muslims. Some Indian author like Majumdar severely criticize Gandhi for using religion to consolidate his position in Congress which adopt unreasonable attitude toward Jinnah which eventually led to the partition.¹⁶

¹³ Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader*, 91-317.

¹⁴ B. R .Nanda. *Road to Pakistan: The Life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010),218.

¹⁵ Bahadur, *The Muslim League*, 351.

¹⁶ S. K. Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi: Their Role in India's Quest For Freedom*. 198.

4- The Elections-1937 and Jinnah's Ostensible Change of Tactics:

Main stream Pakistani authors acknowledge Jinnah as a great strategist. He changed thoroughly from appearance to agenda and strategies. Sikandar Hayat has explained Jinnah's tactics in detail. He believes that Jinnah organized League in systematic manner and built its organizational structure with stick rule and regulation and opened the gate of League for everyone.¹⁷

Indian main stream authors consider that transformation of Jinnah and his party League was a result of humiliation of Jinnah and League in 1937 election by the hand of Congress. As a revenge Jinnah promoted abhorrence between Muslims and Hindus and gained popularity amongst the Muslims.¹⁸ However most of the Indian and Pakistani authors although with difference in their interpretations maintain that Nehru's attitude and rhetoric as a Congress president played important part in transformation of League and Jinnah. Even many Indian authors admitted that Nehru had a superiority plus inferiority complex because of his background so he could not tolerate Jinnah and in India he consider himself second to Gandhi so he develop a especial allergy toward Jinnah.¹⁹ It is quite interesting that because of some letters and some speeches Jinnah was rude and arrogant in the eyes of Indian writers but Nehru constantly use even more harsh word against Jinnah publically mocked him but still remain culture and moderate person. It seems that Indian authors have different scales to measure the personalities of Jinnah, Nehru and Gandhi. However some Indian authors have admitted that Congress attitude towards League after the election

¹⁷ Sikandar. Hayat. *The Charismatic Leadeer*,225-255.

¹⁸ Sailesh. Kumar. Bandopadhaya. *Quiad-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (New Delhi: Strling Publishers. 1991). 336-355: Nanda. *Road to Pakistan: The Life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah*,218: J. J. Pal. *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*. 148. Zakria. *The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2001),221.

¹⁹ Bandopadhaya. *Quiad-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*. 117-125: Jawed. *Secular And Nationalist Jinnah*. 197-206.

from denial of power sharing with League in UP, Muslim Mass Contact Movement, introduction of Hindu symbols in institutions created insecurity among Muslim masses thus they turned wholeheartedly towards League which forces Muslims elite to bend before Jinnah.²⁰ Azad himself wrote about two incident of mistreatment of minorities against Hindu leaders [Mr. Nariman vs Sardar Patel in Bombay and Dr Syed Mahmad vs Dr Rajendra Prasad in Bihar] which reveal the true colour of Congress leadership.²¹

5- Jinnah's War Time Strategy:

Main stream Pakistani authors consider Jinnah as a far sighted and rational leader. His decision to cooperate with British during WW-II has been appreciated by Pakistani writers. Sikandar Hayat explains that Jinnah was very well aware of the situation understand the value of cooperation with British. He cooperated with British on the condition that they would give due right and share to Muslims in government and also would treat League with Congress on equal terms in return and also treat League as the only real party of Muslims in India.²² Indian authors mostly consider that Jinnah's cooperation with British was an aid of friend to crush Congress Quit India Movement.

6- Pakistan As a Bottom Line of Negotiation:

Main stream Pakistani author believe that Pakistan was the only solution to safe Muslims in India from total demise presented by Jinnah. According to Sikandar Hayat, Jinnah was such a great policymaker that throughout his political career he came up with so many practical plans whenever situation demanded like Lucknow Pact and the Fourteen Point. In late 30s situation was very difficult for Muslim.

²⁰ J. J. Pal, *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*. 75-76: Ajeet. Jawed, *Secular And Nationalist Jinnah*, 206-211: Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India- partition independence*, 257-260.

²¹ Maulana Abual Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom: The Complete Version* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1988), 16-18.

²² Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader*, 253.

League and Jinnah. Thus in order to save Muslims from total annihilation, Jinnah came up with the Pakistan a land where Muslims could live without fear of oppression from Hindus.²³ After the passing of Pakistan Resolution many attempts were made by Congress and British to deviate League and Jinnah from Pakistan but doom to fail by the undeterred will of Jinnah. Quit India movement, Jinnah - Gandhi Talks, Desai – Liaquat Pact, Simla Conference, and Cabinet Mission all failed due to the unwavering faith of Jinnah on Pakistan.²⁴ Indian authors mostly believe that Jinnah was demanding Pakistan only to satisfy his ego.

7- Jinnah Vision of Pakistan:

According to the main stream Pakistan authors, Jinnah wanted that Pakistan would be a liberal, moderate and democratic country according to the principles of Islam. Jinnah wanted a Pakistan where everyone could live without fear of suppression, with equal status with equal right generally and for Muslims particularly.²⁵ Jamil ud Din Ahmad in his work devoted a chapter to explain Jinnah's vision of Pakistan with the help of Jinnah speeches he exposed that Jinnah wanted a modern democratic state which has her roots in basic Islamic principles of brotherhood equality and justice. His speeches also reveal that Jinnah had a deep understanding of Islamic history.²⁶ Majority of Indian authors consider that Jinnah wanted a country for Muslims. There is a serious problem with Indian authors either they like Jinnah or dislike him they misunderstood him on creation of Pakistan. Weather it is a problem of human limitation or still fear to admit truth because price of speaking truth is very high in

²³ Hayat. *The Charismatic Leader*, 177.

²⁴ G. Allana. *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah: the story of a Nation*. 323-422; Hayat. *The Charismatic Leader*. 268-317; M. H. Saiyed. *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study*. 345-421; Aziz Beg. *Jinnah And His Times*. 537-736.

²⁵ Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad. *Glimpses of Quaid-i-Azam*. (Karachi: Educational Press. 1960); M.M. Saleem Qurashi. *The Politics of Jinnah* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1988); Shams –ul- Hasan, ...*plan MR.Jinnah* (Al-Shams: Karachi. 1976); Aziz Beg. *Jinnah And His Times* (Islamabad: Babur & Amer Publication. 1986).

²⁶ Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad. *Glimpses of Quaid-i-Azam*, 76-92.

India, Jaswant Singh former BJP leader has to leave political arena because of speaking some truth.²⁷

8- Jinnah's Initial Acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan (CMP):

On March 24, 1946 Pethick-Lawrence, Stafford Cripps and A. V. Alexander stepped their foot on Indian soil to discuss the future constitutional development with Indian leaders. Main stream Muslim authors believe that Jinnah accepted Cabinet Mission plan because it was giving big Pakistan after ten years than present one. On the other hand very interestingly majority of Indian authors did not discuss Jinnah's initial acceptance of CMP perhaps due to the habit of hiding of truth. Some authors like Seervai severely criticize Congress for the failure of CMP.²⁸ Sikander Hayat in his analysis explain with help of British and Indian sources he exposed that on one side Cabinet Mission pressed Jinnah to choose sovereign but small Pakistan or big Pakistan but within the domain of a federation with the rest of India and on the other hand due to the close friendly relationship with Congress leaders they tried their best to appease Congress in every possible manner. Thus Jinnah was in very difficult situation if he rejected CMP he had to face the big lose at the hand of joint alliance of Congress and British. If he accepted it he had to wait for ten year for fully sovereign Pakistan. Thus as a rational personality who calculated everything on the basses of reasoning decided to leave no room for British and Congress to exploit the weak position of League, Jinnah accepted the plan but when Congress president Nehru with the support of British reveal his true intention of accepting of CMP. Jinnah was left with no choice but to reject CMP.²⁹ It is quite amazing that both of the authors Seervia and Sikandar Hayat use some sources same like *Transfer of Power, India*

²⁷ Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India- partition independence* (New Delhi: Rupa: 2009).

²⁸ H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality*, 60-90.

²⁹ Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader*, 282-297.

Wins Freedom, Viceroy's Journal but their perception about Jinnah was totally different.

9- The Elections- 1946 and Jinnah's Position on Direct Action Day:

The result of general elections of 1946 had proved that League was the true representative of Muslims in Indian political arena. But after the elections British and Congress were not ready to share power with League thus Jinnah decided to approach Muslims. League was avoided by Viceroy Wavell and he asked the Congress to shape an Interim Government which was measured as a treachery and a discontinuity of trust in the eyes of Muslims in India. Thus the League as a representative of Muslims in India decided to observe August 16 as Direct Action Day to record peacefully their grievances against the unfair comportment of British government. Mainstream Pakistani authors believe that moving towards a direct action plan was a very smart strategy of Jinnah because Congress and British were in join hands to moderate Muslims and Jinnah in India. Direct action day celebration not only showed the authority of Jinnah on Muslims but also left no room for British and Congress to ignore League and his president Jinnah.³⁰ While majority of Indian authors severely criticize Jinnah for Direct Action day celebration and accusing him for creating chaos in country.

10- Jinnah and Gandhi, Jinnah and Nehru, and Jinnah and Mountbatten:

Pakistani authors have regarded Jinnah as a great leader than Gandhi, Nehru and Mountbatten. They consider him human being not a superhuman as compare to Indian authors.³¹ It is not surprised that majority of the author compare Jinnah's personality

³⁰ Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader*. 297.

³¹ Sharif -al-Mujahid. *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1981), M. H. Saiyed, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1954), G. Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah: the story of a Nation* (Lahore: Ferozsons,1967). Aziz Beg, *Jinnah And His Times* (Islamabad: Babur & Amer Publication. 1986). Aitzaz Ahsan. *The Indus Saga and The Making of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press. 1996).M.R. Kazimi. *M.A Jinnah:*

and politics with the personality and politics of Gandhi. Pakistani authors highly appreciated Jinnah for his contribution for his ultimate accomplishment in shape of Pakistan. However Jinnah had a long political career of more than four decade through this long period he passed through many difficult situations. His rational approach, logic and honesty has been highly regarded by majority of authors on the other hand Gandhi's twists and turns along with his miscalculation have been severely criticized by not only majority of Pakistani authors but also by some of the Indian authors as well. Some of the authors resemble Gandhi attitude with 'English weather' due to his inconsistency and sudden change in position.³² Azad in his work also shows surprise over sudden changes in Gandhi mood and action. At some places reveal that Gandhi position in Congress was like a godfather and no one oppose him everyone acts like an obedient child in front of Gandhi.³³ On the other hand, majority of Indian authors evaluate Jinnah under the light of Gandhi.³⁴

However, if there is a huge number of authors around the globe admire Gandhi and his politics. His critics could not be underestimated due to the less numbers. They also have very sound reason to criticize him. Ajeet Jawed has criticized him for mixing politics with religion and using constantly Hindu Jargon which slowly drifted Muslims away from the Congress and bringing them close to League and Jinnah. She

Views And Reviews (Oxford: Oxford University press,2005). Ayesha Jalal. *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). K. B. Sayeed. *Pakistan: the Formative phase 1857-1948* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1968). Nasim Hasan Shah. Quaid-i-Azam: whether Secularist or fundamentalist, in Riaz Ahmed, *Pakistani Scholars on Quaid-i- Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University, 1999).Fatima Jinnah. My Brother, ed Sharif al Mujahid(Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1987).Chaudhri Muhammad Ali. The Emergence of Pakistan (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan 3rd impression 1979).M. A. H. Ispahani. *Quaid –e Azam As I Knew Him* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1976).Liaquat Ali Khan. *Pakistan: the Heart of Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950).

³² G. Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah: the story of a Nation*, 106.

³³ Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, 98-99.

³⁴ Sailesh. Kumar. Bandopadhaya, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (New Delhi: Strling Publishers, 1991); Sheshrao. Chavan, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah; The Great Enigma* (Delhi: Authorspress, 2006);Parkash Almeida, *Jinnah; Man of Destiny* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2001).

devoted a full chapter to explain the difference between Jinnah and Gandhi and Jinnah and Nehru.³⁵ Majumdar also criticized Gandhi for adopting illusionary approach in politics which bring less benefit and more harm to the people of Indian. He considers that under the illusion Gandhi act like a 'Messiah' but his action resulted in huge failure which ultimately harmed himself and the people of India.³⁶

Nehru after Gandhi was a second important figures in Congress thus he was also compared with Jinnah by authors but he was not treated as superhero like Gandhi. Majority of Pakistani authors adopted practical approach to evaluate Nehrus [Motilal Nehru + Jawaharlal Nehru] and Jinnah and their contribution in freedom struggle. Pakistani authors have been criticizing Jawaharlal Nehru for his irrational and imaginary approach and his twist in position and his negative attitude towards Jinnah. His father Motilal Nehru tried hard to cut size of Jinnah in late twenties and early thirties and in forties he did the same but both were knocking down by Jinnah's rational and logic. They use not only Pakistani sources but also use Indian sources and to prove their logic they quoted the recorded words and speeches of Nehrus.³⁷

On the other hand majority of Indian authors praised Nehru's worldview his imagination and highly anger on Jinnah for his denial of utopian dreams of Nehru. However they are unable to explain to why Jinnah should accept the imaginary world of Nehrus which could not tolerate Jinnah himself why he should sacrifice millions of Muslims just to appease and satisfied the false ego of Nehrus. However some of the Indian authors have criticized Nehru for his negative attitude towards Jinnah. Ajeet Jawed has devoted one section of his chapter in her book to discuss the comparison of Nehru and Jinnah's personalities, their politics and their ideologies. She has revealed

³⁵ Jawed, *Secular And Nationalist Jinnah*, 153-211.

³⁶ Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi: Their Role in India's Quest For Freedom*, 198.

³⁷ Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader*, 60-65, 292-94; *Zaman*, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, 9,11.

in detail how Nehrus time to time tried to cut Jinnah but failed to undermine the importance of Jinnah.³⁸

Most of the Indian authors consider that British were friendly towards Jinnah without their help Jinnah could not be able to create Pakistan. British police of divide and rule play significant role in creating separatism among Muslims and Hindus than lead towards the creation of Pakistan. However some of the Indian author especially in later period they have exposed the friendly relations between Congress leadership and British particularly with Cripps, Mountbatten and Nehru.³⁹ On the other hand British official time and again themselves repeat that united India was in best interest of kingdom of British and they tried hard to retain the unity of India. How could they have friendly relation with Jinnah who wanted Pakistan and divided India? However some Indian also maintains that British very arch enemy of Jinnah. Ajeet Jawed in her well knitted work devoted one full chapter on the relation of Jinnah with British which cover the four decade of his political career.⁴⁰ It seems that all those authors who buy the concept of friendly relationship between Jinnah and British and especially with Mountbatten are simply tried to undermine the importance of Jinnah in the eyes of his followers. They could not simple admit that Jinnah was the winner against all enemies despite the all odds in his way to march for freedom and salvation of Muslims in India. On the other hand Pakistani authors maintain that Jinnah was not in friendly relationship with British especially with Mountbatten. British always disliked Jinnah because of his strong character they always tried to create hurdle in his ways but failed to stop him. Muhammad Ali and Ispahani both were present during the final days of freedom struggle and witness the Mountbatten and Jinnah reveal the

³⁸ Ajeet. Jawed, *Secular And Nationalist Jinnah* . 190-211.

³⁹ Almeida, *Jinnah; Man of Destiny*. 197: Chavan. *Mohammad Ali Jinnah; The Great Enigma*. 308.

⁴⁰ Jawed, *Secular And Nationalist Jinnah* . 28-64.

biased and rude behavior of Mountbatten.⁴¹ Waheed-uz-Zaman in his work devoted a chapter on Mountbatten and his relation with Indian political leader which exposed his biased attitude and unfair dealing with Jinnah particularly and Muslims in general.⁴²

11- Motive of the Studies:

Objective and motive of the studies also created difference of opinion not only in two schools but within the schools as well. Mostly Pakistani author have explored Jinnah to counter Indian accusation but personality and politics of Jinnah. Sharif al Mujahid and Waheed-uz-Zaman have explored Jinnah to resolve the issues raised by their Indian counterpart. Riaz Ahmad has explored Jinnah to record his contribution during the early years of his practical and political life which in needed for better understanding to Jinnah's personality and politics. Sikander Hayat and Ayesha Jalal have explored Jinnah with the help of modern political science's theories which open a window of exploration to understand Jinnah in different angles. Aitzaz Ahsan has provided the roots of Pakistan throughout the ages. On the other hand Indian explored Jinnah to prove their leader heroes of freedom struggle and justified there wrong doings and mostly Indian studied Jinnah to glorified Gandhi.⁴³ When they find it difficult to justify the misadventure of Gandhi, they simply place him in the line of supernatural and expose their anger towards Jinnah for not showing respect for supernatural and tried to treat him as a normal human. One of the Indian author expresses that, "Tragically, Jinnah failed to see and appreciate Gandhi whom he saw only in political light.....Gandhi's tragedy lied in his blunders and mistakes which

⁴¹ Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 177; Ispahani, *Quaid –e Azam As I Knew Him*, 248-265.

⁴² Zaman, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Myth and Reality*, 84-123.

⁴³ Bandopadhaya, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*, 1: Sheshrao. Chavan. *Mohammad Ali Jinnah; The Great Enigma*, Iviii.:⁴³ Almeida, *Jinnah; Man of Destiny*, 10.

resulted out of the conflict between the 'Saint Mahatma and politician Mr Gandhi'.⁴⁴

Some of the Indian authors evaluate Jinnah under the light of Azad.⁴⁵

Main crux of the chapter is that both Pakistani and Indian authors have explored politics and persona of Jinnah under the limitation of their country they belong. For most of the Pakistani authors he was liberator and savior of their and their kins's life and other hand Indian consider him the destroyer of their motherland. Pakistani authors have consulted more diverse sources than Indian that's why they present more logical and rational interpretation of facts. If Indian authors tried to hide fact and misrepresented data to prove their narrative then quite amazingly some Pakistani also ignore some fact to build their narrative. Sources and impact of time also play their part in damaging the process of history writing. Before the disclosing of official document authors were influence by big name like Azad and Nehru in India on the other hand Pakistani authors have to face really difficult time to reach sources on their side before the publication base on Jinnah's papers. Western world rely heavily on Indian narrative to understand Jinnah which make difficulties for Pakistani authors to find space for their narrative in western world.

Limitation of human nature is also an important factor which influences the historical work on Jinnah. A large number of Indian authors after admitting the unfair treatment of Congress towards Muslims generally and particularly towards League and Jinnah have not agreed on partition due to the human limitation. They have consider that partition cut the size of their motherland thus to show the love for the motherland they have desire for the unification of India and Pakistan. On the other hand for same reason some Pakistani authors have stress too much on Jinnah as a protector of

⁴⁴Almeida, *Jinnah; Man of Destiny*, 118.

⁴⁵ Rafiq, Zakria, *The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2001), K. M. Ashraf. *Hindu- Muslim Question and Our Freedom Struggle 1857-1935* (New Delhi: Sunrise Publications: Vol. I& II. 2005).

Muslims which some time overshadow his unbiased and rational personalities. Same like with interpretation for the grant of right of separate electorate to Muslims. Mostly Pakistani authors have stress only on Muslims right which on one hand provides justification for Indian propaganda of British and Muslims alliance against Hindus on other hand it also provide justification another Indian narrative of British divide and rule policy. Thus human limitation has also play their part in creating hurdle in way of objectivity in history writing.

Thus authors have adopted different styles and approaches to measure the politics and personality of Jinnah to understand the historical process. Some of them adopt rational and logical behavior to write historical work on Jinnah. Some take it as a tool to explain their desire which severely damage the objectivity of their work.

Review of the Literature:

'Pakistani and Indian historians on Jinnah' is a less researched topic by the historians and a few researchers have analytically examined some aspects of it. Some of the books have been reviewed to explain the nature of the findings and the quality of the research produced on this topic. *Historical writing on Pakistan: Methodology and Interpretation* by Ahmad Hassan Dani is an edited book. Basically, it is a collection of paper written by different scholars on historiography of Pakistan. "Muslim Writings on Pakistan, 1940-47: A Survey of Tendencies" by Sharif al-Mujahid⁴⁶ deals with the historiographical review of Muslim historians who belong to Pakistan. Author is of the view that majority of the Muslim historians supported the point of view of League. While analyzing the Muslim historians, he also analyzes some writing on Pakistan. According to him these writers consider Jinnah as the most important leader and they have very high opinion about his personality and political career. The study

⁴⁶Ahmad Hassan Dani. *Historical writing on Pakistan: Methodology and Interpretation* (Islamabad: University of Islamabad Press, 1974).

under review is not based on the topic of the current study it only provides some general information about the Pakistani historians and their style of writing about Pakistan.

The Pakistani Historian by K. K. Aziz⁴⁷ is an analytical study of Pakistani Historian. Author is of the opinion that Pakistani historiography is facing a very serious problem. There are very few historians in Pakistan and very less of them are seriously working on history of Pakistan, Pakistan movement and Jinnah. And these few scholars have to face a lot of problems at economic, bureaucratic and political fronts. Author is too critical about Pakistani historians and Pakistani historiography. He highlights the problem of Pakistani scholars. However, author's own work has no bibliography and end notes. By and large, author has tried to deal with the problem of historian and historiography in Pakistan. He also has discussed the trends and styles of these scholars which is very important to understand Pakistani historiography on Jinnah

The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan by Sikandar Hayat⁴⁸ is an orderly and thematic study of Jinnah. Author has discussed so many researches on Jinnah. While analyzing the studies, author includes the analysis and scrutiny done by Pakistani and Indian writers as well. According to author, majority of the Pakistani historians consider Jinnah as a gifted leader and savior of the Indian Muslims and also believe that there would be no Pakistan without him. According to the author few Pakistani scholars have described Jinnah as a ruthless person who can cross any limit to cater personal interest. On the other hand, some of the Indian authors also have acknowledged the leadership qualities of Jinnah. According to author, some Indian authors have considered that Jinnah was a stubborn

⁴⁷ K. K. Aziz, *The Pakistani Historian* (Lahore: Vanguard books, 1993).

⁴⁸ Sikandar Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008).

person and his every action was to counter the Congress subjugated by Gandhi. However the book under review highlights the historiography on Jinnah by Pakistani and Indian school in a very brief manner but the current study deals with this topic thoroughly.

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation by Sharif-al-Mujahid⁴⁹ is an analytical and thematic study of Jinnah. However, before starting his analysis, the author has analyzed the historiography on Jinnah done by Pakistani writers. According to him, some of the Pakistani writers are deeply impressed by Jinnah and over-estimated his personality and achievements and considered him as a superman and have mixed reality with fantasy. On the other hand, some of the authors, due to their personal biases and prejudices, have considered him anti Hindus.

M. A. Jinnah: Views And Review by M. R. Kazmi presents an examination of "Indian Writers on Jinnah"⁵⁰. Author categorizes Indian writers into two categories. First category is compassionate to Jinnah throughout their examination of partition of India, while the second category is seriously critical about the persona and politics of Jinnah. Bulk of Indian authors fits in to the second category. According to the author, compassionate section considers Jinnah a real autonomist who desired equal right and status for Muslims along with Hindus in liberated India. They condemn Congress by and large and Gandhi especially for his inconsistency in his thought and actions and for his introduction of religion into politics. They criticize Congress leaders for their arrogant approach throughout the fatal phase of freedom struggle which resulted in division of India. Nevertheless, they could not admit partition as a fact and desired for reunion of India.

⁴⁹ Sharif –al-Mujahid. *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1981).

⁵⁰ M. R. Kazimi, *M. A. Jinnah: Views And Reviews* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2005).

On the other hand, critical section adopts very illogical approach. According to their narrative how dare Jinnah and League stand up for the rights of the Muslims in India. Despite the illogical attitude of Congress and unprotected status of the Muslims in united India, Jinnah must have to surrender the rights of the Muslims for the sake of Indian unity. They desire to see Jinnah bow before the arrogance of Nehru. They could not see Jinnah who could be untwisted to Mountbatten. Author considers that division of India is calculated by Hindus as a misfortune. In this research, the author has also included the critical evaluation of some work of Indian writers on Jinnah. The Author has basically divided Indian writers into two categories namely sympathetic and extremist. Yet the author has not categorized the Indian writers as historians, non historian and Indian political leaders.

Secular and Nationalist Jinnah by Ajeet Jawed⁵¹ is a thematic study of the persona and nature of Jinnah. Author argues in a few words on the historiography of Indian authors on Jinnah. Jawed considers that Jinnah has been portrayed by the mainstream Indian authors as an egoist, a hardcore communalist, opponent of the freedom struggle, teammate of the British rulers and the only person accountable for the division of India. She also points out some of the Indian authors, who consider Jinnah as an arch rival of British rule throughout his political career. Jinnah was a patriot, a secular nationalist, constitutionalist and an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. He only sought protection for the Muslims in united India and subsequently, in Pakistan he sought similar protection for minorities in Pakistan.

Companion to Historiography by Michael Bentley includes a chapter on "Modern Indian Historiography" by C. A. Bayly⁵². Author begins with the basis of contemporary Indian historiography and finishes up to the current time. Indian

⁵¹ Ajeet. Jawed, *Secular And Nationalist Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁵² C.A. Bayly, Modern Indian Historiography in Micheal Bentley, ed. *Companion to Historiography* (London: Routledge, 1997).

historiography is a rather fresh area and Indian historiography has deep sway of Muslim and western historiography. Author argues that history writing begins with the influx of Muslims in India. Throughout the Muslim rule, Muslims along with non-Muslims were opted to write history formally or informally. Subsequent to the founding of British Rule in India, Indians history writing passed through changes and they adopted responsive approach in order to address the British historians' allegations. These authors extremely condemned the British and their rule over India. Throughout the freedom struggle, Indian authors wrote history with nationalistic tendency. Subsequent to the independence, Indian historians cite history of freedom movement through the narrative 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. Majumdar⁵³. According to author, Indian historiography started in nineteenth century. Indian historiography contained a profound sway of western historiography. Author considers that nationalist historians are those who understand Indian history according to national narrative. Author also examined the factors that were dependable for the construction of nationalist history in India. Nationalist history of India was a reaction to British history of India. British attempted to present India and Indians low-grade to European and provided explanation of British rule in India. Indians in reply depicted British shrewdness and ingenuity who ruled India with schemes and treachery. With the increase of nationalistic sentiments, the non-Muslims started to project their fights against Muslim rulers as well. Through the freedom movement, history writing was also prejudiced by politics. After the independence in 1947, Indian historians

⁵³ 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).

approved the similar tendency. They also presented the fresh trend toward the study of history.

Historiography and Historian in India since Independence by Ramesh Chandra Sharma⁵⁴ is an investigative examination of Indian historiography and Indian authors. Author discusses the starting point and growth of Indian historiography and also admits that Indian authors obtain huge advantage from Muslim and European authors and Indian historiography has gone from beginning to end through diverse forms before transforming into a distinct nature. The author explains that the Indian authors have to deal a bundle of troubles. They are extremely nationalist in their method and approach while analyzing particularly about Pakistan movement, Pakistan and Jinnah. They are looking at the personality of Jinnah through the narrative of Congress.

Biases in Indian Historiography by Devahuti⁵⁵ is a critical examination of Indian historiography. The book is mostly the compilation of papers of various authors on the dilemma of Indian historiography. Author is of the opinion that Indian history should be examined under the Indian structure of orientation. It is not significant what occurred in history. It is significant that how people understand the information. The significant substance of Indian history is that how the Indian people identify their history. The study has tried to address various troubles such as regionalism, Hindu-Muslim relations, religion, cultural and archeological interpretations.

⁵⁴ Ramesh Chandra Sharma, G. Chaturvedi and A. K. Singh. *Historiography and Historian in India Since Independence* (Agra :MG publishers,1991).

⁵⁵ Devahuti, ed. *Bias in the Indian Historiography* (Dehli: D. K. Publications. 1980).

Objectives of the Study/Research:

1. To investigate the point of views of Pakistani and Indian historians on the character, politics and personality of Jinnah.
2. To examine the sources which were consulted by these historians.
3. To explore the impact of time and space on the writings of Pakistani and Indian historians.
4. To find out the biases and the background of various historians.

Research Questions:

1. What is the point of view of Pakistani and Indian historians on the character, politics and personality of Jinnah?
2. Which types of sources have these historians consulted?
3. What is the impact of time and space on the writings of Pakistani and Indian historians?
4. What kind of the biases and the backgrounds do the various historians possess?

Research Methodology:

The descriptive, comparative and analytical approaches have been used for this study. The Study is based on Pakistani, British, American and Indian primary sources. The Library of National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, is highly equipped with the sources on Jinnah. National Documentation Centre, Islamabad has been consulted for the data collection. The National Library of Pakistan, Islamabad includes a segment on Jinnah, packed with works of authors over Jinnah. The Central Library of International Islamic University, Islamabad, Central and Seminar (Department of History) Libraries of Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, have also been consulted throughout the investigation.

The work of Pakistani and Indian historians on Jinnah is exceptionally significant to measure the mainstream narratives of Pakistani and Indian historians about Pakistan. "Historian" is a term which is used for an individual who is qualified to write history through any institute or has association with teaching and research in institutes. For this study, only published books of Pakistani and Indian scholars are used. The limitation of this study is that only those books of Pakistani and Indian Historians have been used which are available in Pakistan. Another limitation is that because of the lack of the social contacts of the researcher, the official reports have been consulted to cross check the information written in the books of the authors used by the researchers.

Organization of the Study/Research

The study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter- I "Pakistani Historians on Jinnah" deals with the work of Pakistani historians over Jinnah. How they judge the persona of Jinnah, his nature and his contribution in the freedom struggle and in formation of Pakistan.

Chapter- 2 "Pakistani Non-Historians on Jinnah" deals with the writings of Pakistani non-historians on Jinnah. In which manner they depicted the persona of Jinnah, his nature and his contribution in the freedom struggle and in making of Pakistan.

Chapter- 3 "Pakistani Political Leadership on Jinnah" deals with the works of Pakistani political leaders on Jinnah. In which way they examined the persona of Jinnah, his qualities and his contribution in freedom struggle and in the establishment of Pakistan.

Chapter- 4 "Indian Historians on Jinnah" contains the examination of Indian historians about Jinnah. How they judge the personality of Jinnah, his nature and his

contribution in the freedom struggle and in formation of Pakistan. This chapter will also analyse that how they are different from Pakistani Historians.

Chapter- 5 "Indian Non-Historians on Jinnah" contains the evaluation of Jinnah by Indian non-historians. How they are different from Pakistani non-Historian. In which manner they depicted the persona of Jinnah, his nature and his contribution in the freedom struggle and in making of Pakistan.

Chapter- 6 "Indian Political Leaders on Jinnah" contains the measurement of Jinnah by Indian political leaders. In which way they examine the persona of Jinnah, his qualities and his contribution in the freedom struggle and in construction of Pakistan. In which method they are dissimilar from Pakistani political leaders.

Chapter- 7 "Trend and Style of Schools" deals with the trend and style of Pakistani and Indian writers on Jinnah. In which way they examine the persona of Jinnah, his qualities and his contribution in the freedom struggle and in construction of Pakistan, in which context they are writing.

CHAPTER- 1

PAKISTANI HISTORIANS ON JINNAH

The essential subject of this chapter is to logically examine the opinions of Pakistani authors, and the methods through which they have evaluated Jinnah's character, persona and politics. Majority of the Pakistani authors have praised Jinnah's personal qualities and his services for the nation. Jinnah began his career by joining Congress⁵⁶ as a young Indian Muslim inspired by the ideas of liberalism and nationalism⁵⁷, and after some time he became the member of the League as well.⁵⁸ He was one of the zealous opponents of British rule in India, thus to liberate Indian sub-continent from British clutches, he adopted the strategy of a joint front of Muslims and Hindus being the two main nations of Indian sub-continent. He was one of the architects of the Lucknow Pact,⁵⁹ the only successful effort to bring Muslims and Hindus closer to each other under the platform of the Congress and the League.

Soon after Gandhi returned to India with his emotions and non practical approach towards political problem, Khilafat movement provided Gandhi a significant role in political arena of Indian sub-continent. During the late second, third decade, and in early fourth decade, Jinnah ceaselessly worked for building joint front of Hindus and Muslims against British to attain freedom, however failed due to the unrealistic manners of Congress under the guidance of Gandhi. Thus finally he was the one who had solutions of deadlock created by Congress and British in the course of Hindu-

⁵⁶ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada. ed. *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Vol. I. (Karachi: East and West Publishing Company. 1984). 2.

⁵⁷ Hector Bolitho. *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*. (London: John Murray. 1954), 44.

⁵⁸ Pirzada. *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. 99.

⁵⁹ Pirzada. *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. 183-195. H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide*. (London: Hutchinson, 1969), 17.

Muslim unity and freedom as well. In 1940, he sketched a draft of a new separate country for the Indian Muslims of sub-continent⁶⁰. Only after a furious struggle of seven years, he was victorious in attaining Pakistan despite the tooth and nail opposition of the Hindus and the British.

Pakistani historian cultivated historical works on the personality and politics of Jinnah from various angles. For instance, they have applied the theories from social sciences to Jinnah for the understanding of his personality and politics. Some of them have produced their works full of topic-based arguments and analysis. Many books about Jinnah are reciprocal in nature while some are written in inventive style. These writers have also shed light on uncommon aspect of Jinnah's early political career and the last decade of freedom struggle. The works of Pakistani historians range from the series of study on the politics and persona of Jinnah to distinct study, from a general investigation to a specific research and from much exaggerated praise to severe criticism.

Sikandar Hayat adopted the methodology of theoretical framework to study Jinnah.⁶¹ He applied a theory of political science on the life of Jinnah to understand the persona and politics of Jinnah during the last decade of freedom struggle. He had also highlighted his previous years in politics in a brief manner to understand the behavior and strategy of Jinnah for his most remarkable battle. He also highlighted various factors which paved the way for that battle. His study has exposed the leadership qualities of Jinnah and the trust he had obtained from his followers. Waheed -uz Zaman has adopted subject-based approach to study Jinnah.⁶² He explained the trait

⁶⁰ Z. H. Zaidi. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers: Pakistan. The Goal Defined 1 January - 31 August 1940*. Vol. XV. (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing, 2007). 211- 225, 229-230.

⁶¹ Sikandar. Hayat. *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁶² Waheed -uz Zaman, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Myth and Reality*. (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1976).

of Jinnah's persona and his political career in order to answer many issues fabricated by mainly Indian and western authors. He exposed the biases and prejudices of Indian and western authors who relied mostly on Indian authors. He has proved with the factual data that those authors have falsified and twisted the truth to undermine the personality of Jinnah and his achievements.

Riaz Ahmad being very dedicated researcher has produced a series of books on Jinnah from different perspectives.⁶³ The study under examination has been selected because of the uniqueness of the era of the study. The author has focused the less debated and discussed era of Jinnah's political life from 1882-1920. With the help of the historic records and data, he brought into limelight the early years of Jinnah's political life. His study has argued to counter the reasoning of mainstream Indian authors for their insistence on considering Jinnah as popular leader of last decade of freedom movement. Sharif-al- Mujahid adopted a topic-based approach to explore the personality of Jinnah.⁶⁴ It seems like a compilation of articles on various angle of Jinnah's political life. It is also considered as a response to the questions put by Indian authors on the politics and personality of Jinnah.

On the other hand, Ayesha Jalal also adopted theoretical framework to explore the personality and politics of Jinnah, however her findings are poles apart from mainstream authors of Pakistani school of historians.⁶⁵ K.B Sayeed adopted a general approach to explore the persona and politics of Jinnah and his findings also are not compatible with the majority of Pakistani authors.⁶⁶

⁶³ Riaz. Ahmad. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: the formative years. 1882-1920*,(Islamabad: NIHCR. 1988).

⁶⁴ Sharif -al-Mujahid. *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1981).

⁶⁵ Ayesha Jalal. *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah. Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1985).

⁶⁶ K. B. Sayeed, *Pakistan: the Formative phase 1857-1948* (Karachi: Oxford University Press. 1968).

1.1- Sikandar Hayat's Thematic Approach:

The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan by Sikandar Hayat⁶⁷ is an orderly and composed inspection of Jinnah. The study is a comprehensive and methodical scrutiny of the magnetic leadership of Jinnah, who lead the Muslims of Indian sub-continent throughout the earth-shattering era of 1937-47. The work has been founded on the theory of charisma created by Max Weber and built up by his successors. The work has focused two main aspects of Jinnah's life; one is the explanation of the circumstances which contributed to the appearance of Jinnah as the charismatic leader for the Muslims, and the other is the study of the factors responsible for the persistent charisma of Jinnah even after the establishment of Pakistan. The study has fully examined the crisis of leadership faced by the Indian Muslims while elucidating and illuminating Jinnah's charisma. The latter part of the study contains a decisive evaluation of Jinnah's dream of Pakistan, his tactics for political recruitment of the Muslims under the flag of the League and his matchless talents and capacities in negotiating the combined opposition of the British and the Congress to Pakistan. The Muslim masses motivated by Pakistan demand, distinguished him as their charismatic leader. His charisma was really at its peak at the time of the birth of Pakistan in August 1947.

Jinnah began his career as a young Muslim Indian who had great belief in Indian nationalism by joining Congress in 1906.⁶⁸ He strongly believed that Muslims interest and national interest are same.⁶⁹ Jinnah remained persistent to his fundamental doctrine although trauma and tensions of the next two decades along with the

⁶⁷ Sikandar. Hayat. *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*. He has been serve as a professor of history in Pakistan Studies and department of history in Quaid -i- Azam University and many other institutions at Pakistan and abroad. He is the author of many books.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 38.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 47.

coldness, selfishness and unconcerned attitude of Congress towards the Muslims interests, compelled him to modify his plan with the passage of time. Besides most of the historians, historical documents also supported the narrative of the author.⁷⁰ Jinnah, according to the author, sought independence for Indian sub-continent and independence for the Muslims too. Jinnah believed that Muslims in independent India would need safeguard and protection as a minority.⁷¹ Jinnah's speeches clearly showed his understanding of the situation of that time.⁷²

Being the champion of Muslim rights, Jinnah came get-up-and-go and drive the Muslim politics as a charismatic leader because the customary political leadership of the Muslims was not ready for the approaching crisis. They were very shortsighted and were protecting their present privileges and position. They fell short to produce any way out of the circumstances being faced by the Muslims.⁷³ According to author, Jinnah was a very confident person and his faith in his cause was a very important tool of success for himself.⁷⁴ He was a very well-organized and a disciplined person in both his private and public life.⁷⁵ Jinnah being a constitutionalist, gifted with extraordinary legal mind was perfectly matched to carry out negotiations with the Congress and the British to protect the interests of the Muslims in the upcoming constitution of India.⁷⁶

According to author Jinnah was a great strategist who planned systematic tact and moved to muster up and put in order Muslims beneath the standard of League. He

⁷⁰ M. Rafique, Afzal, ed. *Selected Speeches and Statements of the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 1911-34*, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1976), 345,297. Pirzada. *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, 159.

⁷¹ Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, 69.

⁷² Jamil-ud-Din, Ahmad, ed. *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*. Vol. I. (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1968), 155.

⁷³ Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, 125.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 72.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 75.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 73.

opened the gate of League to new diehard members who were motivated by the idea of Pakistan, and were ready to work for the cause of the League.⁷⁷

Jinnah got the support of several wholehearted devotees who considered the demand for Pakistan as their first and foremost concern that was why, they were all set to throw-in momentarily to its realization. Most of these devotees were students, women and Ulema. These new members were comparatively more enthusiastic and zealous than older ones about Jinnah and his demand of Pakistan. So, they all worked with commitment, courage and passion. Their efforts were very important for the triumph of League's campaign of mass mobilization.⁷⁸ The Muslims were revitalized, got optimism and probability due to the efforts of Jinnah for Pakistan. It brought almost all the sections of Muslim society together in a combined effort for establishment of Pakistan.⁷⁹ There are so many authors who have praised Jinnah's strategies and skills to organize the League.⁸⁰

Jinnah possesses the unique qualities of clutching the actuality of any state of affairs and to respond logically, that was why, he made the wise decision to accept Cabinet Mission Plan. When Congress leadership with the open support of British government, misunderstood the Plan then Jinnah's demand for separate homeland for the Muslims became the only workable substitute to the British-Congress perception of the upcoming constitution of India. "Jinnah's extraordinary ability to grasp the realities of a given situation, and acting rationally ensured that he made the right decision by accepting the Cabinet Mission Plan rather than rejecting it offhand.....

⁷⁷ Ibid., 225.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 237.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 338.

⁸⁰ Mohammad Waseem. *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, (Lahore: Progressive. 1989). 84-85.

The result was that Jinnah's demand for Pakistan emerged as only viable alternative to the British-congress concept of the future constitution of India."⁸¹

According to author, Jinnah was a man with far-sighted rational approach. One of the best examples of Jinnah's right and on time judgment was his decision to cooperate with British authorities with some condition during the WW- II. He knew the value of war for the British and her position in war. He also knew the value of victory for British in that war. Due to the Congress non-cooperation movement, the League cooperation was very important for the British because the League was not only the larger party but also the representative of Muslims, who were the major fighting force of Indian army for the British during war.⁸²

Jinnah has been acknowledged as a charismatic leader in this study by Sikandar Hayat Khan. Before this, there was no study of its kind. In present study the author has explained the concept of charisma in a crystal-clear manner. He has systematically investigated the leadership of Jinnah in an organized way. In short, this manuscript is the first elucidation of Jinnah's charismatic leadership in scholarly literature.

1.2- Waheed-uz –Zaman's Thematic Approach:

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Myth and Reality by Waheed-uz –Zaman⁸³ is also a thematic study. Author has tried to address the accusations of critics on the personality of Jinnah. The study has investigated a wide range of traditions that encircled the life and the work of Jinnah and has disclosed him as a practical, pragmatic and down-to-earth person. Jinnah was categorically an uncompromising political pragmatist. Being an honest lawyer, he used to organize his brief only after he was confident of his data. One aspect of his personality was the political optimism

⁸¹ Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. 339.

⁸² Ibid., 253.

⁸³ Waheed -uz Zaman, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Myth and Reality*.. He was a professor of history at Quaid-i- Azam University and also served in many institutions in Pakistan. He is the author of many books.

however it was constantly founded on the harsh realities of the state of affairs. He was a man of his words and he never ever got back from his words.⁸⁴

Jinnah was man who possessed the great qualities of leadership like optimistic approach, a man who honoured his words, highly cultured and civilized, well mannered, and a master political strategist who had perfect sense of timing.⁸⁵ He was a man of such a strong character that no one even his worst enemies ever blamed him with two-facedness and treacherous hypocrisy or double dealing.⁸⁶

According to the author, Jinnah was an organized, highly disciplined and composed person who never liked to take law and order in his own hands. He always discouraged lawlessness and violation of law and order. He was a unique freedom fighter who fought all his fights with legal weapons and within the legal frame work. However this legal approach to solve the political troubles was misinterpreted as a work of political bargaining with the British Government. In the words of writer, "He fought all his battles with constitutional weapons and within the constitutional frame work..... his whole public life was a continuous struggle against alien domination."⁸⁷

The author explained that there was no doubt about his high caliber and the leadership qualities of Jinnah. As a matter of the fact, he was a leader of rare and unique qualities. Despite all the popularity, power and authority, he was a very humble and down to earth leader who never tried to dictate his colleagues on any issue.⁸⁸ He was a powerful leader due to the massive support of Muslim masses. He was a hero of masses due to everlasting beliefs in his bravery, valor, dare, audacity and the commitment to the ground rules.⁸⁹ According to the author, Jinnah was

⁸⁴ Ibid., 13.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 24.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 46.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 47.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 126.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 126.

followed by his followers with the tremendous faithfulness, trustworthiness, reliability commitment and zeal. His followers offered him absolute and total obedience. "It was this attitude of understanding and compassion that earned him the solid and fervent loyalty of his people. He led them as no one had led them before and they in turn offered him unconditional obedience as they had not offered to any one of the earlier leaders."⁹⁰

The author portrayed Jinnah as truly democratic and hard core constitutionalist leader who never ever bypassed the Muslim League's constitution. He never ever tried to use his authority beyond the Muslim League constitution.⁹¹ Jinnah was a democratic and legal minded person. He chose to present himself as a candidate for the president of the League every year instead of becoming president for the life time.⁹² He was unbiased man who did not believe in sections, divisions and blocks. He had totally impartial and unbiased personality.⁹³ Another example of his democratic and constitutionalist behavior was that he not only endured opponents' opinion but also accepted divergence of views and not at all deprived any League member from free expression of point of views. "The Quaid-i-Azam not only tolerated but at times encouraged difference of opinion and never denied any member of the league the right to free expression of opinion".⁹⁴ The study is very composed and well knitted. The author in very organized manner tore off the false fabrication of many authors against Jinnah and tried his best to present the personality and politics of Jinnah in its true tint. The study is not only useful for scholar but also for the general readers.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 127-28

⁹¹ Ibid., 128.

⁹² Ibid., 129.

⁹³ Ibid., 129.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 132.

1.3- Riaz Ahmad's Analytical Approach:

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: the formative years, 1882-1920 by Riaz Ahmad is the study of the early years of Jinnah's political career.⁹⁵ The study is a PhD research of the author. Author has explained that Jinnah had bestowed by Allah with great traits such as courage, bold style of speeches, rational, lawful,⁹⁶ unyielding and single-minded,⁹⁷ blunt, forthright with his command over the use of legal terms in a debate.⁹⁸ According to author from the beginning of 20th century Jinnah was a reputed and popular lawyer whom people wanted to listen, and to learn the art of arguing. People tried to copy him, young lawyers idealized him.⁹⁹

From the start of his career Jinnah confirmed himself as a courageous advocate of Muslims rights. He wanted to become the guardian of the Muslims right and interests in sub-continent. At the same time, being a member of the Congress, he did not harm the Muslims interests instead he was there to project them through that platform. In writer's words, "Instead he proved himself at the largest Muslim platform of Bombay not only a staunch believer in the Muslim cause but also one who wanted to become a spokesman of the Muslim communities at national level. At the same time, he was also proving that his remaining in the Congress did not mean that he could act against the overwhelming majority of Muslim interests. He instead wanted to project them."¹⁰⁰

Jinnah was recognized as a popular leader in administrative and public circles both. He was suspicious in the eyes of British government because of his refusal to the offer

⁹⁵ Riaz. Ahmad. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: the formative years. 1882-1920.*

He is the professor of history at Quaid-i-Azam University. He is the Author of many books on Jinnah. The book under review is based on his PhD dissertation.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 97.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 151.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 101.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 84.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 88.

of judgeship of high court to become an ally of them. He was recognized as a popular leader in both the political parties of the sub-continent. In these parties and as well as in his whole political career, he remained independent in his opinion and views.¹⁰¹ He was the political icon and idol of that time that the youth idealized and followed.¹⁰²

Jinnah became one of the most popular leaders of Hindus and Muslims in 1916. He established this position by bringing Congress and League on the common goal of self-government suitable to India and by developing a legitimate method by general consent. The only barrier now remained in the way of achievement of the target was the British authority, whose readiness to distribute power and the sincerity of dealing was yet to be experienced.¹⁰³

According to the author, Jinnah was a unique opponent to foreign rule in India who resisted British rule till the last stages. However, with all temptations, he never became a victim to street and outlawed politics. He always chose peaceful processes and constitutional methods. He had zero tolerance for administrative misbehaviour of bureaucracy. He showed his anger over this type of bureaucratic misbehaviour off and on.¹⁰⁴

The spoliation of Willingdon farewell party by the people of Bombay beneath the guidance of Jinnah was the finest example of mass politics long before Gandhi's noncooperation movement. The outgoing governor of Bombay Lord Willingdon was dishonored in a people protest on 11th December 1918. The credit of this successful protest went to Jinnah's energetic and vigorous leadership. Not any of his furious supporters attempted to demolish the order. Such a peaceful, organized and non-violent struggle against the system and the colonial master could not be found before

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 109.

¹⁰² Ibid., 142.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 150.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 168

this. In the words of writer, "The anti-Willingdon demonstration by the people of Bombay under Jinnah's dynamic leadership was the best example of a popular movement conducted on peaceful lines. The retiring governor, lord Willingdon was humiliated in public demonstration on 11 December 1918."¹⁰⁵

According to author, Jinnah being a rational and realist had unique qualities of judging situations with hard core logic and reasoning while brushing aside the emotions. Although Jinnah had predicted in the beginning that Gandhi's program would be a massive failure, however Gandhi became a popular leader of both the communities during Khilafat Movement. And in the end, everything went wrong and antagonism between Hindus and Muslims increased tremendously. Days of Unity between Hindu and Muslim had gone forever. At that moment of time, Jinnah went ahead and reorganized Muslims under the League flag and also charged them with the new flame of freedom.¹⁰⁶

The study is a fine and lucid account of early political life of Jinnah and sheds light on the rarely discussed area of Jinnah's political life. The study has proved with the fact that Jinnah was a very well-liked leader among people of Indian sub continent and it was again Jinnah who demonstrated a peaceful mass politics in Bombay many years before Gandhi started movement of non-violence. This study is an important research because it focused the formative years of Jinnah's political career. The research is well organized and is enriched with many documents which have enhanced the importance of the study. The author has adopted very impartial approach and using the factual data, has proved that Jinnah was very popular political leader from the start of his political career. The study is a fine addition in scholarly world.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 169.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 198.

1.4- Sharif-al-Mujahid's Analytical Approach:

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation by Sharif-al-Mujahid¹⁰⁷ is an analytical and thematic study of Jinnah's persona, politics and behavior. The writer has explained that Jinnah was a liberal and dedicated person. His finer proficiency and tactics in outclassing his antagonists in politics resembled the game of chess.¹⁰⁸ His faith in constitutional approach to solve any problem was beyond any doubt.¹⁰⁹ Forethought, optimism, rationality, logic, confidence and resolution were the traits Jinnah had in a copious quantity. With the passage of time these traits got more and more prominence in Jinnah's personality and reached at the highest level during the last ten years of his life.¹¹⁰

According to the author, Hindu-Muslim Unity was the basic requirement of Indian freedom from British, was Jinnah's logic. Thus Jinnah really attempted hard for Hindu-Muslim Unity, not for the Indian nationalism, by accepting the fact that Muslims were a nation in Indian sub-continent along with the other nations. Jinnah was recognized as the alive symbol of Hindu-Muslim Unity within a decade of his entrance in politics that showed his commitment and devotion.¹¹¹

According to the author, Jinnah was very conscious about the problems and the sufferings of the Indian Muslims from the beginning of his political career. Jinnah was approached by the League to sponsor the Waqaf-alal- Aulad bill showed that League acknowledged his powerful political position and his abilities since the very beginning of his political career.¹¹² According to the author, his personality and politics were influence by 19th century British liberalism. Primarily, he was influenced

¹⁰⁷ Sharif-al-Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*. He is the professor of Karachi University and also works as a director of Quaid-i- Azam Academy.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 24.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 45.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 155.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 2-3.

¹¹² Ibid., 6.

during his stay in England and flock his close association with liberal Indian politicians like Naoroji, Gokhale, Mehta and Banerjea and Bombay's commercial environment where he had become a great lawyer.¹¹³

According to the author, Jinnah's insight and observation towards Muslims' political problem was transformed step by step. He admitted and accepted that Muslims had some particular concerns and some individual requirements which must be guarded to save them from backwardness.¹¹⁴

In 1915 Jinnah identified League as the only political organization of the Indian Muslims. In the upcoming years, he convinced Congress to recognize League as a Muslim representative organization. He had done it through the Congress League, Lucknow Pact. He was one of those who crafted this pact.¹¹⁵

As a matter of the fact, the recognition of the right of separate electorate for the Muslim by Congress was the first step towards Pakistan. Without separate electorate there would be no Pakistan.¹¹⁶ According to author Jinnah was not against the Khilafat movement but disagreed with its methodology. Jinnah being a hard core constitutionalist refused to join Khilafat Movement, not because of Khilafat cause but because of methodology of Movement which was non-constitutional.¹¹⁷

After the Nehru report, the rejection to incorporate the reasonable amendments proposed by Jinnah to meet the requirements of the Indian Muslims, by National Convention was the turning point in the political life of Jinnah and Indian Muslims as well. It was shaking for him; he staked his position among Muslim by offering to give up separate electorate with some reservation. The Hindus under the leadership of Gandhi, Nehru and Jayakar could not meet the aspirations of Jinnah. He never took

¹¹³ Ibid., 10.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 10.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 12.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 13.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 14-15.

such bold step again and did not trust his ex-friends. After this event Jinnah always kept his cards closed and never articulated a word before the right time came. He learnt the hard lesson from the event not to trust Hindu leadership because they used to bypass their words when they desired. From then onwards he adopted the policy of forcing Congress leadership to make move first then he moved on. In the words of writer, "In any case, the blank refusal by the National Convention to accept these "reasonable" proposals proved the last straw for the Muslim and "the parting of way" for Jinnah..... Never again was Jinnah to make such a mistake: never again was he to trust his erstwhile Congress colleagues and put faith in their words."¹¹⁸

In 1916 he worked hard to save the right of separate electorate for the Muslims and after ten years he was working for the authority of Muslims in their majority areas. Jinnah's Fourteen Points was the key to unite India where at the center Muslims would enjoy involvement and be in the right place.¹¹⁹ Still in 1937 Jinnah believed, like many other Muslim leaders, that Muslim right and interest would be saved in a strictly federal constitution that was why; he strove hard for a federation and for Hindu-Muslim Unity. But in later years of thirties, mainly due to the strategy and attitude adopted by Congress Ministries, he swayed that even in strictly federal constitution Muslims along with other minorities could not be saved with Hindu dominated regime of Congress. Thus by 1937-38 he started bitter opposition to one federation for whole India. He intensively utilized all his energies to unite Muslims under the banner of one political organization namely All India Muslim League and made a uniformed policy to be followed by devotedly Muslims in whole India. Consequently, he had to recognize himself, with the passage of time, as an undisputed

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 17-18.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 19.

leader of Indian Muslims.¹²⁰ From 1937 he changed his policy and strategy; he filled the hearts of Indian Muslims with new strength, vigor and sensation. He also started to wear popular common Muslim dress Sherwani and cap in public gatherings. He used to address mass gatherings, platforms and waysides in his spontaneous, wrecked, anglicized and inflection Urdu. That was totally a revolutionary transformation of Jinnah's personality.¹²¹

The author has explained Jinnah's objectives and methodology in politics. Jinnah was committed from the start of his political career to make his reputation by hard work and public service not by playing with the emotions and fears of the masses.¹²² The author has praised the approach of Jinnah which was clear-headed, well-argued, impartial, noninterventionist, positive and vigilant in its spirit. During the time when political intimidation was the order of day, he showed defiance and disliked it from the core of his heart. He rightly felt that was not the path of national freedom but lead to the catastrophe and devastation. He never crossed the line of constitution and did not play with the law and order.¹²³ The author has praised the methodology of Jinnah's politics and believed that Jinnah's bitter and legitimate opposition in legislature was more damaging for the British, who had deep down democratic roots, than the Disobedience movements of Gandhi. "To the British, with their overriding passion for parliamentarianism, Jinnah's dignified and constitutional protest was perhaps a great blow to their democratic conscience than all the angry demonstrations indulged in by the young "hot heads" in the country under the inspiration of Gandhi."¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Ibid., 22.

¹²¹ Ibid., 40-41.

¹²² Ibid., 46.

¹²³ Ibid., 46.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 50.

The author praised the leadership qualities of Jinnah and considered him hard-hearted logician who had faith in rational and logical approach not in absolute confrontation and misinformation; not in spellbinding the masses but persuading them through pure logic.¹²⁵ The amazing thing about author is that he considers Jinnah with all his unique qualities a normal common man not a demigod. The writer has explained that Jinnah was mortal like common man and never believed to be immortal. He also did not take advantage from expedient inner voice like Gandhi. He dealt every problem with professional and logical approach.¹²⁶

According to the author, Jinnah strongly believed that main encounters of India's freedom would be taken place at Assembly floor but not in the streets.¹²⁷ He also had a unique quality of judging people's desires and to reform his plans and agendas according to the wishes of the people.¹²⁸ According to the author, it is reality that not only Jinnah's concept was democratic in nature but also the movement was democratic in nature to realize that concept.¹²⁹

Author praises Jinnah's personality and his leadership qualities with open heart. He considers him charismatic leader, who with the logic and reason strove hard to save Indian Muslim rights in India. However when Hindu-dominated Congress failed to give due share of power to the Muslims in India, Jinnah along with his weapons of logic and reasoning fought with both the British and the congress and succeeded in creating a new homeland for Indian Muslims.

The study is well researched and based on sound reasoning. The author builds his argument very well and proofs his main argument with the help of facts and figures.

¹²⁵ Ibid.. 52.

¹²⁶ Ibid.. 62.

¹²⁷ Ibid.. 86.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 114.

¹²⁹ Ibid.. 115.

The language of the study is very rich, nice and easy to understand. The study is useful and helpful for the general reader and historian both. The author is very clear about his objective and approach. His method is thematic, analytical and narrative. The author did not misinterpret the factual data and also did not create confusions or misunderstandings. While exploring the personality, character and policy strategy and politics of Jinnah, he also tries to answer many question rose by critics. In nutshell study is well researched and informative, interesting and worthy to read not only for the student of history but also for the general public.

1.5- K. B. Sayeed's Analytical Approach:

Pakistan: the Formative Phase 1857-1948 by K. B. Sayeed¹³⁰ is an analytical study of those factors which lead to the creation of Pakistan. Author starts from the dismantling of Mogul empire in India in 1857 and brought all those various dynamics which throughout the ages heat up and low the enmity and antagonism between the Hindus and Muslims of subcontinent. He also discusses the personality, politics and political strategy of Jinnah. According to the analysis of the author, Muslim politics in India has been equipped with methodology and objective only after the appearance of Jinnah as a prominent leader in politics. Jinnah performed both roles with exceptional skill. He had the ability to emerge as a charismatic leader before masses and at the same time, he worked as a strong, wise and insightful negotiator with the British and the Congress.¹³¹

The author identifies in Jinnah the amazing quality of learning from mistakes and failure and not repeating mistake. According to the author, Jinnah learnt hard lesson for the rest of life from the failures in 1928. Lesson was that no matter how much he was reasonable and logical no one was ready to listen to him until he had the power of

¹³⁰ K. B. Sayeed, *Pakistan: the Formative phase 1857-1948*. He is a renowned scholar and author.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 63.

the people at his back. From there onwards, Jinnah concentrated on reorganizing the Muslim under the banner of the League. When he revitalized and reorganized the Muslim under the League flag, he got the power to challenge the Congress and the British. Thus, he got the admiration and fright by his rivals because of his power to veto any proposal that was not acceptable to Muslim League.¹³²

According to the author, pre and post elections campaigns of 1937, Jinnah was in touch with Muslim masses and he was impressed by the passion and zeal of Muslim response to his request to them to pursue the agenda and the plan of the League. At the same time, he was rational logician inspired by enthusiasm and spiritual dedication of Muslim masses.¹³³ According to the author, meanwhile Jinnah developed a systematic support among Muslim masses and became their great leader. Now he was connected with his follower so well that it was very difficult for even the chief minister of Punjab and Bengal to go against the will of Jinnah. Every time they acted against him, he rotated brutally in opposition to them with the massive support of Muslim masses.¹³⁴ Gradually the League transferred absolute power to Jinnah to do whatever step he seemed need to safeguard Muslim.¹³⁵

According to the author, Gandhi, commenting on Jinnah talks and admits that Jinnah was the master of strategic competition. Jinnah could not be pleased by a wish of Gandhi to meet him and conclude an agreement. Total surrender from Gandhi on basic principles was the only condition of Jinnah for further development. That indicated that he was in no rush to reach at a conciliation accord with the Congress

¹³²Ibid., 75.

¹³³ Ibid., 87.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 94.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 98.

regarding the basic issues. He could wait until he become stronger enough to conclude an agreement on his own terms and conditions.¹³⁶

According to author Jinnah had excellent quality of antagonizing his rival with fierceness and freezing mockery.¹³⁷ Jinnah was competent diplomat, constitutional specialist,¹³⁸ energetic celebrity¹³⁹ and blunt near to brutality.¹⁴⁰ According to the author, Jinnah holds an exceptional place as the creator of the new country, Pakistan. He was the foremost and the solitary head of state that attained his ultimate authority from the people who gave him in copious quantity.¹⁴¹

Author fails to show the reason and factor which led to change in the behavior and the manners of Jinnah. Author also does not discuss the utopian and unrealistic behavior of Congress and Gandhi toward Muslim and Jinnah which left them with only one solution, Pakistan. Author although acknowledged Jinnah unique qualities but failed to depict the full persona of Jinnah. His language is harsh and telling the half truth. It seems that he is under the deep spell of Gandhi that's why he could not do justice with this study. Thus the study cannot be worthy of scholarly world.

¹³⁶ Jinnah was at his best in this sort of tactical warfare. He was not satisfied with a mere desire on the part of Gandhi to meet him and explore the possibilities of a settlement. He wanted at first a total surrender from Gandhi on fundamentals, and once this was made, he was prepared to negotiate on details. This again goes to show that he was in no hurry to arrive at a compromise agreement with the Congress on some of the basic issue but probably wanted to wait until he was politically much stronger to obtain the best terms that the League and the Muslims could get. K. B. Sayeed. *Pakistan: the Formative phase 1857-1948*, 123-24.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 161.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 86.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 90.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 162.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 300.

1.6- Ayesha Jalal's Thematic Approach:

The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan by Ayesha Jalal, is also a thematic, conceptual and critical study of Jinnah's politics.¹⁴²

The author presents entirely different concept and analysis about Jinnah's persona and politics. She is of the view that Jinnah wanted supremacy and authority. He was such a kind of person who wanted power and authority at any cost. However, the author also pointed out some remarkable qualities of Jinnah's personality like nationalist, constitutionalist, modernist, strategist, fighter, "master of a long slow game and an expert at seeing chances in the worst reverses."¹⁴³

The author has admitted that Jinnah followed some fundamental principles throughout his political career and never deviated from them no matter how hard the situations he faced. Jinnah being nationalist politician gave preference to legal means. He used reasoning in politics as his tactic. He accepted the need to keep incoherent, but potentially disturbing communal passions at bay. Arrogant, with a guarantee glaringly built in hard situation, he was not at all ready to give concession over principles and had slim soft spot for British with whom he in no way felt completely at relief.¹⁴⁴

According to the author, after 1937 election political atmosphere of subcontinent was very dangerous for the League and for the Muslims as well. League was facing the problem of its existence on political map of subcontinent. If League wanted to survive, she had to develop a new strategy and policy. She badly needed support from Muslim majority areas which was the primary condition for League to gain importance at center. Likewise Muslim majority required a voice in Delhi to defend them because from there Congress was posing great threat to them and their interests.

¹⁴² Ayesha Jalal. *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*,.

She is a renowned scholar and author.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 33.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 8.

Logically, it was better to be one strong voice than so many weak voices.¹⁴⁵ After the breakout of WWII Congress adopted the policy of noncooperation with the British. Due to the non-cooperation by the Congress, the situation in subcontinent became very difficult for the British, so they badly needed the support of Jinnah and the League. They were ready to admit his point of view. Although, the Hindu leaders desired to restrain Jinnah from the affair of the Muslim majority areas, yet he instead of being an independent negotiator became a spokesperson of Muslim majority areas and a suitable tool for the British. So it was not possible for Jinnah to put forward a demand which could create an embarrassment for the British. He also did not want to create difficulties in Muslim majority areas.¹⁴⁶

According to the author, when Congress started its Quit-India movement, British needed a political body which could counter the claims of Congress at national level in Indian sub-continent. The League was following the most calculated resolution which demanded no further constitutional advancement without the consultation of the League, the representative organization of Indian Muslims. The League's resolution eased the pressure on Viceroy built by Congress.¹⁴⁷

The author totally ignores the historical facts to label Jinnah as a tool for the British and mere spokesman for Muslim majority areas. As a matter of the fact, the demand of Pakistan by the League was the result of Muslims' desire to live with dignity and honor in the subcontinent. The author neglected the long history of freedom struggle of the Muslims in India. From Shah Waliullah and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to Allama Iqbal, all came to the same conclusion that division of India and the creation of a separate state for the Muslims was the only way to live with dignity and honor in India. The writer has explained, Jinnah wanted to be recognized as the sole

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.. 38.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.. 46.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.. 48.

spokesman for the Muslims from British, Congress and his followers. Without being particular about his demand for Pakistan, accuracy and harmony were unable to coexist. "At this juncture his most urgent priority was to persuade every one- the British, the Congress High Command and his own uncertain followers-to accept his claim to be the sole spokesman for Muslims without being too precise about the demand –precision and unanimity was incompatible."¹⁴⁸

The writer criticized Jinnah for not protesting over the decision of partition of the two provinces namely the Punjab and Bengal. In the words of writer, " As it was, he had to sit quietly while Mountbatten proceeded to give him instructions on how he was to behave the next day in the headmaster's study. The following morning, when the Indian leaders came together for their fateful meeting, the Quaid-i-Azam was meekly to accept the partition of Pakistan's two main provinces."¹⁴⁹ The writer language has shown her biased attitude towards Jinnah. It is known fact that no one could dictate Jinnah even his worst enemies openly admitted that.

Historical record reveals that Jinnah was not in favor of division of two provinces of Pakistan but minorities under the influence of Congress camp were unwilling to live in Pakistan that is why their representative voted for the partition of the provinces. They paid no heed to Jinnah advice. On the other hand British were the master at that time. They were also strongly against the creation of Pakistan and also had a friendly relation with Congress thus they decided in favour of partition of two provinces of Pakistan in order to put pressure on Jinnah on one end and on other end they did it to appease Congress camp to maintain friendly relation with them for the safeguard of British interest after partition.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 50.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 285.

¹⁵⁰ Z. H. Zaidi, ed. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, Ser. 1, Vol. II-V(Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam Paper Wing,1994,1996,1999,2000, 2001).

According to the author, Jinnah wanted to be the only one voice of Muslims in India. He always considered himself a leader at the national level. Since mid-thirties his foremost objective was to create a setup in which control would be shared at the center after the departure of the British from Indian sub-continent. Jinnah and the League should have had consent from the Muslims in the provinces to play their role at the center. It was important for Jinnah and League to set up command in Muslim areas to control the Muslim provinces from central high command of League.¹⁵¹

It seems that author's research is based on some false assumptions which did not match with the facts. The Author's whole research is based on pre-concluded hypothesis. Author has neglected many facts or perhaps deliberately hides many of the facts and twisted them and has been failed to produce any fair contribution to the body of knowledge.

1.7- Saleem M. M. Qureshi's Analytical Approach:

The Politics of Jinnah by Saleem M. M. Qureshi is a significant work on Jinnah.¹⁵² The study under review is a collection of papers presented by the author at various conferences at home and abroad. The study covers various aspects of Jinnah and his politics. The author compares Jinnah's personality with that of Iqbal and found commonalities between them from origin to study and profession.¹⁵³ According to the author's views, Iqbal was the one who conceived the idea of Pakistan and Jinnah was the one who created Pakistan. In the beginning of their political career they believed in Indian nationalism. But after the realization of the ground situation both turned to Muslim nationalism in India. Iqbal was transformed very soon while Jinnah being a practical person was transformed after practically facing the narrow mentality and

¹⁵¹Ibid., 4-5.

¹⁵² M. M. Saleem Qureshi, *The Politics of Jinnah* (Karachi: Royal Book Company. 1988).

¹⁵³ Ibid., 2.

unreasonable behavior of Hindu majority toward minorities especially towards Muslims in India. In the words of writer, “Both ultimately became convinced that the object worth striving for was the self-determination of Muslims in India as a separate and distinct nation, not one Indian nation which Iqbal considered undesirable and Jinnah unpractical. They both arrived at the same conclusion: Iqbal deriving the reasons through his dialectics and Jinnah learning his lesson through political apprenticeship.”¹⁵⁴

According to the author, Jinnah was an Indian Muslim and he never wanted to be an Indian or a Muslim alone. However, he was misunderstood by the most of his evaluators due to the evaluation of his statements without pretext and context.¹⁵⁵ Although Jinnah was fighting for the safety of the Muslims in India and finally won the safe home for the Muslims in India but his politics remained multi-communal and anti-sectarian.¹⁵⁶ Because of unpleasant incidents faced by as a Muslim with Hindus and British, Jinnah developed his concept of Muslim self-determination. All his speeches and writings depicted his political ideology. He has explained that Indian Muslims followed a unique code of life which was totally different from other communities of India. That unique code of life made Muslims a different nation. That code could also be applied on political arena. Only Muslims could prove the interpretation of that code to western concept of nationalism. The first compulsion was the authority and the capacity to compose the private and public lives of the Muslims according to that code. This was the crux of Muslim nationalism. Jinnah had complete faith in that ideology and never ever deviated from that.¹⁵⁷ The author believes that it would be blunder if someone misunderstood Jinnah’s initial phase of

¹⁵⁴ Ibid..11.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid..12-13.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid..19.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid..57.

political career. However, due to the illogical behavior of the Congress he turned-out to be a communalist in the end. Jinnah never wanted a setup where every community mashes up in one creed. He always wanted a pleasant and reciprocally acceptable life for every community along with Muslims.¹⁵⁸

The author has commented on the strategy of Jinnah in a comparative manner. According to him, Jinnah was neither an apologist like Sir Sayyid Ahmad and nor critic like Iqbal. Instead he supported Muslims, gave confidence to them, led them, and guarded their interests very well.¹⁵⁹ It seems that the author tried to present both Indian and Pakistani narratives. The author has used very rich language and expression to convey his arguments. The author in a very logical manner has clarified the misunderstandings of many writers about the politics of Jinnah. The study is worthy for the historians and the general readers alike.

In short, Pakistani historians have dealt with the historiography on Jinnah in a subjective manner adopting various trends and styles to study the personality of Jinnah. According to them Jinnah was one of unique personalities of 20th century who possessed gifted qualities of leadership. However, they neither have depicted Jinnah in any unrealistic manner nor have over-praised him. They tried to present Jinnah in his true form using reason and logic rather than emotions to prove Jinnah as unique leader. Early works of this section seem to be more reactionary than independent research work however with the passage of time this section develops more research oriented and objective approach to explore the personality and politics of Jinnah. Some of them have adopted a theoretical approach to explain the politics and persona of Jinnah. However, some others have adopted very different narrative perhaps due to the influence of their mentors or alien land impact. For instance, Ayesha Jalal's

¹⁵⁸ Ibid..110.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid..111.

narrative is very different from the main stream Pakistani historian and it is assumed that she was under the influence of his mentor or it was the impact of the sources she consulted at the time of research. It seems that she explored the persona and politics of Jinnah with a pre-concluded mind-set which resembles the Indian style of research.

1.8- Iqtidar Karamat Cheema's Analytical approach:

Another important historical work on Jinnah is *Quid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as Governor-General of Pakistan* by Iqtidar Karamat Cheema.¹⁶⁰ The area of this historical work is very unique. It has covered the Jinnah year in office which is very little discussed in other studies. It is also an effort to solve issue related to governor general post. According to author it was very wise decision of Jinnah to become the first Governor General of Pakistan despite his poor health which has revealed his sense of responsibility. He took the command during the most critical phase of the existence of Pakistan because he wanted to save his nation from destruction. His new born country and his nation had needed his guidance and demanding for him.¹⁶¹ The founding of fresh government and the heavy incursion of refugees plus Indian denial of giving assets to Pakistan had created a grave financial load upon the fresh administration. However new regime under the dynamic leadership handle all these problems with great wit and passion. Only he could that in that position. Thus it was very wise move for him to take the position of Governor General of new born state of Pakistan.¹⁶²

Author has explain the Jinnah vision of Pakistan and cited from his speeches he explained that Jinnah wanted a state where every citizen has equal opportunities to develop his live according to his believes. States founded on the bases of Islamic

¹⁶⁰ Iqtidar Karamat Cheema. *Quid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as Governor-General of Pakistan*(Lahore: Pakistan study centre. 2006).study is a PhD thesis of author. He has taught home and abroad.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.,17.

¹⁶² Ibid.,67.

principles of social justice, freedom and equalities.¹⁶³ However author analysis about Jinnah's vision seem to be metaphoric at some places author thought than Jinnah want socialistic economy along with democratic mean of governess base on Islamic moral principle.¹⁶⁴ It seems that author is under some imagination. He has further explained that Jinnah wanted a Pakistan which would be self-sufficient in the field of advance development and he also wanted protection of poor and deprived class from the exploitation of capitalists.¹⁶⁵ Author further stated that Jinnah wanted compulsory elementary education for Pakistan.¹⁶⁶ According to author Jinnah wanted education policy should be molded to the intellect of the nation with its past and civilization and also keeping in touch with the need and requirement of time.¹⁶⁷

Cheema has further highlighted Jinnah thought on the social issues by stating that Jinnah believes in gender equality. It was his desire that Muslims women should work on equal footing for the development and betterment of the Pakistani society.¹⁶⁸ Than author shed light on the working of administration and stated that cabinet take the advices from Jinnah whenever they face problems and Jinnah with huge experience of political life always there to guide and lead them through the face of problems. However all the power Jinnah was holding was given to him by constitution and cabinet laws and above all by the trust, respect and love by his people.¹⁶⁹ Jinnah also played the leading role in resolving the issues of governess at provinces level as well. Dr. Khan ministry in NWFP had dismissed due to the misconduct such as not saluting

¹⁶³ Ibid.,78.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.,80.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.,83.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.,85.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.,86.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.,91.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.,111.

Pakistani flag and not taking the oath of loyalty to Pakistan.¹⁷⁰ He had to go East Pakistan to resolve the issue of language despite his bad health condition.¹⁷¹

Author stated that Jinnah being the father of the nation and head of the state had outlined the foreign policy. He wanted pleasant and warm relation with world and neighbours generally and with Muslims state particularly. Jinnah unending nature also had great impact on foreign policy which is independent and neutral.¹⁷² Jinnah was a peace loving personality and wanted a peace loving state with neutral and independent foreign policy. He was very concern about Kashmir and his health deteriorated with the growing complexities in Kashmir and even at the death bed he was deep sad due to miseries of Kashmiri people.¹⁷³

Author has highlighted the unique qualities of Jinnah person. According to Cheema, Jinnah was a restless personality he had worked so hard for his nation and new born country in the evening of his life that he miss many chances of recovery.¹⁷⁴ Thus he sacrificed for his nation very saliently.¹⁷⁵ He was a leader of great moral stature with great courage.¹⁷⁶ By and large study is well composed and well researched. Although author paid rich tribute to the father of the nation and acknowledge his achievement but there is no fairytale and novel style story in the work. Author has adopted very objective approach and well organized arguments supported by historical facts. Study is worth for not only student of history but also ready of good book as well.

In short, Pakistani historians have dealt with the historiography on Jinnah in a subjective manner adopting various trends and styles to study the personality of

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.,115.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.,133.

¹⁷² Ibid.,147.

¹⁷³ Ibid.,182.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.,189.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.,201..

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.,237..

Jinnah. According to them Jinnah was one of unique personalities of 20th century who possessed gifted qualities of leadership. However, they neither have depicted Jinnah in any unrealistic manner nor have over-praised him. They tried to present Jinnah in his true form using reason and logic rather than emotions to prove Jinnah as unique leader. Early works of this section seem to be more reactionary than independent research work however with the passage of time this section develops more research oriented and objective approach to explore the personality and politics of Jinnah. Some of them have adopted a theoretical approach to explain the politics and persona of Jinnah. However, some others have adopted very different narrative perhaps due to the influence of their mentors or alien land impact. For instance, Ayesha Jalal's narrative is very different from the main stream Pakistani historian and it is assumed that she was under the influence of his mentor or it was the impact of the sources she consulted at the time of research. It seems that she explored the persona and politics of Jinnah with a pre-concluded mind-set which resembles the Indian style of research.

CHAPTER- 2

PAKISTANI NON-HISTORIANS ON JINNAH

The essential argument of this chapter is to study rationally the narrative of the Pakistani non-historian authors the way they viewed the character, persona and politics of Jinnah. Mainstream Pakistani authors paid tribute to Jinnah's own qualities, his devotion and commitment for his nation. He joined Indian political arena through the platform of Congress.¹⁷⁷ He assisted any party or individual that was engaged in improving the general conditions of the Indian people and prepared them for shouldering the responsibility of their own affairs during the initial days of his political career. He repaired disheartened and separated people into an amalgamated and integrated nation indomitable to resist all attempts to reduce them to political and economic starvation by the two powerful adversaries; British imperialism and Hindu majority.

According to the Pakistani authors, Jinnah was a realist and superb tactician and consequently his evaluation of the accurate instant to uncover his plan for Pakistan was traditionally approved. He worked out over different plans to rescue Muslims and he was in touch with the intellect of all sections of the Muslim community. His mission was near to impossible. He had to unite the Muslims beneath the standard of the League, to outmaneuver the designs and the tactics of the Hindus and the British, to vigorously work for the liberty and freedom of India along with protecting the interests of the Muslims. Jinnah, even lying in his grave is still more influential than the contemporary leaders of Pakistan, and is still ruling from the grave as the people recall his words and appeal to him to find an answer to their problem.

¹⁷⁷ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed. *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. Vol. I. (Karachi: East and West Publishing Company, 1984), 2.

Pakistani Non-Historian writers have also created various forms of historical works on the persona and politics of Jinnah like thematic study to biographical study. While working on the biography of Jinnah writers also show the diversity like a biography based on personal memories, non-official narrative of a biography and a well-researched biography. Pakistani Non-Historians also have created chapters on personality and the politics of Jinnah while collecting and compiling historical materials on Jinnah and the League. Early works of this section are largely measured as primary sources on Jinnah and based on the personal memories of the authors. While during later time period, historical works of this section have developed more research-oriented and refined analysis. Emotions affected the early works of this school however with the passage of time factual data replaced the emotions.

2.1- Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad's Thematic Study:

Glimpses of Quaid-i-Azam by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, is a thematic study of Jinnah's persona and politics.¹⁷⁸ The author has discussed in detail the extraordinary qualities of Jinnah's personality like honest to the core,¹⁷⁹ bold and fearless,¹⁸⁰ composed and controlled.

The author has highlighted the values of principles in Jinnah's life. From the beginning of his political career, he had set guiding principles for himself. He always did understand the sacredness of the correct way to accomplish virtuous tasks. He always took position for values and sincerity and he never negotiated or abandoned them on any persuasion, stress or threat. By nature, he was a reserved person and had no weak point for advertising. Exclusively devoted by the zeal for effort and duties. he had remarkable control over his emotion and never liked to advertize his traits and

¹⁷⁸ Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad. *Glimpses of Quaid-i-Azam*.(Karachi: Educational Press. 1960). He participated in freedom struggle as a worker of league and also author of many books.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 43.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 34.

activities in public.¹⁸¹Jinnah learnt to control his sentiment from the start of his political life, absorbed ethical principles and broadened his visualization. Tenderness of emotions and sentiments are high-quality possessions, however unsophisticated and unrestrained they be capable of guide one into miscalculations and drawbacks.¹⁸²

According to the author, Jinnah possessed a distinctive attribute of leadership that he attained the utmost outcome with the smallest attempt. He never liked to waste anything either words or activities. Although, he was a man of actions yet he believed in preservation of power and vigor for superior objectives and matters. He never liked his followers to waste away their vigor in unproductive disputes over small, local and temporary matters. He with full dedication and commitment worked for one essential basic problem of liberating the Muslims from the twofold oppression of British imperialism and Hindu domination and fortifying their utmost desire for independence in the form of a separate sovereign state.¹⁸³

The author praises one very important aspect of Jinnah's personality that Jinnah established himself in concurrent money-oriented globe by actions rather than by words. He argues that if one holds to truth and justice, one eventually can come out victorious from every disaster, no matter what threats and catastrophes overwhelmed one's pathway.¹⁸⁴ According to the author, Jinnah was bestowed with the unique quality of sensing the beats and understanding the mentality of his people and converting their dreams, desires and aspirations into reality.¹⁸⁵

The author has explained the reasons of success of Pakistan movement. The author believes that its supreme advantage was its leader's matchless qualities of shrewdness, honesty and valor and the unshakable dedication and persistent strength of his

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 32.

¹⁸² Ibid., 25.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 34.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 41.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 42-43.

followers, the hundred million Muslims. He transformed downhearted and divided people into an enthusiastic and amalgamated population resolute to defy till the last breath all efforts by two dominant antagonists namely British Imperialism and Hindu Congress- to trim them to political and economic slavery. Writer has expressed,“ He welded a dispirited and divided people into a virile and unified nation determined to resist to the point of death all attempts by two powerful adversaries- British imperialism and Hindu congress to reduce them to political and economic servitude.¹⁸⁶

The author explains the vision of Jinnah about the political structure of Pakistan. He was restless to set out proper patterns and customs for the development of an egalitarian political system in Pakistan. However, it is on record that he behaved like a lawful leader of the country. He by no means departed from egalitarian principle and legitimate decorum. Undeniably, he was constantly restless to endorse sovereignty of the people next to any constitutional uncertainty.¹⁸⁷ Author has explained the conduct of Jinnah after becoming the founding father of a new country. As a Governor General of Pakistan, he ensured simplicity and strictness.¹⁸⁸

The author paid tribute to Jinnah and has explained his personality and politics in a sophisticated way. The author’s approach is thematic and his words showed his deep admiration for Jinnah. This study has been presented in form of an essay about Jinnah because the research is based on the personal memories of the author. At many places he has often quoted the words of Jinnah. This research is a great source for exploring Jinnah. It is of great help for the historians working on Jinnah as well as for the general reader.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 43-44.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 47.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 47-48.

2.2- M. H. Saiyed's Descriptive Study:

Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study by M. H. Saiyed is a political biography of Jinnah.¹⁸⁹ The author has narrated the life history of Jinnah along with the political situation of that time. According to him, Jinnah possessed exceptional traits of leadership and came to save the Indian Muslims from great danger. The author has described Jinnah as an influential Muslim leader, a bold spokesman of the Muslim interests,¹⁹⁰ indefatigable,¹⁹¹ armed with self-reliance, courage of convictions and with a determination.¹⁹² The author has described the physical appearance of Jinnah in an admirable tone like; "well-groomed, well-dressed, tall and slim, with experience and courage written on his face".¹⁹³ Author has revealed the motives and objectives of Jinnah in politics. Right from the beginning of his political career, he worked with every party and individual that were busy in the welfare of the common people and organized them for taking the responsibilities of their matters.¹⁹⁴ The author admired the unique quality of selflessness of Jinnah. According to him, Jinnah was such a great person who had no private motives or ambitions. His uprightness and honesty was unquestionable. Although he had never been affiliated with any party but he was the person the people were affiliated with. He never denied working with others, however he never permitted any one to bypass his integrity.¹⁹⁵

The author has highlighted many other qualities of Jinnah while explaining his character. He argued that Jinnah was highly autonomous person, was such a reliable nationalist who would be in the front line of every national movement. Jinnah

¹⁸⁹ M. H. Saiyed, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1954). He was the Private Secretary of Jinnah. Book was the one of the early biography of Jinnah by Muslim author.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 157.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 178.

¹⁹² Ibid., 327.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 327.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 160.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 182-83

reasonably believed that development in India would not be possible without Hindu-Muslim Unity here. During that time he was once more entangled in a complicated situation because fanatic Hindus, who were ready to approve his nationalism and autonomy, were disinclined to bear the promotion of the Muslim cause by him. On the other hand, left-winged Muslims, who were obviously considering each expression of the Hindus with doubt, criticized that Jinnah was not adequately compacted on Muslim demands.¹⁹⁶

Jinnah, time and again, made it clear that he had nothing closer and darling to his heart other than the common well-being of Indian sub-continent and the welfare of the common people of India. Equally in personal and in general context, he had been working hard ceaselessly to persuade the Congress leaders that their policy was catastrophic and would lead them nowhere. Actually he condemned the behavior and strategy of the Congress with the reasonable optimism that he would be capable to correct the erroneous.¹⁹⁷

The arrogant leadership of Congress paid no heed to Jinnah's sincere advice and challenged his authority and strength. With the passage of time Jinnah realized the behavior of the Hindu leadership and started to make a conscious effort to organize the Muslims and to obtain some additional powers for the League.¹⁹⁸ The Congress leaders were making justifications of each act of the Congress. The league president was twisted upon revealing them. Jinnah was at that moment in no doubt of his might. A sequence of events in the shape of Wardha scheme of Education, the Rajkot affair, Shia- Sunni dispute at Lucknow, Hyderabad Satyagraha had convinced Muslims that the congress had no space for them.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 232

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 276.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 292.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 296.

At that moment the League was passing through a special stage of its political development as a whole. Jinnah turned into an existing icon of Muslim harmony and Muslim politics and had been so much indulged in him that he himself became an institution. People had realized to re-orient faith in the League. The apprehension of utilization by others of the Muslim platform and emotions had gone. Those who were eager to use the League for their own private interests were disheartened and Muslim intelligentsia had reclaimed the trust of building the League into an actually national organization.²⁰⁰

Jinnah's life packed with practical achievement was decorated with creative efforts. In 1941, when he was recovering in Mysore from his infection during the Madras gathering of the League, he told the author that he could imagine the creation of Pakistan, and that even though he would not live to see the grand happening, the subsequent generations would be able to achieve it. However the destiny was definite that he would survive to witness the creation and the consolidation of his own new state. He had to govern his own birth place along with a vast territory. Above all, he had to rule over the hearts of the millions of his countrymen and to eyewitness the accomplishment of his dream in which he visualized his people growing to immense stature as an autonomous and self-governing nation.²⁰¹

The research is a biographical study of Jinnah. The author narrates the life history of Jinnah in an organized and composed manner. His words show a great admiration and respect for Jinnah. He uses very simple and easy to understand language. Although, he never uses decorated and pompous words yet at many places the usage of idioms, phrases and examples enhance the literary touch. He uses Jinnah's speeches to support his argument. The study is a primary source on Jinnah is based on the

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 321.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 465-66.

documentary published in 1945 and has also been used as a primary source in the following studies on Jinnah.

2.3- S. Shams ul Hasan's Simple Narration:

Plan Mr. Jinnah by S. Shams ul Hasan is based on the collection of works on League and Jinnah.²⁰² In introduction the author has shed light on the personality and politics of Jinnah and the difficulties he faced during the freedom movement. The author has explained that Jinnah was not against the Khilafat Movement but the methodology to achieve that objective was not acceptable to Jinnah. As a realist and practical person, Jinnah was that by giving up jobs and staying away from official institutions before creating substitute planning would certainly create unbearable sufferings for the Muslims. He had realized that people were not yet ready to face that kind of brutal test. He told the Muslims fight against the British government but in their individual capacity. In the words of writer, "He felt that time was not ripe to subject the people to such a severe test. He urged that the Muslims should fight the British Government; but only according to their individual capability and capacity."²⁰³

According to the author, Jinnah was not the only one who opposed the utopian agenda of Gandhi, there were some other sensible leaders like Motilal Nehru and others who were against it. Those leaders were lacking courage to oppose that program in public and they condemned it only during the Congress sessions. Thus, Jinnah was the only one who has undefeatable courage to strongly oppose that utopian program despite the gathering of zealous supporters of Gandhi at both sessions of Congress in 1920. Jinnah's attitude showed the power of his character, confidence and iron willpower in him. In the statement of writer, "Motilal Nehru and other Hindu leaders, however, a

²⁰² Shams -ul- Hasan. ...*plan MR. Jinnah* (Al-Shams: Karachi, 1976). He served as a secretary general of AIML and PML. Author of many collected work of Jinnah.

²⁰³ Ibid.. 18.

few hours before the Session, went over to Gandhiji. It was the Quaid alone who vehemently opposed the programme of non-cooperation when it was moved by Gandhiji in the form of a resolution. ²⁰⁴

The author narrates the situation after the utopian program of non-cooperation. The Muslims followed the instructions of the program with great devotion. They not simply refused the academia, law bars, and the British made products but also walked out of the jobs and lawmaking institutions, gave up awards and tributes, and a lot of them left India for Afghanistan. They bore untold sufferings and laid down exceptional patterns of sacrifices. On the other hand, the Hindus did not contribute much in the program. Consequently its total scale was measured by the Muslims alone.²⁰⁵ The Khilafat leaders and some League members turn out to be antagonistic toward Jinnah due to his opposition to the utopian program of non-cooperation. Most of the time, they angrily carped and ill-treated him. On the other hand, Jinnah did not cut off his connection from the League, regardless of their antagonism.²⁰⁶

The author depicts that Gandhi's decision to call-off non-cooperation program created disappointment and sorrow among the Muslims in India. They understood that all sacrifices made by them had been wasted. They resentfully condemned their leaders for not providing right guidance to them. There was a great turmoil and the leaders were unsuccessful to make sure unruliness among the common followers. They were drawn more and more towards private squabbling, condemning each other for all types of errors and deficiencies.²⁰⁷ The author analyzes the situation after the Nehru report and Jinnah's reaction to it. Jinnah rose up once gain to save Muslim rights and categorically articulated Muslim demands one by one in a formula which is known as

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 19.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 22.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 23.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 24.

Fourteen Points of Mr. Jinnah. However at that time his attempts for amalgamation of the Muslims under one banner were not shared by the Muslim leaders. Only a small number of private friends supported him while the rest of the Muslim leaders were unwilling to work with Jinnah. His uncompromising stance on morality and autonomous outlook to issues were the major concerns that held the others off from him.²⁰⁸ Jinnah was dismayed with the maneuverings, disagreements and cracks among the Muslims. Thus Jinnah decided to stay out of the scene and settled himself in London.²⁰⁹

However, the author's words could not easily be digested because a person like Jinnah could not be disheartened so much with existing situation of the Muslim politics that he left Indian Muslims and the League in trouble and settled in London and simply watched them destroying. At the same time, he admits that Jinnah was in touch with him and gaining information about the development in Indian politics. Perhaps the author could not rightly judge the rationale behind Jinnah's decision to stay out of Indian politics for a while. However he was totally in touch with India politics especially with the Muslims and the League.²¹⁰ When Jinnah tried to revitalize the League and to unite Muslims under its banner, many shortsighted and self-centered Muslim political elites tried to create troubles for Jinnah.²¹¹ League session of 1936 not only allowed the League to participate in 1936-37 elections but also authorized Jinnah to restructure the League. The great choice had been made during that meeting to open the gate for the change in the League. League was

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 48-49

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 52.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 54.

²¹¹ Ibid., 60.

converted from party of elites into a party of common people and was ready to write history like a dominant political might.²¹²

Although the outcome of election was not very cheerful yet the outline of League executive composition passed through an impressive modification. Jinnah's memo of Unity, Faith and Discipline was passed through the election campaigns to millions of Muslim in length and breadth of the country. The Muslim masses were fed up of private power struggle, jealousies and maneuverings among the selfish leaders. They reacted to his call marvelously and came together under the banner of League.²¹³ After the year of 1936 gradually Muslims transformed themselves from a strewn mob to a nation. That was exclusively because of sweat and careful hard work of solitary personality Jinnah.²¹⁴

The author has narrated a meeting with Jinnah after the creation of Pakistan in which Jinnah in a sentimental tone told the author that he could not sleep for days, and that he was trying very hard to get better the condition. He was extremely harsh about the Indian leadership and charged them of having acknowledged partition with an unwillingness and condemned them for maneuvering to wipe out Pakistan at the very beginning. Attempting to manage his sentiments he further said that "the Musalmans of the Subcontinent cannot be destroyed by these tactics. They have now a homeland; and with hard work they shall, *Insha Allah*, make it powerful."²¹⁵ The author's narration is very simple. He has explained the nature of Jinnah and his hard work to gather Muslims under one banner and to face the difficulties in an easy way. Although the author has shown some miss-judgments about Jinnah's actions yet has produced a

²¹² Ibid., 63.

²¹³ Ibid., 64.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 65.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 3.

fine study to understand Jinnah's life and character. The study has a great value because of the material contained on Jinnah's life from 1906 to 1936.

2.4- G. Allana's Descriptive and Analytical Study:

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah: the story of a Nation by G. Allana is a biographical study of Jinnah's life and political career.²¹⁶ The author admires the great traits of Jinnah's personality like; a practical man,²¹⁷ an excellent strategist and a master of the situation,²¹⁸ a constitutionalist,²¹⁹ uncompromising in his principles and steadfast in his love for the people.²²⁰ The author reveals the early years of Jinnah's practical life as a lawyer. He was famous due to his audacity and absolute luminosity in Bombay law courts and unanimously agreed opinion about Jinnah was that he would become a prominent barrister. His rare come cross with the judges, when he would cosset in vigorous reprisal, were the main discussion of the bar-room. His manner of insightful cross-examination and his talent of convincing pleading supported by overwhelming logics created a magic in the court room.²²¹

The author reveals that Jinnah acquired his repute for his honesty, reliability, audacity and bravery and due to these qualities he was complimented with the titles of The Lord Simon of the Indian Bar, Rising Titan of Bar all over the sub-continent.²²² At that moment Jinnah began to receive attention in politics and he created a profound notion on the listeners by putting forward his observations in meetings on political troubles of the day. His magnificent persona and stunning voice pitch that was well-expressed with genuineness and confidence imprinted him in the beginning as a

²¹⁶ G. Allana. *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah: the story of a Nation* (Lahore: Ferozsons.1967). He is a well known author.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 162.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 114.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 125.

²²⁰ Ibid., 120.

²²¹ Ibid., 29.

²²² Ibid., 30.

luminous and a daring campaigner of public causes. His strengths as a spokesperson were his influential style, coherent appearance, incisive examination and mysterious forethought.²²³

According to the comparative analysis of the author, Gandhi possessed capricious mentality like English weather, spinning in a tempest of inconsistency, who kept on making reverse moves with great mystifying swiftness that no one could judge that he was with him or not. He was getting ready to be the only representative of the Congress, which he considered the entire of India. On the other hand, Jinnah was totally the antithesis of Gandhi in every aspect. He used to communicate his opinions unreservedly and honestly, without cover or disguise, scrutinizing all problems with the accuracy and conviction of a skilled surgeon's knife. Variations connecting these two opposing characters were to turn out to be numerous and severe and the vibrations produced by their conflicts were to utter the path of the history of India.²²⁴

Jinnah' enthusiastic antagonism to the Rowlatt Bill marked him as a leader, unbending in his values, committed in his devotion for the people, though thorny the odds that came in his way.²²⁵ The author further elaborates the contradictions between the personalities of Jinnah and Gandhi. According to the analysis of author, Gandhi was an imaginative thinker and futurist. On the other hand Jinnah was a pragmatic and practical person. Gandhi without thinking about the outcome, used to fly into the combat of each dispute and then to seek protection in morals dialogues. At the same time Jinnah systematically but carefully used to calculate solutions to existing problems.²²⁶ The author believes that the Delhi conference was a huge achievement for Jinnah who not only brought all the sections of Muslims on one stage but also

²²³ Ibid., 31.

²²⁴ Ibid., 106.

²²⁵ Ibid., 120.

²²⁶ Ibid., 141.

approved a common policy for the safeguard of the Muslims' rights in future reforms.²²⁷

According to the analysis of the author, Gandhi had phrased presidential address of Jinnah at Lucknow session in 1938 as a declaration of war.²²⁸ On the other hand, Jinnah got Nehru's mock as a declaration of war.²²⁹ The two organizations and their leaders had arrived at the point of no return.²³⁰ According to the author, after 1937 there was a total transformation of the Muslim nation because after this election their behavior, attitude and mentality had changed. They got engaged in demonstration because at that time they did not perceive themselves as minority, who badly wanted protections and recognitions. Their approach in political thinking got broadened and new attributes had been launched in their political goals. Unifying ninety million Muslims under one banner could be a powerful force. He trusted in their fate and along that he also trusted that it was his fate to guide them to their final target. Therefore he strove hard with resumed energy and belief, with steadfastness of reason to achieve that target which differentiates a person with a task from the rest of the world. Writer has expressed that, "Ninety million Muslims could be a powerful force, if they stood united. He believed in their destiny; and he believed it was his destiny to

²²⁷ Ibid., 201.

²²⁸ Gandhi used this phrase in his letter to Jinnah on October 19, 1937. He stated that "as I read it, the whole of your speech is a declaration of war. Only, I had hoped you would reserve poor me as a bridge between the two. I see that you want no bridge. I am sorry. It takes two to make a quarrel. You won't find me one, even if I cannot become a peace-maker." Jinnah reply back on November 5, 1937. He stated that "I am sorry you think my speech at Lucknow is declaration of war. It is purely in self-defence. Kindly read it again and try and understand it. Evidently you have not been following the course of events of the last twelve months." "as to reserving you as a 'bridge' and 'peace-maker', don't you think your complete silence for all these months has identified you with the Congress leadership, although I know that you are not even a four-anna member of that body. Syed Sarifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (Karachi: East and West Publishing Company, 1977). 88-89.

²²⁹ After winning the election of 1936-37 Nehru constantly undermining Jinnah and league and taunted them. In that mode when he label league as 'an important communal organization. Jinnah infuriated with that and told Durga Das that 'this is a war to knife'. Ajeet Jawed. *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 203.

²³⁰ G. Allana. *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah: the story of a Nation*. 282.

lead them to their ultimate goal. And to that end he began to work with renewed vigor and faith, with that single-mindedness of purpose."²³¹

Thus the debates about Pakistan had been started through unofficial medium. The question was that could Muslims honorably exist as a nation within a united India where majority would rule at the centre and in the provinces too. The Congress ministries had presented the reply to this query. Thus Jinnah and his followers discarded the former path and adopted a fresh and audacious course, to frankly claim that Muslims were a different nation, and their national desires should be respected. In that environment, the League leaders assembled to plan a resolution which would definitely put before Muslims their political objective. Simultaneously, they saw the sketch of the Muslim motives in expressions of a fresh element, and the core resolutions to be stimulated in the Lahore session instigated to obtain form. It unwrapped innovative views in their intellects, amplified their rational perspectives. Thus they were prepared to acquire enthusiasm and self-belief, on the course that would guide them to a new home land for the Muslims of India.²³²

The author discusses the extraordinary qualities of Jinnah's speech. He mesmerized the Muslims with the storm of his rhetoric, and they naturally believed that he was fairly presenting their own internal desires and beliefs, which rest quiescent in the bottom of their hearts. He offered them a note of audacity and optimism; they reciprocated him with their abundant faithfulness and strength. According to the author, for the Muslims of sub-continent, Pakistan was a thrilling attraction for the Muslims of India, who saw in it the conclusion of decades of dishonor, agony, disappointment and repression. Writer has expressed. "He gave them a message of courage and hope; in return they gave him their unstinted loyalty and

²³¹ Ibid., 291.

²³² Ibid., 361.

support.....Pakistan had magic appeal for the Muslims of India, who saw in it the end of decades of humiliation, suffering, frustration and suppression.”²³³

According to the author, the barely perceptible rumors of several years of dissatisfaction finally established a powerful tone in the claim for Pakistan because Jinnah was its spokesperson. The League had initiated the fight for independence and history has acknowledged that under the leadership of Jinnah League successfully developed the mechanism of salvation for Muslims. Throughout the history of Muslim India, no single person had exercised such a great power as Jinnah did. However, this extreme authority did not damage or ruin him. During the mid-forties while he was at the zenith of his authority, he remained unchanged by triumph and authority. Only Jinnah could rightly claim to represent Indian Muslims.²³⁴

The author pays tribute to Jinnah for his restless effort to consolidate Pakistan during early years. The creation of Pakistan carried with it stirs so numerous serious difficulties. Those troubles exposed the safety and the very survival of Pakistan. Its foes, who had not prepared to accept its creation, were active to work against Pakistan at its beginning. Luckily for Pakistan, there was Jinnah to guide the boat of Pakistan's fate to wellbeing and protection. Threats and difficulties could not conquer Jinnah. He was dominant while dealing with dangers like a brave fighter. He was a symbol of vigor, optimism and motivation for Pakistan during its early time regardless of his aging and his deteriorating physical condition.²³⁵

The study is well-researched and organized. The author's approach is analytical. He presents the personality of Jinnah in very organized and composed way. His way of presentation is optimistic as he builds his arguments with factual data. The study is

²³³ Ibid., 359.

²³⁴ Ibid., 395.

²³⁵ Ibid., 500.

helpful for the historians who have to research Jinnah's life and politics and for the general readers as well who desire to know about Jinnah's life.

2.5- Aziz Beg's Descriptive and Analytical Study:

Jinnah and His Times by Aziz Beg is a detailed and inclusive life history of Jinnah.²³⁶

The author sheds light on the life, character, personality, politics and political career of Jinnah. He argues that Jinnah obtained his audacity from his unyielding decent anchor. No one could terrify him or kickback him or even compliment him to take out a favour.²³⁷ Author identifies four steps of Jinnah for becoming Quaid-i-Azam.

Firstly, Jinnah stimulated the literate Muslims who formally were under his control. In this way, the strength penetrated downward to the people. The uneducated mass of Muslims impulsively sensed definitely that Jinnah was not merely a lawful personality but a political genius, a skilled envoy who could outmaneuver their enemies. Secondly, Jinnah's purity had turned him out to be an embodiment for the followers from each corner of the country. The public had a total confidence in him since they had an insightful trust that the utmost purchaser could not purchase him. Consequently, it was like the unseen thread of thoughts which amalgamated Jinnah with his people in a link of an eternal love. Thirdly, Jinnah was like an unclosed story because he was a man with no secrets and the people did not even worry to know what he was speaking to them. They immediately interpreted his consent and sensed that they were in a protected zone. Fourthly, they had undertaken other Muslim leaders however they were also supporters of the Congress or British's puppets or over-enthusiastic politicians who were incompetent of avoiding their exciting explosion. Consequently, they consider themselves without leader and without a

²³⁶ Aziz Beg, *Jinnah And His Times* (Islamabad: Babur & Amer Publication, 1986). Author is journalist and author of many books.

²³⁷ Ibid., 34.

commander and Jinnah emerged to them reminiscent of the *promised Messiah* who single-handedly could facilitated them to discover rescue.²³⁸

The author has acknowledged that Jinnah was at the zenith of his recognition in 1916.

He was the most valued and the most significant Indian political leader at that time.²³⁹

The author has praised the qualities of Jinnah. He established a characteristic of civility, probity and clear-headedness in the discussion about *the rulers and the ruled*.

He has explained that the spectators used to be predominantly delighted by his rapid responses and humorous rejoinders. Jinnah introduced intelligence, wit and amusement in his comments according to the situation. However his tone used to be harsher while talking about autocracy, subjugation, inequality or defiance of individual civil rights.²⁴⁰

The author has highlighted the characteristics of Jinnah's persona. According to him, Jinnah understood that whatever was ethically unacceptable and was short of honesty could not be politically acceptable.²⁴¹ Jinnah joined politics in 1906 and continued till the final stage of his existence.²⁴² According to the author, Jinnah was a practical person and an excellent negotiator thus, his judgment of the accurate time to place ahead his demand for Pakistan was conventionally correct. He had been vigilantly revising all the diverse plans for the deliverance of the Muslims' desires. His mission was a problematical one of maintaining unity among the Muslims, and of outmaneuvering the designs and strategies of the Hindus and the British. He was determined for the freedom of India though equivalently protecting the welfare of the Muslims.²⁴³

²³⁸ Ibid., 30.

²³⁹ Ibid., 23.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 25.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 33

²⁴² Ibid., 33.

²⁴³ Ibid., 531.

The author commented on the legacy of Jinnah and stated that, Jinnah at a standstill captured a central position in the Pakistani consciousness. Resting in his mausoleum, he is still more influential than the contemporary leaders of Pakistan. He is constantly governing from the mausoleum as the people remember his speeches and appeal to him to discover a solution for their difficulties.²⁴⁴ The author has presented in this book every facet of the Jinnah's life and his complex and delicate political negotiations and legal battles preceding the emergence of Pakistan. He also has thrown new light on the Jinnah's personal life and has given a detailed account of his family background. The author has taken pains to discover not only the historical data about Jinnah who played the most important and decisive role in shaping the destiny of the sub-continent but also to interpret him as a man and as a politician. The author has emphasized the role of the Jinnah in India's struggle for freedom and has analyzed his methods and strategies in winning over a motherland for the Muslims of India. The bibliography, the index and the detailed reference notes manifest the level of the hard work in the production of this scholarly work. A great deal of new material has been used to make this work as authentic as possible. It has thus emerged as a well-researched book having a great impact.

2.6- Nasim Hasan Shah's Analytical Approach:

The next important work on Jinnah by Pakistani non historian is Nasim Hasan Shah's *Quaid-i-Azam: Whether Secularist or Fundamentalist*.²⁴⁵ The study under review is mainly focused on one aspect of the Jinnah's personality. According to the author, Jinnah was such a great person who had courage to scarify his life, health and

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 882.

²⁴⁵ Nasim Hasan Shah, *Quaid-i-Azam: whether Secularist or fundamentalist*, in Riaz Ahmed, *Pakistani Scholars on Quaid-i- Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University, 1999). Nasim Hasan Shah is the former Chief Justice of Pakistan and author of many books.

happiness for his people.²⁴⁶ According to the author, Jinnah was very much attached to his religion. During the early age, Jinnah chose Lincoln's Inn to study law because Lincoln admitted that Holy Prophet (PBUH) was the greatest Lawgiver of history by placing him at the top of the list of the great lawgivers of the world. In his later period he had had an argument with his cherished daughter over her marriage with a non-Muslim.²⁴⁷ These two events showed his commitment with his religion.

His vision of Pakistan was of a moderate democratic state which would be governed according to the principles of Islam. Everyone would have been equal in terms of rights and status. He wanted a social justice for every citizen. According to the author, he dreamt for a pleasant situation where everyone could live free from biases and prejudices. The author has portrayed Jinnah as a simple Muslim devoid of any traits of secularism and fundamentalism. Writer has expressed, "He was neither a secularist nor a fundamentalist but a true believer, inspired by the Islamic ideals of social justice and betterment of all his compatriots irrespective of their faith, caste, creed and denomination."²⁴⁸

The author has used very simple language and has proved his narrative with logic and factual data. He has used speeches of Jinnah to build his narrative. His approach is analytical and very logical. In short this research is useful for the general reader and historian as well.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.,255.

²⁴⁷Ibid.,253.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.,255.

2.7- Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada's Analytical Approach:

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Pakistan by Syed Sharifudin Pirzada is a study of one aspect of Jinnah' political life which is the most important achievement of Jinnah political career.²⁴⁹ Author mention that his work is an answer to many question related to Jinnah changed his mind towards Pakistan and his struggle for this goal.²⁵⁰ Before discussing the Jinnah contribution in the making of Pakistan Author highlighted the concept of Two Nations and revealed whole proposals of partition categorically to understand the background and atmosphere at that time. With this background it has been reveal that demand for Pakistan was not a sudden move or sudden illusion of or inspiration of Muslims. Instead suggestion for the partition of India for the improvement of governess was there with the final stages of the demise of Muslims in Indian and amazingly not only Muslims thinkers were alone in this area Hindus and British along with other thinkers were also thinking on same area from time to time till League adopted as demand for future constitutional development in India.²⁵¹

According to the author, Jinnah was vigilant and careful personality, 'cool by temperament' and realistic in approach.²⁵² He was a very hard working, well informed and well prepared person. Author narrate the events before the one of the most important League session of 1940 which reveal that Jinnah had studied the whole material related to suggestion for partition of India along the world politics and history and use information for the references with his own unique manner.²⁵³ Author has mentioned that Jinnah had spoken about Two Nation Theory in public for the first

²⁴⁹ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Pakistan* (Islamabad: Hurmat publications, 1989). He has compiled a vast valuable work on Jinnah. He has worked on many important portfolio within Pakistani government.

²⁵⁰ Ibid. i.

²⁵¹ Ibid. 5-56.

²⁵² Ibid. 58.

²⁵³ Ibid. 74.

time in April 1936 many years ahead of 1940 when League and Jinnah officially adopted demand of Pakistan.²⁵⁴

Author has also reveal that viceroy and British government tried their best to restrain Jinnah and League from holding session in Lahore or at least deter him from the demand of Pakistan. They tried every possible option but failed to deter him demanding Pakistan.²⁵⁵ These facts have proved that British were against Jinnah and his demand for Pakistan. Although author has discussed the remaining event of later stages of freedom struggle and role of Jinnah in the events in brief manner and also attach some valuable material as appendix. By and large it is fine effort by a Pakistani author to present historical fact with brief analysis. His language is simple and easy to understand. He has used too much citation from other author's analysis.

2.8- Saad Rashidul Khairi's Analytical Approach:

Jinnah Reinterpreted: The Journey from Indian Nationalism to Muslim Statehood by Saad R. Khairi is another important work on Jinnah.²⁵⁶ Author has explained the objective of writing this book is that to bring back the accurate picture of Jinnah and narrate and examine the events that strained him to move towards the partition.²⁵⁷ Author has regretted that Jinnah was not treated fairly and evaluated in true sense.²⁵⁸ Author has identified the causes why Jinnah was less studied. One reason author has mention of lack of interest of writers in Jinnah was Jinnah's neat and clean life without twist and turn. Other reason is lack of drama factor in Jinnah political struggle which could impress the average mind. He further explain with example from the world and also elaborated which type of adventures and drama factor of world

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 58.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 70.

²⁵⁶ Saad R. Khairi, *Jinnah Reinterpreted. The Journey from Indian nationalism to Muslim Statehood* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995). He is retired diplomat and journalist. He is a well-known author.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., X.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., XV.

leading personalities impressed the average mind of people. Author has also blame Indian and British for defaming Jinnah by hiding and twisting facts. Author has explained the personality of Jinnah and his politics in this way that Jinnah had 'led a straight life, followed a straight path, talked and act straight'.²⁵⁹ He further explained that Jinnah was a patriot and nationalist leader in true sense. He had never altered his path. He worked for the general welfare of the people and for Muslims particularly. He had altered his strategy from time to time like any commander in any battle however he had never altered his essential principle or his final objective. His life could be described in one word 'logic'.²⁶⁰

Author like majority of the authors also draw a comparison between the Jinnah and Gandhi. According to author there is a false impression is prevailing in India and to some section of Pakistani are also got effect by that false impression. That false impression is that Gandhi had won freedom for India which could not get support from historical data. Matter of the fact twentieth century witness many stages of freedom struggle of India. During the early two decades the struggle was remain mostly in Council chambers and in the realm of law and during that time Gandhi and his favourite disciple were not present at that time in that realm. However Jinnah was one of the powerful forces which was pushing British on back foot and leading India towards the freedom. Gandhi entered into Indian political arena after that time however he got prominent position and gain total authority on Congress due to his popular movement. However it is the irony of the history if it would claim that due to those movements of Gandhi India had attained freedom. Each of his movement doomed to fail. His first attempt was in opposition to the Rowlatt Act started and ended very soon without any result. The Non-cooperation Movement which created

²⁵⁹ Ibid., XVI.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., XX.

too much enthusiasm and passion in Indian subcontinent was also suddenly calls off during its high time. He started salt *satyagraha* two time but also leave them in between. His last one is Quit India which was crush in very early stages due to the defensive policy of British at that time. And many time he promised for freedom in one year but fail to fulfil it. However it is not that he did not contribute in freedom struggle on the other hand he contributed greatly in awaking the consciousness but here he also unleash the hater among two main communities of India and paved the way for partition as well. ²⁶¹

Author has paid huge tribute to the persona and politics of Jinnah by comparing him with Washington and Bismarck two world great general and statesmen. Like them he had face two formidable enemy who were more powerful, resourceful, well-equipped and technologically advance. Jinnah was remaining victorious due to his daring proposals, supreme talent and an excellent wisdom of calculation of events despite the joint alliance of Congress and British. He was a person of high moral standard who never adopt low tracts despite being betrayed by friends and push to the corn by critics thus his clean and open method to achieve objective enhance the uniqueness and greatness of his achievement. ²⁶²

Author also explained that British never like Jinnah due to the powerful and inflexible patriotism. They were not in a comfortable relationship with such a Indian leader who could not curved, nor purchased and nor dodged. British use to keep quit other Indian leader like putting Tilak in jailed or deporting him and by playing trick with the ego of Gandhi and Nehru. However Jinnah was a different kind of leader. His deadly sharp wisdom need only one moment to identify the weak spot in every British plan thus he use to play the battle of nerve with them on his ground. He was so much

²⁶¹ Ibid., VIII-X.

²⁶² Ibid., 437.

courageous that he could take stand-alone against all for the sake of principle. With his demand of Pakistan this British antagonism raised many fold. On one in British political circle ever supported the demand of Pakistan however their levels of antagonism differ from person to person. They tried their best to retain the unity of India but failed due to one person Jinnah thus how could they support or even like him.²⁶³

Author has presented the picture of Jinnah with deep emotion while maintain the factual date correctly. Author has adopted objective and impartial approach. Importance of the work is that he presented a brief picture of work on Jinnah and also explained the reason of lack of interest on exploring Jinnah. He has presented the comparison of Jinnah with world leader other than Hindus which make his analysis unique. His language is fine and rich. His argument are well build and supported by evidence. His work is worth to be read not only for the history students but also for the general reader.

To sum up, it can be said that the mainstream Pakistani authors have paid massive acknowledgment to Jinnah's persona, traits, his dedication and loyalty for his nation. He was a promised Messiah blessed by Allah to secure the Muslims in India from annihilation. The authors have mostly narrated his appearance and politic in a majestic manner being very emotional unlike the historians. Although, their approach is objective and based on reason yet the early works of this section have been done to record the life history of Jinnah for future generations. These authors have explored the persona and politics of Jinnah in a simple narrative style. There are few authors who have explored Jinnah in a thematic manner but most of them were not interested in writing a lengthy book so. they confined their exploration in form of an article, a

²⁶³ Ibid., 455-58.

chapter in a book or an essay. Early works of this section were in a biographical style however, in later works, the authors have adopted an analytical approach. However they also maintain the objectivity of the work. Their works are focus on the topic. Although they shower their love their leader and hero but they never use fairytale style to create any fantasy. Perhaps there is strong impact of strong tradition of pure history writing among the Muslims throughout ages on these writers' works. They never twist the facts or tried to mould them according to their narrative. They also restrain themselves from making big images or damaging any one. They tried to present fact as it is along with their analysis.

CHAPTER- 3

PAKISTANI POLITICAL LEADERSHIP ON JINNAH

The central idea of chapter is to logically examine the opinion of Pakistani political leadership that is how they have perceived the character, personality and the politics of Jinnah. Pakistani leadership has paid a tremendous tribute to the founding father of Pakistan and has explained that Jinnah worked very hard for the salvation of the subjugated people without any biases of caste, creed, race and religion throughout his political life. Jinnah's struggle and his stand on certain issues were based on principles. His whole political career and life style revolved around the pre-settled principles. His integrity was beyond any doubt and even his arch rivals used to admit it. During the decisive phase of the freedom struggle, Jinnah being President of the League honestly used his errands and authorities as were described by the constitution of the League. Being the skilled expert of a political combat, he never exploited his opponent by using interior accent and he also did not hide himself behind the interior accent at the time of hardship. Through fatal stage of freedom movement, Jinnah was the only leader whose unique qualities of leadership triumphed in fight for Pakistan. Pakistani political leaders have produced a variety of historical work on the persona and politics of Jinnah. The opening work of this section is based on the personal memories and personal relationship of the authors with Jinnah. Their writing showed their deep emotional attachment with Jinnah. While with the passage of time, they cultivated very unique and innovative approach. They justified the creation of Pakistan in a very logical manner. *My Brother* by Fatima Jinnah is the personal account of Jinnah's younger sister Miss Fatima Jinnah who remained the closest companion of Jinnah during especially the last three decades of his life. It has revealed that although Jinnah was facing so much pain and suffering at personal level

but he kept himself engaged in the ferocious battle for Pakistan. He looked very composed and strong in public but inside he was in deep pain and exhausted by illness which claimed his precious life at the end.

The Emergence of Pakistan by Chaudhri Muhammad Ali is the narration of personal accounts of the author and it has described the point of view of the author about the freedom movement and especially about the politics and personality of Jinnah. He has narrated many events of the freedom movement which he has witnessed. He has used very simple language. It cannot be called a research study because it is only a description of the different events rather than the scrutiny or the analysis of the events by the author.

The Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan by Aitzaz Ahsan is the epic story of the cultural and economic history of the people of Pakistan and the author has traced out the historical origin of Pakistan and her inhabitants throughout the centuries. The study is a fine explanation of the idea of Pakistan throughout the ages. The study has explained the historical process and development of the idea of Pakistan through ages.

Quaid-e-Azam As I Knew Him by M. A. S. Ispahani is a narrative of the relationship between the author and Jinnah. The study is based on the personal account of the author. The study is produced to pay a tribute to the politics and leadership of Jinnah in a simple and easy language.

Memories of Jinnah by K. H. Khurshid is a personal account of the author which described the memories of Jinnah and his relation with his workers. The study is based on the notebooks kept by the author. Throughout the significant era of the freedom struggle from 1944 to 1947, he had the chance of working with Jinnah very closely. Thus, he has thrived to rebuild Jinnah's thoughts through that era and has

supplied numerous priceless footnotes to the history of that era. This manuscript is worth studying and has valuable information about Jinnah's life.

3.1- Fatima Jinnah's Simple Narration:

My Brother by Fatima Jinnah is basically based on the memories of Jinnah's youngest sister Fatima Jinnah and has been edited by Sharif al-Mujahid.²⁶⁴ According to the author, Jinnah has a unique gift of nature like giant strength and undaunted power to achieve a target set by him.²⁶⁵ He was famous for his powerful argument through which he could blow a well-built case with one sentence.²⁶⁶ The author has discussed the childhood habits of Jinnah. According to her, Jinnah was a logical kid and his likes and dislikes were based on deep down reasoning. He was very fond of horses and explained the reason for his liking that the horses used to hold their heads high and straight which showed their power and confidence. He was a keen observer of nature and has learnt from the nature that looking forward and straight was the best position to live. Thus, he set the rule for his life to look ahead and straight. He was never twisted by hardships instead he used to challenge them and defeat them.²⁶⁷ According to the author, Jinnah was fond of reading that was why he was familiar with many poets and writers of English literature. Some of them remained favorite till the last stage of his life. He was a great admirer of Shakespeare.²⁶⁸ One of the best examples of Jinnah's admiration for Shakespeare was his letter to Gandhi in which he has quoted from Shakespeare. Actually Gandhi strove to flatter Jinnah and requested him to guide to pronounce suitable title before his name. Gandhi informed Jinnah about his misunderstanding about Jinnah's name and told him that he used to call him

²⁶⁴ Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, ed Sharif al Mujahid(Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1987). She is the younger sister of Jinnah.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.the

²⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 59-60.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

'Janab Jinnah Sahib'. Jinnah then responded with these lines from Shakespeare "What is in a prefix? After all, a rose called by any other name smells just as sweet."²⁶⁹

The writer has explained that Jinnah's political work and duties were multiplied during the final decade of his life. He neglected the recommendations of his doctors and the requests from his younger sister and concentrated more and more on his work. *Work, work and more work* was his motto. He utilized all the energy of his body to work hard for his nation at the cost of his health. He pushed himself more and more into the turbulent sea of political struggle.²⁷⁰ The author has highlighted the selfless and humanistic approach of Jinnah during the last decade of his life. With all the shortcomings of health and old age, he fought his battles with determination and lion-heartedness and led his followers to victory safely. The author also has highlighted the amazing power of his iron will, luckily he had the habit of sleep at will power and reservations and concerns were put in to the sideline of subliminal although they did not disappear. Each day came with new challenges and new difficulties and was marked with heavy decisions taken by him. He was a spirit who wanted badly to serve his people. He continued that intense rhythm of life for many years, despite the fact that his fatal disease consumed his body.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ 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.

²⁷⁰ Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, ed., Sharif al Mujahid, 2.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

According to the author, after the passing of Pakistan resolution in 1940, Jinnah forced his ill health to go with his hard work. He made up his mind to realize the demand of Pakistan in to reality and the scattered and disorganized followers were his only strength. Nonstop travelling, lengthy and difficult working hours and political condition of the Muslims destroyed his health a lot but he did not care.²⁷²

She recalled the memories of his journey to Madras in 1941 for League secession there. She has described that he was very sick at that time and by-passing doctor's advice; he went there and attended the session. He had also by-passed her request of brief address. When he stood up for speech, there was a pin-drop silence in such a huge gathering. He delivered a speech without any help from the written notes. He had a habit of using very easy language which was understandable for even the illiterate ones. He was such a unique kind of leader who was not only clear enough in his thinking but also was well-aware of the emotions of his followers. He addressed for more than two hours and although he was very sick but among his followers he courageously explained the objectives and aims of the Indian Muslims.²⁷³

According to the author, Jinnah considered the creation of Pakistan as only the completion of the first half of the mission and beginning of second half of his mission which was the consolidation of Pakistan. He could not let himself go during the time of calamity for his nation. He sought to inculcate optimism and anticipation to drive out any mood of disturbance and unhappiness.²⁷⁴

The author has revealed the emotional side of Jinnah's personality. He was very sad and depressed over the sufferings of the Muslim refugees in India and most of the time his eyes were wet with tears. The second thing for which he was too much worried was the formulation of constitution of Pakistan. Whenever he found time, he

²⁷² Ibid., 3-4.

²⁷³ Ibid., 8.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.,13.

utilized it to study different books on world's constitutions. Kashmir problem along with the Solidarity and integrity of Pakistan was also of great concern for him. These major issues occupied his mind most of the time during his last days.²⁷⁵

The study is an interesting analysis of Jinnah habits, behavior and life style and shed light on the humanistic aspect of Jinnah. The book is not written in chronological order. The author has started from the last phase of Jinnah political career than turned to the family background and early life of Jinnah. However the author has not discussed the early political life of Jinnah. The study is the personal account of Jinnah's younger sister Miss Fatima Jinnah who was the companion of Jinnah for last decades of his life. The author has analyzed that Jinnah by-passed the advice of doctors and fought alone with his illness. Despite the severe illness, he strove hard for the salvation of Indian Muslims and created a new homeland of them in the shape of Pakistan. In short, the study is done with the emotion of love and care of a sister to her brother. Nonetheless study is useful to understand Jinnah personality and politics.

3.2- Chaudhri Muhammad Ali's Simple Explanation:

The Emergence of Pakistan by Chaudhri Muhammad Ali is the story of freedom struggle.²⁷⁶ The author has also elaborated the political strategy of Jinnah for the achievement of Pakistan and the persona and character of Jinnah. According to the author, Jinnah was equipped with strong will power, clarity of vision, sagacity of verdict and consistency.²⁷⁷ Jinnah stimulated wholehearted self-reliance among the Muslims because of "his integrity, courage, statesmanship. and sincerity."²⁷⁸ According to the author, Jinnah was totally an anti-thesis to Gandhi because Jinnah apparently did not look like a popular leader: he never pretended as a religious leader

²⁷⁵Ibid., 11.

²⁷⁶ Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan 3rd impression 1979). Chaudhri Muhammad Ali was the ex prime minister of Pakistan .

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 38.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 41.

and was absolutely reluctant to any kind of demonstration or to a melodramatic mistreatment of religious emotions and feelings. His honesty was unchallengeable because neither any official designation could attract him nor did admirations damage him. He was such an undaunted person that any amount of hazard or might of power could not frighten him. He used to speak so simple, to the point and clear-cut words that no one could derive any other meaning from it. At times, he was discourteous for his opponents not because of hatred but because of their political hypocrisy. During the decisive phase of the freedom struggle, Jinnah being the President of the League honestly used his powers as described by the constitution of the League. Being an expert of political combat, he never exploited his opponents by using interior accent and he also did not hide himself behind the interior accent at the time of hardship.²⁷⁹

According to the author, when Muslims set up a valuable objective in shape of Pakistan and disciplined themselves under the dynamic leadership of Jinnah then League developed itself into an powerful mass political organization and was capable to face the British and the Hindus at the same time.²⁸⁰

The writer has described that when League transformed itself into a strong political organization, its president brought the most powerful political personalities under the umbrella of the League. Jinnah's motto 'Unity, Faith and Discipline' had become a breathing veracity in League's circle. Muslims in India had become a nation for the first time after the establishment of the British rule in India, under the leadership of Jinnah. As an acknowledgement for his great services to his nation, he was honoured by the title of Quaid-i-Azam by his nation. The writer has expressed, "For the first time since the days of British rule, the entire Muslim nation stood united in

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 38.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 37-38.

disciplined ranks behind Jinnah. He came to be known by the title of Quaid-i-Azam, or Great Leader, which was bestowed on him by a grateful people. “²⁸¹

The author has revealed Jinnah’s strategy of political awakening of the Muslim masses. Jinnah’s charismatic leadership won the loyalty of the energetic supporter like students, optimistic youth and growing middle class, who used to gather at his call and to spread his message to the masses. The students, especially from Aligarh Muslim University were devoted and committed volunteers for the struggle of Pakistan. In Punjab, Muslim Student Federation under the energetic leadership of Hamid Nizami played a vital role in spreading the message of Jinnah and turned the masses in favor of Pakistan despite the malicious and cruel rule of landlords of Unionist party.²⁸²

The writer has described that the leadership qualities of the leaders like intelligence, valor, determination and their ability to unite their nations under their command have usually been on trial during such kind of struggles. Jinnah was the only leader during the most crucial phase of freedom struggle, whose integrity could not be bought nor could be bent by any intensity of pressure. At that time although the pressures were terrific, political entity of the Indian Muslims was in great danger but Jinnah was the only leader whose unique qualities of leadership triumphed and he stood straight in front of the difficulties. The writer stated, “ As in all such struggle, the wisdom, the courage. and the strength of will of the leaders, and their ability to rally their respective nations behind them was tested to the full... Except for Jinnah, there was no Muslim leader at that time whom blandishment might not have won or pressure would not have bent.”²⁸³

²⁸¹ Ibid., 42.

²⁸² Ibid., 41.

²⁸³ Ibid., 143.

The author has narrated an incident which showed the biased and revengeful nature of Lord Mountbatten. According to the author, the Viceroy rushed into room in anger where Jinnah was working on the Indian Independence Bill with Liaquat Ali Khan and the author. He threatened Jinnah with grave consequences if the Viceroy would not be the common Governor General of both the countries. However Jinnah listened to the arguments with great dignity and replied that common Governor General was not in the interest of Pakistan but Mountbatten remained unconvinced and faced deep humiliation on that issue.²⁸⁴ Historical record reveals that Mountbatten used his influence to alter the boundaries of provinces to take revenge from Jinnah ²⁸⁵ According to many historians, Jinnah's decision of defiance for Mountbatten to become common Governor General of India and Pakistan was full of wisdom and saved Pakistan from the evil designs of Mountbatten and his friend Nehru. ²⁸⁶ On the other hand Jinnah's decision of becoming the Governor General of Pakistan was not for power and prestige but for protecting his people from miseries and sufferings which had been launched by Hindus-British alliance as a punishment for the creation of Pakistan.²⁸⁷ The study is a narration of personal accounts of the author and his opinion about the freedom movement and especially the politics and personality of Jinnah. He openly has admitted that there was no other leader among the Indian Muslims who could win battle for Pakistan. He has narrated many events of movement which he had witnessed. He has used very simple language. It is not a research study and has only explained the point of view of the author about the different events.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 177.

²⁸⁵ Z. H. Zaidi, ed. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*. Ser. 1, Vol. VIII (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam Paper Wing, 2003), 287.

²⁸⁶ H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1985) 523.

²⁸⁷ Iqtidar Karamat Cheema, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as a Governor General of Pakistan* (Lahore: University of Punjab, 2006). 17.

3.3- Aitzaz Ahsan's Thematic and Analytical Study:

The Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan by Aitzaz Ahsan is the epic story of the cultural and economic history of the people of Pakistan and the author has traced out the historical origin of Pakistan region and her inhabitants throughout centuries.²⁸⁸

The author believed that Jinnah was a man of matchless qualities like; constitutionalist to the core,²⁸⁹ liberal and anti fundamentalist,²⁹⁰ bold and courageous,²⁹¹ confident and charismatic.²⁹² He was a leader of noble cause and he was the one who worked hard for the salvation of subjugated people without any biases of caste, creed, race and religion. He was a real hero of deprived people and a great humanitarian activist. His struggle was based on principles and his stand on issues was based on well-defined principles. He was not a kind of a person who supported an issue to gain any benefit or purpose. His whole political career was filled only with principles. His integrity was beyond any doubt even his arch rival had admitted it.²⁹³

According to the author, Jinnah was the paramount symbol of upper class Muslim of India. He was categorically in opposition to orthodoxy, obscurantism and monopoly of the religious parties. He was against the theocracy and because of this reason he got the support of every member of Muslim bourgeoisie and religious extremists were overpowered by him.²⁹⁴

Jinnah started his epic journey to save the Muslims of India with very little fellowship, however by 1946 elections; the results showed that he succeeded in

²⁸⁸ Aitzaz Ahsan. *The Indus Saga and The Making of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press. 1996). He is a well known Politian and intellectual of Pakistan.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 320.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 327.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 318.

²⁹² Ibid., 327.

²⁹³ Ibid., 321

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 327.

winning the confidence and blind faith of all the sections of Muslims. Dynamic and charismatic leadership of Jinnah had along with vigorous mass following made creation of Pakistan possible.²⁹⁵

The author has explained that it was due to the crystal-clear concept in total synchronization with indispensable and forbearing character of Indus along with Jinnah's unfailing devotion to his morality led to the transformation of Jinnah to Quaid-i-Azam. Jinnah had become the most important factor in re-emerging Indus identity and state through his inspiration and achievement. Writer has narrated, "In his ideas and actions, he had become the major catalyst in the re-establishing of the Indus identity and state. He had thus facilitated the Indus person in rediscovering his inheritance and identity in the material shape of the new Indus state of Pakistan".²⁹⁶

The author has given very interesting explanation for the creation of Pakistan. According to the author Indus region was a separate land from India throughout ages that was why, in modern times the Indus wanted separation from India. That was an instinctive and prehistoric search for identity. Indus was slipped back to its prehistoric position in form of Pakistan. Writer has explained, "It was because the impulse of Indus towards separatism was natural and primordial, and because it was itself based on foundations that lay in remote antiquity that history was turning full circle. Indus was reverting to its primordial status."²⁹⁷

The study is a fine explanation of the idea of Pakistan throughout the ages. The separation of Pakistan from the rest of India is not an unexpected outcome rather the only rightful outcome of historical process of progress because Indus was never a part of India throughout history. The study is a fine example of historical process that how this idea traveled through ages.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 335-336.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 338.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 335.

3.4- M. A. S. Ispahani's Simple Narration:

Quaid-e-Azam As I Knew Him by M. A. S. Ispahani is narrative of the relationship between the author and Jinnah.²⁹⁸ The author believes that Jinnah possessed some gifted qualities like uncanny foresight and power of anticipation.²⁹⁹ He had strength and courage,³⁰⁰ determination,³⁰¹ foresightedness, statesmanship and consistency.³⁰² The author believes that Jinnah had a treasure of self-confidence and determination and these two virtues created an additional potential and firmness that raised him to the status of the most popular leader of Indian Muslim of 20th century. "From early youth, Mohammad Ali Jinnah possessed a wealth of self-confidence and determination and these two qualities plus ability and perseverance raised him to his later stature in public life."³⁰³

The author has explained that Jinnah faced great hardships during the early years of his career. He worked very hard on cases but got nothings. With the virtues of endurance, hard slog, diligence and skill, he attained accomplishment and distinction in his occupation. Writer has expressed, "Once he began to appear in court, his troubles started to recede. He conducted his cases so ably for a young man that his practice grew and there was no turning back for him. Through patience, hard work, industry and ability, he achieved success and fame in his profession."³⁰⁴

Writing about the habits of Jinnah, the author has recalled that Jinnah being an upright person, abhorred treachery. He never let off one who was treacherous to the League and the national cause nor did he ever recline his confidence in such a man,

²⁹⁸ M. A. H. Ispahani. *Quaid -e Azam As I Knew Him* (Karachi: Royal Book Company. 1976). He is a close comrade of Jinnah and also served as a ambassador of Pakistan to US.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 60.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 93.

³⁰¹ Ibid.,97.

³⁰² Ibid.,136.

³⁰³ Ibid.. 115.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.. 116.

no matter how much he needed that man's help in achieving the objective he had set for himself.³⁰⁵

The author has further recalled his memories and explored Jinnah as dedicated and committed leader. His rule book was the same for himself as for his followers. Whenever he took a task he wholeheartedly and single-mindedly used to finish that task first. He was not a kind of person who had ever wasted his time. When he used to be busy with a task, he did not care about food and sleep. "Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a tough task master. He drove himself as hard as he drove others. Something had to be done; it had to be done quickly. He had no time to waste. Food, rest and sleep had to wait their turn."³⁰⁶ The author has brought Jinnah's personal traits into the lime-light. According to the author, Jinnah was a well-disciplined person who believed in precision. He had zero tolerance for imprecision. He could not endure an absent-minded person nor could waste his time with them. He liked to listen to those only who had to-the-point and unambiguous opinion. Writer has expressed, "Mr. Jinnah was a meticulously methodical man and insisted on accuracy. He had no patience with vagueness. He equally did not have time for nor could tolerate a woolly-minded person. With him, one had to be brief and clear if one wanted Mr. Jinnah to seriously hear him a second time."³⁰⁷

The author believed that Jinnah was exceptional with an endless stock up of will power. When Jinnah made his mind for pursuing anything, no power on earth could change his mind. He was such a composed and disciplined person that he could easily defy all persuasion and beseeching.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 43.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 96.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 96.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 97.

According to the author, Jinnah was a regimented man and he gave high priority to rules and regulations in life because without law and order, progress could not be done in any society and civilization. He advocated and emphasized the rule of law even at people gatherings when emotion got the better of the masses who had come to just catch glimpses of their beloved leader and to listen to his speech. He was such a fascinating and charismatic personality that people get in order in gathering with only a single word from his mouth and create pin drop silence.³⁰⁹

According to the author, Jinnah possessed an extraordinary coherent intellect and obvious judgment. He had the ability to clutch whatever thing was in a blaze and capable to put into words his opinion undoubtedly and evidently. He was such a talented person who used to consider tribulations and queries and their connotation in advance to any person. That was the exceptional aspect of his personality which made him not only a great advocate but also a great political leader. His opponents knew this trait of his personality very well.³¹⁰ According to the author, Jinnah was a very confident person and he always used the opportunity in a best way. He could not be won by wealth or influence. He sought to be autonomous and to be his own master.³¹¹

The author has acknowledged the charismatic leadership of Jinnah. The author is of the view that League's representative status was successfully recognized due to the inimitable leadership of Jinnah and the attachment and devotion it stirred up from the Muslim nation. Jinnah strove hard systematically and consistently to unite the Muslims of the sub-continent and to make them aware of their true destiny. His hard work bore fruit and from there on, nothing deterred Muslims to achieve their target of independence.³¹²

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 100.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 107.

³¹¹ Ibid., 116.

³¹² Ibid., 143

According to the author, when the situation was totally against the Muslims, Jinnah stood like a giant, showed the matchless skills of political leadership and picked up the plan which cleared the road to materialization of Pakistan as an autonomous state. He protected the whole of India from catastrophe which had emerged due to pattern of an authoritarian government at the centre.³¹³ The author has explained the reasons for acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan by the League. The author believed that acceptance of CMP by league was a tactical move from the League and Jinnah.³¹⁴ The author has attributed the struggle of Jinnah as the struggle for the salvation of Indian Muslims. He has also uncovered the true face of Congress leadership. Writer has explained, "Congress was in no mind or mood to share power in the subcontinent. Its arrogance was patent and it was this arrogance which eventually brought about the partition of India. At first, in utter disgust, the Congress leaders Like Patel and later Nehru, was happy to rid themselves of the Muslim nuisance but it did not take long before remorse set in on the realization that the Congress had, in haste, committed a grave error."³¹⁵

This study is based on the personal accounts of the author who had paid a marvelous tribute to the politics and the leadership qualities of Jinnah. He considered Jinnah as a savior who was sent by Allah to save Indian Muslims from complete annihilation. On

³¹³ Ibid., 220.

³¹⁴ During the protracted negotiations between the Cabinet Mission, the Congress and the Muslim League it had become clear that the representatives of the Labor Government in England were obviously biased in favour of the Congress and the Hindus. They were anxious to appease the Congress even at the cost of the interests of the Muslims and the minorities. Bearing this difficulty in mind, the Quaid-e-Azam, by skillful negotiations, had extracted the maximum amount of concessions from the Cabinet Mission. If the League rejected outright the compromise plan evolved by the Mission, it would have put itself out of court and there was every likelihood of the British Government transferring all power to the Congress, leaving the Muslims to their fate. It would not have been wise on the part of the League to take upon itself the ous of responsibility for wrecking the plan and thereby losing whatever sympathy there was for its case in London. The League, therefore, made a tactical move in accepting the plan, thus putting both the Cabinet Mission and the Congress in a position from which they would find it difficult to wriggle out., 222.

³¹⁵Ibid., 228.

the other hand he has also uncovered the true face of Indian leadership namely Congress top leaders and their narrow mindedness about the Muslims. The study also has shed light on the humanistic attribute of Jinnah's character and personality in a very simple and easy language.

3.5- K. H. Khurshid's Simple Narration:

Memories of Jinnah by K. H. Khurshid is a personal account of the author's memories related to Jinnah's relations with his workers.³¹⁶ The author has shed light on the rare and unique aspects of Jinnah's personality. The author has appreciated the unique traits of his persona and has described that he was incredibly straight forward and brutally frank,³¹⁷ a great fighter³¹⁸ and very responsible.³¹⁹ He was very kind and paternal toward his subordinates. He was such a responsible person that he used to reply every letter personally.³²⁰ According to the author, he used to talk with clarity of the pronunciation and the meaning.³²¹

Jinnah was a well-disciplined and organized and used to follow the schedule. He used to do everything according to the accuracy of the time.³²² According to the author, he was not a kind of person who was habitual to hide his blunt nature and point of view with forged or shallow charms. He could not talk sweetly to appease people.³²³ Another fundamental trait of Jinnah's character was his uncompromising behavior about the principles. Jinnah neither himself not his colleagues could deceive or betray others. He worked like straight arrow and he worked according to the book. That was his character. The writer has narrated, "The most important aspect of Mr. Jinnah's

³¹⁶ K. H. Kurshid, *Mmemories of Jinnah*. ed. By Khalid Hasan(Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications. 2001). He was a personal secretary to Jinnah and later became the president of AJK.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 77.

³¹⁸ Ibid., 81.

³¹⁹ Ibid., 76.

³²⁰ Ibid., 76-77.

³²¹ Ibid., 43.

³²² Ibid., 76.

³²³ Ibid., 77-78.

character was that neither he himself nor his colleagues or lieutenants were given to resorting to the tricks and double-faced deals usually associated with politicians. He played an open hand and he played according to the rules. That was his nature.”³²⁴

The author has revealed some aspects from the attitude of Jinnah. He has described that Mr. Jinnah grew bitter and hard enough because of being betrayed by the opponents repeatedly. He had been deceived most of the time which made him cautious. He was honest in dealings but got disrespect that was why, he developed a habit to calculate very carefully before taking any action.³²⁵

Gandhi used to manipulate Jinnah’s words to bargain with the British. They were never ever serious to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem.³²⁶ Jinnah was very careful in using words and never used a word which was not fully understandable or had double meanings.³²⁷ He learnt Urdu and tried to improve language skill during holidays.³²⁸

Jinnah loved Shakespeare the most and quoted him often.³²⁹ The author has narrated his memories in a very simple and lucid manner. His words showed respect, love and admiration for Jinnah. The study has a refreshing personal and human view of Jinnah, written with candour, truthfulness and sincerity by the author. This study is based on the notebooks kept by the author. Throughout the significant era of freedom struggle from 1944 to 1947, he had the chance of working with Jinnah very closely. Thus he has thrived in rebuilding Jinnah’s thoughts during that era and has supplied numerous priceless footnotes to the history of that era. Thus this is a worthy manuscript to understand and analyze the political career and aura of Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

³²⁴Ibid.. 86.

³²⁵Ibid.,95-96.

³²⁶ Ibid., 81-82.

³²⁷ Ibid.. 82.

³²⁸ Ibid.. 94.

³²⁹Ibid.. 95.

3.6- Liaquat Ali Khan's Analytical Approach:

The next important work by Pakistani political leader on Jinnah is *Pakistan: the Heart of Asia* by Liaquat Ali Khan.³³⁰ The study is a collection of author's speeches. Although the study has dealt with the history of Pakistan, her problems and her relations with the world yet he also has analyzed the persona and politics of Jinnah. Describing the unique qualities of Jinnah, the author has given credit to Jinnah for his farsightedness which saved the Muslims from elimination in India.³³¹ He was such a great person who could calculate the future, thus he came up with the idea of Pakistan. Before he reached to the conclusion of Pakistan, he worked with Hindu leaders for the freedom of India. He in the initial phase of the freedom struggle, wanted freedom not only for Hindus but also for Muslims as well.

According to the author, Jinnah was the one who came up with a solution to save Muslims of India from the aggression and animosity of hostile majority of Hindus in India.³³² He was a die-hard constitutionalist who had strong faith in democratic norms.³³³ In Jinnah's opinion, minorities must have rights and safeguards in democratic system.³³⁴ Jinnah in simple and straight way explained the concept of Pakistan and the Muslims understood his concept and got new energy from his undefeatable determination. And to acknowledge his leadership crowned him with the title of Quaid-i-Azam.³³⁵ In writer's words, "All his life he fought for freedom but since he fought for the substance and not for the shadow, for the thing and not for the

³³⁰ Liaquat Ali Khan. *Pakistan: the Heart of Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950). He was the first PM of Pakistan.

³³¹ Ibid.,71.

³³² Ibid.,71.

³³³ Ibid.,72.

³³⁴ Ibid.,72.

³³⁵ Ibid.,72. 81.

world, he let no illusion or catch- phrases obscure his penetrating insight or confound his grasp of the essentials.”³³⁶

According to the author, Jinnah was rationalist who possessed a strong power of insight and logic. He could not be twisted by sweet words. He could come to conclusions very early. During the freedom struggle, he fought for the freedom from the British and he was anxiously waiting for the representation of the Muslims in united India to come under democratic system. Thus, he demanded safeguards for the Muslims in India. When his demands were rejected, he brought a solution for the Muslims and within a very short time period, Muslim understood his concept and gathered under the League banner to attain their freedom and succeeded due to Jinnah’s visionary leadership. The author has used very simple and easy language and his expression has revealed love and respect for his leader. He has explained the concept of Pakistan and Jinnah’s persona and politics with logic and reasoning and his words have shown his commitment with his leader and commander.

3.7- Chaudhary Khaliqzaman’s Simple Narration:

Pathway to Pakistan by Chaudhary Khaliqzaman is a personal memory of author.³³⁷ Although the book is the autobiography of author but he also accounted the politics and persona of Jinnah. Author paid rich tribute to the politics of Jinnah by admitting that Jinnah was a great personality and when he adopted Pakistan as a goal he wholeheartedly work for it with great dedication, unflinching temper and undauntedly. By the grace of Allah he was never in position where he had to sacrifice his prestige and fame. However from 1908 to 1947 all important leaders of India either

³³⁶ Ibid..117-8

³³⁷ Chaudhary Khaliqzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (Lahore: Longman, 1961). He was one of the prominent leaders of League from UP. He was the eyewitness of Muslim politics from khalifat movement and play important part in different development in Indian political arena. He was also awarded with *Hilal-i-Imtiaz* for his services for the nation. The original book was almost unavailable in Pakistan nowadays thus for analysis of his opinion is done with the Urdu translation of the book with the name of *Sharah-i-Pakistan* second edition published by Fiction House in 2017.

Hindu or Muslim for example Gandhiji, Motilal, Jawaharlal, Das, Raj Gopal Acharia, Rajindra Pershad, Mawlana Mohammad Ali, Mawlana Shukat Ali, Mawlana Hasrat Muhani, Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Insari, all had to scarifies their wealth and were put behind the bars despite all these no one attain such accomplishment. Thus that was the will of Allah except nothing explain that. ³³⁸

Matter of the fact is that all these were put behind the bar due to the outlaw nature of their struggle under the banner of Gandhi. They and their follower should blame for their short sight more than anything else. On the other hand Jinnah was the only leader in India who was part of negotiation between ruler and subject in Indian political arena during the fatal year of twentieth century. During the final phase of freedom struggle Jinnah was the only political leader who had vast experience of political negotiation and also had the courage and passion to bring all other party on his term. That position of Jinnah was not gifted by any one he had work hard for forty year of his political life for the general welfare and freedom of India and for the welfare of Muslims during his long political career he was tested and tried but nothing can retain him from his mission. He was never put behind the bar despite the strongest opponent of British rule in India was only due to the democratic and constitutionalist nature of him.

Historical record is open to everyone to counter check now writing of British authority has revealed that how much they hate Jinnah. Author analysis has revealed that Jinnah approach towards freedom struggle was the only right path towards the liberation. After projecting Gandhi and Nehru author himself confess that their all movement did not bring freedom for India. Only League policy [under the leadership

³³⁸ Ibid.,696.

of Jinnah] had brought the fruit of freedom which she adopted after 1937.³³⁹ Author has narrated the story of the demise of Muslim business tycoon Omar Subhani due to his wholeheartedly participation in Khilafat Movement which in another words also prove the Jinnah prophecy true about the Movement.³⁴⁰ Author has discussed the Congress treatment towards Muslims during the Congress ministries but it is quite amazing that author did not blame Congress mentor Gandhi or Nehru being the president of organization but put all blame on extremist Hindus and they also forced these two “innocent” people to keep quite on all these events. He even used some harsh words for Azad at some places.³⁴¹ Author whole narration reveals his biased attitude towards Jinnah. He did not mention Jinnah political career during the first two decades of twentieth century. Author also did not mention the contribution of Jinnah in the approval of Waqaf-alal- Aulad bill which indicate not only his ability as a lawyer but also his care for Indian Muslims. Whenever author has mentioned Jinnah his words reveal a sense of jealous tone.³⁴² And quite amazingly author could not bring any evidence to prove his narrative.³⁴³

Author has discussed his personal relationship with Jinnah which was not harmonious however his relationship with other League members were also not quite well. His narration is also has a expression of taunt and mock. It seems that author consider himself the Azad of Pakistan he also thought that he was not rewarded well like Azad despite all the hard work and sacrifices. Author analysis seems to be an effort of self-satisfaction. At some place he also twisted with the fact.

Like Pakistani historians and Pakistani Non-historians, Pakistani leadership has highly praised Jinnah’s personal traits and politics. They are deeply thankful to him for

³³⁹ Ibid.,256

³⁴⁰ Ibid.,241

³⁴¹ Ibid.,386-88

³⁴² Ibid.,513.

³⁴³ Ibid.,514.

making Pakistan which is the only safe place for the Muslims to live in the Sub-Continent. Mostly Pakistani political writings are based on personal memories and also the base of Pakistani historiography on Jinnah. Their language is simple and their words come from their heart. They narrate the event as they were witness to it. Many of their hypotheses were proved right in later times when documents were opened up for historian and the truth was revealed that Pakistani political leadership's thinking approach was right. For instance, when Mohammad Ali wrote about the Cabinet mission Plan, the negotiations and initial acceptance by the League, his justification was accurate enough and the time testified it. After so many years, when the British documents were opened up for the researchers, it was revealed that the Labor Party was appeasing the Congress due to their close friendship. If Jinnah had rejected the Plan, then they would definitely have given full power to Congress and would have left the Muslims alone. Pakistani political leaders have used mainly easy language. Their research is mostly based on their personal accounts. However, some of them have written well-researched books with well-built arguments. Most of them have showered praise on Jinnah's personality and politics but they have explained only one side of the picture. They even have not consulted each other's work to present the full narration of the event. They also have judged the personality of Jinnah according to their relationship with him. After working on these authors, it seemed that except one author all of them have not consulted the sources.

CHAPTER- 4

INDIAN HISTORIANS ON JINNAH

Most of the Indian authors have depicted M. A. Jinnah as a contentious political leader. They mainly disapproved his basic argument and his decision to divide India for the safety of Indian Muslims. The essential idea of this chapter is to logically examine the opinion of the Indian historians about the persona of Jinnah and the formation of Pakistan. He belongs to such kind of leaders who modernized India along with Indian Congress. He measured the British rule in India as the black era and provided the motto 'India for Indian'.³⁴⁴ He visualized India's future as a developed country in the field of science, agriculture, education and industry. Every Indian could live in harmony without the discrimination of caste, creed, region and religion. He strove hard through constitutional means, to realize this cherished dream till the Congress negation to share control with the League.

First setback to ruin his Hindu-Muslim Unity model was denial of the Congress to hold formerly acknowledged rank of the Muslims in 1928 through Nehru Report.³⁴⁵ In 1937 when he realized that Congress was obsessed with Hindu mentality and were ignoring the interests and safeguards of the minorities especially Muslims, Jinnah shifted his line of action. strove hard to save Indian minorities especially the Muslims from the hostile permanent Hindu majority through constitutional method.³⁴⁶

Indian Historians have also created a varied form of historical works on the personality and politics of Jinnah. The writers generally have conducted the methodical study with thematic approach. They have twisted biographical study with

³⁴⁴ 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.

³⁴⁵ Stanley. Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1984). 101-2.

³⁴⁶ Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press. 2009), ix

special intention to prove their assumed conclusion. They have worked on social-political history with the short biographical history of Jinnah. Their analysis about Jinnah also varied from work to work and from appreciation to severe criticism. The common feature of this section is that the Indian historians have produced works with pre-concluded mind and did not care about the factual data. General trend of historical works on Jinnah by Indian historians is that their investigation is not for the exploration of reality but for twisting, turning and molding historical data to prove their hypothesis. Ajeet Jawed's *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah* is a coherent, methodical and relative examination of the persona and politics of Jinnah.³⁴⁷ The writer has applied the theme to explore the role of Jinnah during freedom movement. S. R. Sharma's *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Hero or a Villain* is an inclusive examination of the politics and persona of Jinnah.³⁴⁸ The work has been chosen for examination due to the unique analysis presented by the author. J. J. Pal's *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*³⁴⁹ is a significant assessment of Jinnah and his participation in the making of Pakistan. B. R. Nanda in *Road to Pakistan: The life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah*³⁵⁰ has adopted a thematic approach for the study. Rafiq Zakria's *The Man Who Divided India. An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath* is a short life story of Jinnah along with social-political history of last 60 years of subcontinent.³⁵¹

³⁴⁷ Ajeet Jawed. *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009).

³⁴⁸ S. R. Sharma. ed., *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Hero or a Villain* (Jaipur: Sublime Publications, 2005). S. R. Sharma is a historian and expert of ancient Indian history.

³⁴⁹ J. J. Pal, *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Delhi: Sidharam Publications, 1983) He is a historian and book under review is published Ph.D. Dissertation.

³⁵⁰ B. R. Nanda, *Road to Pakistan: The Life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010).

³⁵¹ Rafiq. Zakria, *The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2001).

4.1- Ajeet Jawed's Thematic and Analytical Approach:

Ajeet Jawed's *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah* is an articulate and relative exploration of the persona and politics of Jinnah.³⁵² The writer has established that Jinnah was equipped with enormous traits like truthfulness, formidable determination, and realism. She measured up the persona of Jinnah with the persona of Gandhi with psychological features and has verified with historical facts that Jinnah was equipped with more superior qualities as compared to those of Gandhi. She also has considered that Jinnah was a nationalist and secular leader, who ceaselessly worked for the independence of his mother country from the clutches of foreign rule by developing the Hindu-Muslim united front. Though leaders from Congress disliked collaboration with Jinnah thus they left him with no choice except to create Pakistan.

In opinion of the author, Jinnah inherited enormous traits and he was valiant, uncomplicated, and autonomous, has respected self-esteem and had never permitted any one to dominate him.³⁵³ He was coherent and progressive. He never supported a plan or a movement which he considered was not logically consistent. His politics stood on logics not on excitement or sentiments and he was very daring even to face the bitter opposition but never compromised over principles.³⁵⁴ He openly condemned and denounced the British, the Hindu and Muslim communalist leaders and received the rage of all however that could not frighten Jinnah. He remained unbent concerning the Indian interest vis-à-vis the British.³⁵⁵

The author further has praised his traits like flawless civic personality,³⁵⁶ and apprehension and deception were unknown to his character.³⁵⁷ He had supreme

³⁵² 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.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

conviction in his talent and thoughts³⁵⁸ and was reasonable and franks enough. Ajeet has stated in this way; “Jinnah hated hypocrisy and lived the way he liked and never cared for what people thought about him.”³⁵⁹ He was habitual of choosing very plain and unambiguous words to speak that was why no one could interpret any other meaning from his words.³⁶⁰ He had massive ability to scrutinize speeches, verdicts and opinion. He dealt every trouble on both national level and personal level in realistic manner. Jinnah was very sound person who could not be mesmerized with non realistic approach. Ajeet stated like this, “He had an extraordinary faculty for pouncing on the crux of an argument. He was practical and had no taste for metaphysical dissertations.”³⁶¹

Ajeet has shown that Jinnah was an unbiased person in his thoughts and deeds. Fanaticism and extremism could not find shelter in his domain. He was strictly against the usage of creed for political reasons. Ajeet has judged 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.”³⁶² However, there is some strong evidence which showed that Jinnah was not an anti-religious person as Ajeet depicted in her work, he was like a learned person who had deep knowledge of religion and lived like a true Muslim. However he did not like to advertize religion.³⁶³

Quite amazingly, unlike many Indian authors Ajeet is of the opinion that Jinnah was not envious of the Congress or its leaders. Although Jinnah was anti-clockwise to Congress on many issues yet Jinnah again and again shored up and shielded Congress

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 22.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 19.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 14.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 155.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 12.

³⁶² Ibid., 18.

³⁶³ Riaz Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam's Perception of Islam and Pakistan* (Rawalpindi: Alvi Publisher, 1990), 17-29.

on national issues. The writer has mentioned a lot of issues such as Jinnah sustained the elevating of the prohibition from Khudai Khidmatgars Organization and also harshly condemned the authorities for confinement of Sarat Chandar Bose.³⁶⁴ Jinnah was such a staunch nationalist who helped every association or person who struggled for the freedom of India. He shielded Bhagat Singh and his associate regardless of the reality that he disliked illegal techniques to achieve independence. Jinnah condemned the British rule in India for creating a situation where people have to undermine law to register protest against the injustice of government.³⁶⁵ His care for these revolutionaries proved not only his nationalism but also optimistic modernization and love to constitutionalism.

Dissimilar to the bulk of the Indian writers, Ajeet judged that, Jinnah had such a pure heart that any Congress leader failed to create any fear factor or to cultivate biases for them in his heart.³⁶⁶ She thinks that formerly Jinnah was one of the prominent leaders of Congress and when Congress distorted her principles in 1920 that was why he departed it. Still, for next almost two decades he carried on functioning in the pathway of construction of a joint border in opposition to the British administration for the emancipation of India with Congress over the foundation of Hindu-Muslim unity. However Jinnah received an unconstructive reply with disgrace from the Congress. She has mentioned an occasion where over-confident Patel sought to imprison Jinnah.³⁶⁷ In her analysis, unreasonable and irrational behavior of Congress leaders pushed Jinnah to achieve Pakistan. The author has presented extracts from two

³⁶⁴ Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah..* 57.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*,182.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*,57.

³⁶⁷ 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.

significant leaders of the Congress, Abul Kalam Azad and Sarojini Naidu, who admitted the inequitable outlook of Congress on the way to League and Jinnah.³⁶⁸ There were some Indian authors who used to give credit to Congress leadership for participating in creation of Pakistan like M. N. Roy.³⁶⁹ She has mentioned that the British were in hurry to leave India and Congress leadership was in hurry to take the power thus, they made great contribution in creating Pakistan.³⁷⁰

Ajeet has recognized that Jinnah was a hard-core adversary of the British rule in India throughout his political life. He was a nationalist, an autonomist, and a big supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity. He strove hard with massive gallantry for the welfare of people of India in the Assembly, rejected any designation from the British and fought for the freedom of India for four decades of his political life.³⁷¹ Ajeet has judged that Jinnah was the man who opposed extensively the plan of division and solitary required justice and protected the constitutional civil rights of the Muslim in the undivided India. Equally once Pakistan was founded, Jinnah supported the similar privileges for the Hindu. The writer has mentioned a lot of events, for example she has narrated an occasion, "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".³⁷² Therefore, Jinnah was a keen supporter of the right of minorities without taking into account that which community was in majority. It has evidently revealed that he was an anti-communalist and unbiased leader.

Ajeet portrayed the persona of Jinnah in a positive way. She has tried to respond to numerous issues related to Jinnah's political life. However, her opinion about Jinnah's

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 211.

³⁶⁹ M. N. Roy *Men I Met* (New Delhi: Lalvani publishers, 1968.), 33.

³⁷⁰ Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*, 211.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 21. G. Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah: the story of a Nation* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1967) 170-171.

³⁷² Jawed quoted this event from M. S. M. Sharma, *Peeps into Pakistan* (Patna: Pustak Bhandar, 1954), 236.

contribution in formation of Pakistan appeared shallow and has contained on truthful basis. The factual data might have been forged by the author to prove her thesis. Majority of the authors have asserted that Pakistan was impossible to be established without Jinnah.³⁷³ Ajeet has stated that Jinnah was unhappy over the making of Pakistan and for the support of her argument she cited the narrations of two events which might have been based on the narrator's assumptions.³⁷⁴ She has tried to portray as if Jinnah was regretful over the making of Pakistan and sought to be joined up with India. The statement appeared to be founded on a few individual understandings rather than actuality of the facts. Most of the authors have judged that Jinnah happily took credit of making Pakistan rather than to be unhappy about his ultimate accomplishment. Kuldip Nayar a well-known Indian author himself met with many persons who participated in transfer of power of India, conformed that Jinnah was extremely pleased over the establishment of Pakistan.³⁷⁵ After the establishment

³⁷³Sikandar. 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. Lal. Bahadur, *The Muslim League: Its History, Activities and Achievements* (Lahore: BookTraders,1979) ,358; R. Majumdar, ed., *Pakistan: Jinnah to the Present Day*, Vol. I, (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1998) 186; V. B. Kulkarni, *Pakistan: Its Origin & Relations with India* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 1988) 87.

³⁷⁴ For instance she claims that, "He [Jinnah] cried in 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". 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.'" 243-44 At another place she quotes an incident in these words. "Jinnah poured out his unhappiness, anger and agony before his most favorite 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'. 232.

³⁷⁵ 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

of Pakistan, Jinnah at times, publically showed his pride over the creation of Pakistan. Many eyewitnesses showed Jinnah's unhappiness and sadness over the sufferings of the people after partition. Fatima Jinnah the closest person of Jinnah has revealed that he was very sad and depressed over the sufferings of the Muslim refugees in India and most of the time his eyes were wet with tears.³⁷⁶

Ajeet has completed a widespread examination of the traits and the accomplishments of Jinnah. The author has attempted to establish with data that Jinnah was a nationalist and liberal leader, who endeavored so much for the Hindu-Muslim unity and for the freedom of India for four decades of his political life. Yet, he was required to change his line of action and plan by the awkward manner of Congress leaders. However, the author showed her biased attitude by depicting him secular and unhappy over the creation of Pakistan. Both of these allegations proved wrong through evidence thus the research is done with pre-concluded mind. Despite the all limitations and shortcomings of the author, the study is worthy for researchers as she has consulted mainly Indian sources. She has utilized primary sources like; official files, official publication, proceedings and debates, newspapers, journal and books.

with Jinnah, about his determination 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", Kuldip Nayar, *Wall at Wagah. India- Pakistan Relations* (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2003). 22-23; L.H. Hiranandani; Forward, in Sheshrao Chavan. *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: The Great Enigma* (Delhi: Author's Press. 2006).xxii.

³⁷⁶ Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, ed. Sharif al Mujahid(Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1987), 11.

4.2- S. R. Sharma's Analytical Approach:

S. R. Sharma's *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Hero or a Villain* is a comprehensive scrutiny of the nature and persona of Jinnah.³⁷⁷ The work under examination has immense magnitude because of the linkages created by the writer, with manners and persona of Jinnah and also has established linkages of the significant happenings with the life of Jinnah. The writer has acknowledged the unique features of Jinnah's personality like; bravery, firm resolution, zealous law follower, broadminded and patriot.

Sharma in contrast to a lot of the Indian authors has reflected that Jinnah's accomplishments have demonstrated that Jinnah was a learned and cultured gentleman. Sharma has given details about his childhood and early times of his youth in this way. Young Jinnah was very different from average kids he had learnt from his experiences. He was very composed and calm and disciplined person from the childhood. His decision making power was very amazing at that time too.³⁷⁸ The writer has recognized Jinnah as a gentleman of high level, keeping the persona of guidance.³⁷⁹ Jinnah had amazing capacity of uphold hard mental labor and to clutch the most complicated legal and constitutional difficulties and had strong judgment authority.³⁸⁰ Jinnah was daring and audacious, regimented, punctilious vigilant, practical and honest.³⁸¹ Jinnah was enthusiastically attracted towards the games particularly cricket.³⁸² He considered cricket as an honorable, neat and clean game. In last phase of freedom struggle Jinnah explained the difference between his politics

³⁷⁷ S. R. Sharma, ed.. *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Hero or a Villain* (Jaipur: Sublime Publications. 2005). S. R. Sharma is a historian and expert of ancient Indian history.

³⁷⁸ Ibid..14.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.. 25.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 14.

³⁸¹ Ibid., 64.

³⁸² Hector Bolitho. *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (London: John Murray, 1954), 5

and Congress camp politics in the term of games like this, "The Congress plays marbles. I want them to stand up and play cricket."³⁸³

Sharma has acknowledged that Jinnah was friendly towards the Hindus generally. Writer quotes some examples which revealed Jinnah's friendly relationship with Hindus like his butler was a Hindu, remained at his home till partition, he had many Hindu friends and also many of his clients were Hindu. All these examples show that he had no bias against Hindus. His opposition to the leaders of Congress was due to the animosity and grudges of them in opposition to the welfare of Muslims.³⁸⁴

Sharma added that Jinnah had deep and sound judgment, unambiguous insight and intellectual consciousness about history.³⁸⁵ Jinnah was morally upright and his political approach was very straightforward. He was clear-cut over his principles.³⁸⁶

Sharma has stated that, "In spite of provocations and temptations, Jinnah remained an upholder of political morality and presciently obeyed the dictates of his conscience."³⁸⁷

In Sharma's investigation, Jinnah was genuine boss of Muslims in India and his conduct was far from communalism, instead his approach was liberal. His chief aim was to save the Muslims from brutal Hindu majority and to create a state where Muslims could live without fright and discrimination. The writer also rejects the other Indian writers claim that Jinnah was communal leader according to him it was only a false charge levels against Jinnah. He had nothing to do with communalism. His politics was noble and for the best interests of people in general and particular to Muslims. "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

³⁸³ S. R. Sharma. *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Hero or a Villain*. 29.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 58.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 68.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 75.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 141.

of these purposes. His outlook was much wider and his political thinking far too liberal.”³⁸⁸

Sharma’s study of Jinnah’s persona has been pretty impartial. He fairly has disclosed the extremely capable guidance of Jinnah and his decision. The writer’s standard examination has disclosed that nature had well equipped Jinnah not only with insight and vision but also with deep understanding of reality and law of nature. The approach of the writer is exceptionally contrary to the bulk of the Indian historians. The assessment has also revealed a lot of remarkable features of Jinnah’s persona such as affection for cricket, his knowledge about the game’s principles and code and his affection for horses. The writer has created relativity with these small stuffs and enlightened the reader with diverse qualities of Jinnah’s nature. Sharma also has verified the details that Jinnah was Hindu friendly leader and a lot of Jinnah’s companions were Hindus. Yet, contrary to a lot of historians, Sharma has claimed the affable connection between British and Jinnah.³⁸⁹ Sharma has not provided any footnotes, endnotes and bibliography in the manuscript and definitely, that can be considered a major drawback as Sharma has not consulted the official data and a general reader as well as a researcher cannot verify the information. The information has been presented in a form of a commentary rather than a research work based on references to be cross-checked.

³⁸⁸ Ibid. 348.

³⁸⁹ 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.

4.3- J. J. Pal's Analytical Approach:

The subsequently significant assessment in the kind of Indian historian is that of, J. J. Pal's *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*.³⁹⁰ It is a significant evaluation of Jinnah and his contribution in the foundation of Pakistan. The author has shown his biasness from the very beginning when he considered that the British have favored the Muslims. He tagged Muslim nationalists like, Sir Syed Ahmed Kan and his followers as mean, selfish and with narrow motives.³⁹¹ The author has put the blame of the partition of India on Muslims and did not utter even a single harsh word about the Hindu revivalist movement and their zealous and fanatic leaders who were trying to convert India into a Ram Raj where no one except Hindus were allowed to live. He has stated that, "It was the height of the mean Muslim mentality that they preferred slavery under British rather than to be a minority under self-government."³⁹²

J. J. Pal has considered that Jinnah was an ambitious, dogmatic, clever, and domineering person.³⁹³ Similarly, pal has also regarded Jinnah as shrewd, bigheaded, self-centered and upper-class. The writer's believed that Jinnah's single-minded commitment had a lion share in the making of Pakistan.³⁹⁴ While explaining Jinnah manner towards congress leaders the writer tagged Jinnah with these words, "arrogant and aristocratic behavior towards the Congress leaders"³⁹⁵ shows writer evil intention and sinister motive. On the one hand it is an attempt to depict Jinnah in dark colour and on the other hand it is an attempt to play with history. Historical record reveals that Jinnah whole heartedly chased Congress camp to settle Hindu Muslim problems but on the other hand Congress camp never responded with same dedication and

³⁹⁰ J. J. Pal, *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Delhi: Sidharam Publications, 1983) He is a historian and book under review is published Ph.D. Dissertation.

³⁹¹ Ibid, 18.

³⁹² Ibid, 19.

³⁹³ Ibid, 148.

³⁹⁴ Ibid, 142.

³⁹⁵ Ibid, 142.

commitment. When Jinnah approached Gandhi to settle problems he was responded in mysterious manner. Gandhi was waiting for guidance from God.³⁹⁶ When Jinnah approached Nehru to settle the issues he was responded with taunt and questioned about his right to represent Muslims.³⁹⁷

Pal has indicated Jinnah's command, his insight, strength of mind, and constant conviction as a big force behind Pakistan. However he has criticized Jinnah's shrewdness and demanding and tyrannical outlook. The author has shown his biasness by judging Jinnah with the glasses of Nehru. It also shows that the author has no independent point of view. Nehru and Mountbatten had such a deep bond of friendship with each other that Mountbatten before his meeting with Jinnah consulted with Nehru and asked for some advice.³⁹⁸ With these undeniable facts, how the author could claimed that British were favoring the Muslims.

While creating comparison between the personalities of Jinnah with Gandhi, Pal showed observable sway towards Gandhi. He has been deeply overwhelmed by the persona and the political opinions Gandhi and is not prepared to admit someone including Jinnah as an individual having more sophisticated and superior qualities than those of Gandhi. The writer has explained, "By the beginning of 1945, Jinnah had fully matured as a first rate politician with remarkable insight, foresight and cunningness."³⁹⁹ The writer's statement about Jinnah not only shows his hatred toward Jinnah but also his incompetence to write history according to rules. He totally put aside the historical record of Jinnah's political career of last forty year and start writing about according to his desire. On the other hand his words for Gandhi such as

³⁹⁶ Syed Sarifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (Karachi: East and West Publishing Company, 1977), 90-95.

³⁹⁷ S. Gopal ed. *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. VIII. (New Delhi: Nehru foundation. 1976), 119, 121.

³⁹⁸ J. J. Pal, *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*, 148

³⁹⁹ Ibid. 113.

“the greatest Hindu leader, the true spirit of Congress”⁴⁰⁰ reveal the frame of mind of the writer.

A lot of writers have considered that Jinnah attained the support of masses prior to the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. Like A.G. Noorani has verified that Jinnah was a leader of masses yet before the arrival of Gandhi into the Indian political arena.⁴⁰¹ Similarly Jaswant Singh, in his investigation has exposed the real purpose of Jinnah to meet Gandhi at Jinnah’s own residence was that during his previous meeting which was happened to be at Gandhi’s residence, was spoiled by Gandhi’s non-serious followers. Thus, because of the incongruous atmosphere of Gandhi’s residence for painstaking discussions, Jinnah insisted that meeting should be held at his residence.⁴⁰² On many occasions, Pal has tainted the truth like his opinion about Jinnah’s title Quaid-i-Azam and he has given the credit of this title to Gandhi.⁴⁰³ While according to the investigation of Sharif-al-Mujahid, Jinnah was bestowed the title of Quaid-i-Azam by the Muslims.⁴⁰⁴ Mujahid evidently has revealed that it was Maulana Ahmad Saeed, Secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind, who first conferred this title for Jinnah in his speech at Jamia Masjid Muradabad on 7 December 1936.⁴⁰⁵

Pal has confessed that Jinnah was a person of distinctive character however he has no logic to be unfair with Jinnah and stated that Gandhi was the superior leader in contrast with Jinnah. Pal could not veil his partiality towards Gandhi. He has passed judgments on Gandhi in an extremely flexible manner while his criticism towards Jinnah has always been extremely harsh.⁴⁰⁶ The author has used very harsh language

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid. 113.

⁴⁰¹ A. G. Noorani, *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle* (Karachi: Oxford University Press. 2010). 1.

⁴⁰² Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah :India, Partition And Independence* (New Delhi: Rupa.2009) 307.

⁴⁰³ J.J. Pal, *Jinnah And The Creation of Pakistan*, 114.

⁴⁰⁴ Sharif-al-Mujahid, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, Studies in Interpretation* (Karachi: Quaid-e-Azam Academy, 1987), 419-436.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.,429.

⁴⁰⁶ J. J. Pal, *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*, 152.

not only about Jinnah but also about every other person who had tried to save the Muslims from Hindus brutal rule. Contrary to the author's claims, historians not only from Pakistan but also from the world have acknowledged the political persona of Jinnah and his contributions to save the world from human crisis in sub-continent by making Pakistan. On the other hand, the Muslims who were trapped by the Indian leaders with words at the time of the partition were forced to live in great fear and pain.

Undoubtedly, Pal similar to several other Indian historians, is not prepared to offer any leader a superior position than Gandhi. The writer's pre-concluded hypothesis has badly affected the nature of the study. The study is full of false assumptions by the author. The author has followed the stereotype narrative of Indian school of historians and has frequently not viewed the political accomplishment of leaders rationally. Due to the misinterpretation of the facts, the study could not be considered as a worthy research. It seems that study has been done only to prove a typical narrative which could not be done without hiding some facts.

4.4- B. R. Nanda's Thematic and Analytical Approach:

Another significant work is the biographical study of the creator of Pakistan by B. R. Nanda with the title of *Road to Pakistan: The life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah*.⁴⁰⁷ The writer has perceived that Jinnah embarked on his political voyage as a patriot and moderate leader, who strove hard to unify Hindus and Muslims as a united front against the British. However, after the 1937 elections, he was completely transformed and assumed totally different role in freedom struggle. He realized the increased fear and chaos among the Hindus and the Muslims and lastly struggled for

⁴⁰⁷ B. R. Nanda, *Road to Pakistan: The Life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010).

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.

attaining Pakistan by separating India. Nanda has believed that from the initial years of his political expedition, Jinnah being a patriotic leader attempted for united front of Hindu and Muslim against the British until the elections of 1937, however he did not succeed.

Therefore Jinnah, not being frightened of the previous incidents, tried his best for the united Hindu-Muslim front in opposition to the British. Yet in 1937 election campaign, Jinnah sought to collaborate with Congress. On the other hand, Congress headship particularly Congress President of that time Nehru, was not ready to cooperate with League and Jinnah. Even he taunted Jinnah publically.⁴⁰⁸ The writer's point of view is that Jinnah took up a fresh technique and a fresher plan in Lucknow session of League in 1937. He was now determined to involve religion into politics.⁴⁰⁹

There are so many historians who like Ajeet Jawed have revealed that Gandhi, not Jinnah, was the one who mixed religion with politics to attract masses. On the other hand, it was Jinnah who resentfully criticized that process for attaining any political objective. She has also cited together the statements of Jinnah and Gandhi that revealed that Jinnah by no means attempted to utilize religious card for political reasons.⁴¹⁰ Eventually Nanda has confessed that formation of Pakistan was the supreme accomplishment of Jinnah. According to writer partition's legacy is still chasing in diverse and painful manner.⁴¹¹

There are so many historians who have totally an opposite view. However, the historical facts have revealed that it was not Jinnah; it was Gandhi who by mixing

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., 330.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 218.

⁴¹⁰ 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.

⁴¹¹ B. R. Nanda, *Road to Pakistan: The Life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, 333.

politics with religious sentiments increased the tension between the Hindus and the Muslims during the freedom struggle which has been continued between the two states of India and Pakistan. Hindu-Muslim riots in India during the 70 years of independence have proved that Jinnah was right in understanding of Congress and Hindu mentality. Nanda in his scrutiny of the procedures of freedom struggle remained shielding the Congress headship. The work has shown that writer was extremely under the pressure of Congress headship and attempted solidly to rationalize each error and every fault of the Congress throughout the freedom movement.

Nanda is complaining regarding the huge transformation in Jinnah's approach towards the Congress and Muslim League's amalgamation into it. So far as a historian, Nanda must know that Jinnah's denial to stick together with Congress ministry on the condition of Congress resulted in the inclusion League into the Congress which could not be feasible since League was an autonomous party like Congress.⁴¹² Congress leadership dealt with Jinnah as an inferior while Congress associates were also protesting against the tyrannical manner of Congress.⁴¹³ The writer also has attempted to form Congress headship verdict in this manner. Vallabhai Patel was forced by "league of princes" and Nehru was forced "mental alliance between British officers and League's leaders" to agree to partition.⁴¹⁴

The explanation of Nanda must not be approved since historical facts have exposed a totally diverse account of the narrative. Numerous historians have revealed with the details that Congress mind-set participated as a leading factor in the division of India.

⁴¹² Ibid., 319-20.

⁴¹³ K.K. Aziz, *Muslims Under Congress Rule, 1937-1939*, Vol.1 (Islamabad: NCHCR, 1978), 387.

⁴¹⁴ Nanda, *Road to Pakistan*. 324.

It was Congress headship which decline to offer appropriate influence to League and that required the League leaders to explore others alternatives.⁴¹⁵

The study is an attempt to impose an assumed concept on historical record thus it is an attempt to mold historical record according to the hypotheses. It seems that the author had a purpose of writing the book with the mindset of novel writing not history writing. The writer is beneath the unfathomable sway of Congress leadership and purpose of writing this book is to provide a justification of Congress headships. Thus the study is not worthy for a common reader. It is only recommended for researcher of history.

4.5- Rafiq Zakria's Analytical Approach:

The subsequently significant work is Rafiq Zakria's *The Man Who Divided India. An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath* is a short life story of Jinnah along with social-political history of last 60 years of sub-continent.⁴¹⁶ From the title of the book it seems, that the writer holds an extremely harsh approach about the character, political opinions and principles of Jinnah. In the title, he has declared the conclusion of his investigation. In the preamble of the study writer discloses the reason behind the study on Jinnah.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁵Seervai 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.

⁴¹⁶ Rafiq. Zakria. *The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2001). He had a distinguished career in fields of law, education, journalism, politics and Islamic Studies. He is the author of many books.

⁴¹⁷ 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

Zakaria has assumed that Jinnah disconnected himself from Khilafat movement since he did not wish to discomfort the British and furthermore he had no space for creed in life.⁴¹⁸ M. Naeem Qureshi has verified with historical evidences that Jinnah was also a great supporter of Khilafat movement however being a practical and pragmatic person; he had a strong objection over the methods of Khilafat movement.⁴¹⁹ Ajeet Jawed's study has shown that Jinnah was the arch opponent of British rule in India and similarly British also have considered Jinnah as die-hard enemy of the British rule in India.⁴²⁰ British high command attempted so many times to conquer Jinnah but failed to do so.⁴²¹ Zakria has confessed that Jinnah embarked on his political profession as open-minded and patriotic leader and attempted firm for the Hindu-Muslim united front but met with failure. Subsequently, he came back from England once for the short term withdrawal from politics he returned with fresh communalist

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?, ix.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 24.

⁴¹⁹ 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.

⁴²⁰ Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*, 59.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 21.

politics for the sake of personal motive. He turned to be an anti Hindu leader and increased the tension between Muslims and Hindus for his political purpose.⁴²²

The author has leveled too much severe charges against Jinnah and tried his best to present him as an evil genius and power seeker but failed to justify the Congress leadership for their inability to stop Jinnah from achieving his objective. It seems childish that for the sake of self-assumed conclusion the author has totally neglected the truth and put his head into the sand of imagination like ostrich. Finally Zakria seems to be forced to acknowledge the talent of Jinnah to put in order the League and to convert it into mass party. He also has confessed that because of the superior skills and talent of Jinnah, British and Congress were required to declare that League and Jinnah were the sole spokesperson of the Muslims in India. The writer believed that Jinnah achieved that for his triumph over Congress and Gandhi. He explained that, "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."⁴²³

The writer also held Jinnah responsible for the increasing the reactions of Hindus and for exciting their extreme dislike towards Muslims. The author believed that because of the strategies of Jinnah, Hindus felt compelled to launch an anti-Muslim campaign in India as a response.⁴²⁴ However, the author could not dig out the reasons of Hindu-Muslim clashes throughout the centuries and Hindu clashes with other communities as well.

⁴²² Rafiq. Zakria, *The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath*. 221.

⁴²³ Ibid., 224.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 228.

Zakaria has described that the splitting up of India and the establishment of Pakistan did not alleviate the sufferings and miseries of the Muslims.⁴²⁵ He also held Jinnah accountable for the faults of later Pakistani leadership and all wickedness in Pakistan.⁴²⁶ Even though the writer is crystal clear that formation of Pakistan was an utmost attainment of Jinnah, on the other hand Jinnah was also accountable for each suffering and every ache to India and its people in the eyes of writer.⁴²⁷

Even if Zakaria has admitted that Jinnah was the leader of unique skills yet he tried his best to present Jinnah as the only reason of suffering, miseries, agony and pain of the people of subcontinent generally and the Muslims particularly. The author himself has declared that his investigation was already decided in preface. His analysis gives the impression to be a personality annihilation of Jinnah.⁴²⁸ The author is not trustworthy due to the manipulating, maneuvering and distorting historical evidences. It was classic example of misconceived historical data. For the sake of pre-concluded hypothesis, the author has portrayed that Jinnah did not participate in Khilafat movement due to his aristocratic nature which could not afford to defy the establishment and by no means required to have conflict with the police. The writer has stated that, "More than earning the displeasure of British, what really kept Jinnah away from this [Khilafat] movement was its religious character which was at the time anathema to him?"⁴²⁹

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 230.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 231.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 219.

⁴²⁸ 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).

⁴²⁹ Rafiq Zakaria, *The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath*, 24.

On the other hand Zakaria has completely ignored the numerous events when Jinnah bluntly quarreled with the authorities on the basis of his morality. At one occasion, he discolored the goodbye Party of Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay as he was unpopular among the people of Bombay and they did not desire to honour him with a goodbye party. That was bureaucratic stage show which was planned to demonstrate popularity among the people for Willingdon. Jinnah came into in the hall without any shield leading his follower from the front and had eye to eye conflict with the authorities. To acknowledge the services of Jinnah for the people and country people had constructed a hall 'Jinnah's people hall' in opposition to British authority in 1918. The existence of that monument is a reminder of golden era of Jinnah's popular politics.⁴³⁰

4.6- Lal Bahadur's Analytical Approach:

One of the significant works of Indian historian is Lal Bahadur's *The Muslim League: It's History, Activities and Achievements*.⁴³¹ Although the work has not mainly focused the persona of Jinnah and his political life though, study is focused on League, its origin, its development and its culmination. Thus the author had to study Jinnah and his politics and his political ideology and strategies. The author has admitted that Jinnah was a person of high attributes. The writer has described that Jinnah was a famous leader at national level during the primitive phase of his political life who twisted towards separation. The writer has explained that, "Jinnah was a nationalist leader in his early political life but exit from Congress led him in the

⁴³⁰ A.G. Noorani, *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 27-33; Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, 78; Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, 60.

⁴³¹ Lal Bahadur, *The Muslim League: Its History, Activities and Achievements* (Lahore: Book Traders: 1979). Lal Bahadur, M.A His, M.A Pol. Sc. L.L.B. P.H.D. Professor of History and Political Science in Agra Collage Agra.

direction of separation". The writer also has confessed that Jinnah's contribution in the formation of Pakistan was huge enough.

Bahadur has confessed that Jinnah renovated League during the last phase of freedom struggle. His leadership and charisma gave new energy and life to the organization.⁴³²

Formation of Pakistan was a 'grand achievement'⁴³³ of League under the guidance of Jinnah. The writer's chief narrative about Jinnah's persona and political ideas is that Jinnah was one of the prominent nationalist leaders during the formative year of his journey in politics. He deserted the Congress when it turned toward the unconstitutional methods of Gandhi instead of constitutional methods. Finally he turned out to be a hard-core separatist who split India to create a new country for his Muslim community.⁴³⁴

According to the author, Jinnah was such a unique personality who could turn the table at any time and became victorious from very weak position. He was such a unique genius that he offered a new sense of fascination to Indian Muslims. He was the one who coined the idea of Pakistan but he was the person who could rightly be called the creator of Pakistan.⁴³⁵ The writer's attitude is partial toward Jinnah and League and he has shown his biases time and again. He has declared his purpose of study from the start.⁴³⁶

⁴³² In his analysis, Bahadur 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 Muslims 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.

⁴³³ Ibid. 358.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 176-77.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 178.

⁴³⁶ I have been guided by the desire of finding the secret of success of an organization that did not make any great sacrifice for the fulfillment of its ambition and the achievement of its goal. There are many in this country, even among the educated, who think that the

For the sake of his ill-will hypothesis Bahadur has contrasted League and Jinnah with Nazi party and Hitler of Germany.⁴³⁷ It is totally unfair to tag League and Jinnah with Nazi party and Hitler because the ideology and philosophy, party composition, agenda and strategy of both parties were poles apart. The situation and social setup in India and Germany was totally changed.⁴³⁸ The author has imposed sever objections over Jinnah's position and authority in League.⁴³⁹ He misunderstood the love and faith of the Muslims on Jinnah. However *Fuhrer* and *Quaid-i-Azam* both titles are translated in English with same meaning but that did not mean that application of both the titles can be possible with same motive and purpose. Historical record has revealed that *Quaid-i-Azam* was the only title which is accepted by Jinnah as token of love from his followers.⁴⁴⁰

The author has severely criticized Jinnah's power and position in League and tagged him with Hitler however he has totally ignored the huge differences between the both personalities and their behaviors which is a unfair act being a historian. On the other hand, many historians who have different views about Jinnah and the League like, Waheed-uz-Zaman has claimed that League's constitution has given Jinnah huge powers but despite the huge powers, Jinnah worked like a true democrat.⁴⁴¹ Bahadur

Muslim League in India owed its existence to mere selfishness of some of its high-lights and that its success was the result of their personal ambition alone..i.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.. 351.

⁴³⁸ M. Rafique Afzal, *A History of the All India Muslim League: 1906-1947*(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), William L Shirer, *Rise and Fall of Third Reich: a History of Nazi Germany*(New York: Simon &Schuster, 1959).

⁴³⁹ Lal. Bahadur, *The Muslim League*, 178

⁴⁴⁰ Shams -ul- Hasan, ...*plan MR. Jinnah* (Karachi: Al-Shams, 1976). 77-79.

⁴⁴¹ 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

not only has criticized Jinnah but also has criticized Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and held them responsible for the creation of Pakistan. He argues that Sir Syed was the one who engraved the preaching of separatism on Muslim minds and also loyalty to British. Jinnah established a new homeland for Muslims by cutting the India, his own fatherland. And both were friendly towards British. There would be no Jinnah without Sir Syed although Jinnah's achievement overshadowed Sir Syed contribution.⁴⁴² The author has used very biased approach. He has studied Jinnah's political career with pre-concluded hypothesis. To prove his hypothesis he has twisted and turned the facts. This work is not worthy for an academic work. The author has heavily relied on the Indian sources.

4.7- R. Majumdar's Analytical Approach:

R. Majumdar has adopted analytical and descriptive approach to explore Jinnah persona and politics in his work with the name of *Pakistan: Jinnah to the Present Day*.⁴⁴³ Author has revealed that Jinnah was a responsible and highly civilized person who never wanted to go against law due to his high civic sense. He was a paramount freedom fighter who forty years of political of struggle always remain within the line of law. Author has acknowledged Jinnah political strategy and praised his skill. According to him Jinnah was the person who cultivated the style of fighting with the weapon of logic and reasoning for the freedom of his homeland and eventually

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.

⁴⁴² Lal. Bahadar, *The Muslim League*, 179.

⁴⁴³ R. Majumdar, ed., *Pakistan: Jinnah to Present Day* Vol. 1,(New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1998). He is a well-known author.

registered his name as victor in the history book by creating the new homeland for Muslims in India.⁴⁴⁴

Author has highlighted on Jinnah political strategy by explaining his working manner. According to him Jinnah was the pioneer of particular style of political fighting were ruled could be sobered, composed, decent and well-mannered against rulers despite heated debates in Legislative Assembly and battles of brains. He was very intelligent, smart energetic and witty according to the need of time during formal and in formal debates in courts and at the assembly floor and he was equally passionate challenger of any form of cruelty, inequality, antagonism and defiance of basic human rights. Many people and especially students of law and politics used to visit those places only to listen him he was enthusiastically loved by them.⁴⁴⁵

Majumdar has explored that Jinnah was man of his words stick to the moral values, fearless and unflinching persona who was always ready to take difficulties and opposition for the sake of principles. He had always given priority to principles and never cares about the 'popularity graph' and need of time; he was always ready to pay the price for not compromising on principles. He always did what consider right no matter who was his opposition no one can stop him.⁴⁴⁶ Author has compare Jinnah with Hazart Umer bin Abdulaziz known as Umer sani for his high moral standards. He also narrates many event which show Jinnah set his principles on high moral standards.⁴⁴⁷ Author has also mentioned many offers by several British government persons from governs to British Prime minister but failed to buy Jinnah integrity.⁴⁴⁸

Author has compared Jinnah with Gandhi and praised Jinnah honesty and integrity also mention some event which reveals Jinnah was highly honest person not only in

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 21.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 23.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 29.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 28.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 22.

private life in fact he treated everyone honestly throughout his political career. He never tried to gain popularity through cheap manner. His public life is an open and clear to everyone. He had never hid his mistake under the cover of inner light. Author has compared him with Abraham Lincoln due to the passion and faith for their cause. He had cultivated cool temperament thus despite worst provocation he never loses his temper. According to author if anyone want to understand Jinnah then he should equipped with 'reason'. It is quite amazing analysis of any author about Jinnah one has impose any condition to understand Jinnah before this. By mentioning Khilafat movement and Jinnah opposition to it author is surprise that Jinnah was remain popular among people despites his opposition to some 'popular' movement.⁴⁴⁹ Many authors work on this aspect of Jinnah and prove that Jinnah was only against the methodology of movement not against the movement.⁴⁵⁰

Majumdar considered that Jinnah had strong believes in democratic norm. He never left the line of law thus he was never put behind the bars despite the hardest opponent of British Government. He fought for Pakistan through democratic process. He was solitary general only equipped with logic and reason fought most difficult fight of his life with most power enemies and despite all the difficulties and obstacles remain unbeaten and won safe homeland for his followers.⁴⁵¹ Author has conclude that Hindus and Muslims had always deep differences from culture to social and from religion to politics thus these difference along with Jinnah's dynamic and uncompromising leadership constructed Pakistan which is the second largest Islamic state at the time of its creation.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 29.

⁴⁵⁰ M. Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British India. The Politics of the Khilafat Movement, 1918-1924* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009). 66-67.

⁴⁵¹ R. Majumdar, ed., *Pakistan: Jinnah to Present Day*, 29.

⁴⁵² Ibid., 86.

Majumdar has depicted Jinnah in optimistic manner. He has consulted Indian and Pakistani sources along with British. His language is fine and rich. He has compared Jinnah with amazing personalities of the world and finds commonalities between them. He has explored some unique feature of Jinnah personality. He has used his sources along his analysis very well. His work is not only for the students of history but also for the reader of fine analysis.

4.8- V. B. Kulkarni's Analytical Approach:

Another important work on Jinnah by Indian is V. B. Kulkarni's *Pakistan: Its Origin & Relations with India*.⁴⁵³ Although it is a general study but in one chapter author also present an analysis on the persona and politics of Jinnah. According to author Jinnah was a patriotic and hard core nationalist leader. He has acknowledged the great virtue of Jinnah persona by considering him the 'gifted parliamentarian', eminent lawyer, hard core constitutionalist and colour with liberal ideas.⁴⁵⁴ According to author after the arrival of Gandhi in Indian political arena with his magical power of influence on people and capturing the huge command on Congress Jinnah find himself misfit in that situation. His dream of sitting on paramount position in Indian political arena were shatters thus being an egoist person he had chooses the other path were he could dominate but that path lead to the partition. According to author Jinnah's 'personal ambition' force him to create Pakistan to show his talent to Gandhi and Nehru.⁴⁵⁵

Kulkarni like most of the Indian writer presented and projected the narrative of Congress leaders who had some personal prejudice against Jinnah which also show in their writing. They tried to compete him but they were far behind him and could not bent him despite the combine effort of them thus they started an especial complain to

⁴⁵³ V. B. Kulkarni. *Pakistan: Its Origin and its Relations with India* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers private Limited, 1988). He is a renowned historian.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

defame him and for that purpose they forged false story about him which have lost their credibility after the open up of historical record of evidence. Quite amazingly he quoted only Congress's leaders. However in India writer use to fellow that path due to the weak tradition of pure history writing in India. If author only careful read the letters of Jinnah to Gandhi and Nehru and their reply than perhaps his analysis might be different.

Author has severely charged against Jinnah for personal ego he was creating so much trouble and finally ended with the partition but many time author himself quoted Nehru comment against Jinnah and League full of arrogance but author did commented on Nehru arrogant behavior and on the other side at that he was only angry on Jinnah response towards the Congress leaders.⁴⁵⁶ However carefully reading of the author analysis has revealed that he made whole argument by hiding and twisting the facts however historical record is open to everyone evidence show what is really happen at that time. Thus truth needs no explanation.

Author also has the opinion that British were supporting Jinnah and argument is again build on false story. British never supported him in reality they were deadly against Jinnah and tried to appease Congress leaders on every time against him. Congress leaders spread this story to cut Jinnah size but historical record reveal who is friend of British and who is foe. Here again author hide facts. Author is in deep influence of Congress leader and he tried his best to defend them and defame Jinnah. His approach is biased and there is no objectivity in the work. His words and tone both are harsh towards Jinnah. He relies heavily on Congress leaders writing which severely damage the worth of the work. He uses tales and gossips to build his argument.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., 68.

The Indian historians have maintained a paradoxical opinion about Jinnah but diverged from every other. They are bigoted in their line of action towards Jinnah and moreover they judged him as a nationalist or a communalist. They are revealing the partial reality about Jinnah and defaming Jinnah and his contributions in freedom movement. Fundamentally, most of them have explored Jinnah because of their personal specific objectives and ultimately they seemed concerned in gratifying their own objectives. For instance Ajeet was a daughter of an opponent of Gandhi therefore she attempts to depict Jinnah as a substitution of Gandhi in Indian political arena and therefore her depiction of Jinnah seems exceptionally optimistic. Likewise Zakaria who was influenced by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was comprehensively prejudiced against Jinnah and prior to inscribe the book, he made some definite hypothesis that Jinnah was an irreligious person and that he was exclusively accountable for the splitting up of India. This type of approach poses a question mark on the significance of systematic, rational and logical research.

CHAPTER- 5

INDIAN NON-HISTORIANS ON JINNAH

The fundamental notion of this chapter is to systematically interpret the evaluation of Indian non historians about the individuality and political traits of Jinnah. The terminology of non-historian here is referred to an individual, who did not get guidance for writing history and despite that he has created works of history. Indian non-historians have no fixed opinion regarding Jinnah. Jinnah zealously endeavored for the unified front of Hindus and Muslims in opposition to British rule in India from the beginning of his political expedition. Jinnah was the prominent leader of the people even during the initial period of his political career. Jinnah wanted a rightful share of power in India for him and Muslims which was not guaranteed by Congress thus he was forced to create Pakistan.

The Congress leadership was not co-operative with Jinnah therefore; the awkward approach of Congress mentors was the main factor that pushed Jinnah on the way to the making of Pakistan. Gandhi, because of his techniques and plans increased the gulf between the two main communities namely the Hindus and the Muslims that paved the way for split in India.

Indian Non-Historians have produced a diverse form of work while working on the personality and politics of Jinnah. Some writers have examined the character and the nature of Jinnah and his political career with logic and legal mind. On the other hand, some writers have produced works on Jinnah to pay tribute to their favorite leaders. They could not accept the reality and still insist on living in utopian world. They are deeply emotional while working on Jinnah thus there is less objectivity in their writings. However, some of them have produced very fine analysis and have exposed some unique aspects of Jinnah's political life.

A. G. Noorani's *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle* is a logical scrutiny of personalities of Jinnah and Tilak, their thinking process and their contribution for the freedom of India from the British.⁴⁵⁷ S. K. Majumdar's *Jinnah and Gandhi. Their Role in India's Quest for Freedom* is a comparison of two magnificent personalities of Indian political arena of 20th century.⁴⁵⁸ Another significant work on Jinnah is Sheshrao Chavan's *Muhammad Ali Jinnah: The Great Enigma*.⁴⁵⁹ The work beneath evaluation is an examination of political life of Jinnah. Parkash Almeida's *Jinnah: Man of Destiny* is also the biographical exploration of the persona and the nature of Jinnah.⁴⁶⁰ S. K. Bandopadhaya's *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* is also a biographical exploration of Jinnah.⁴⁶¹ The work is also an evaluation of Jinnah and Gandhi, their philosophies, characters and political tactics.

5.1- A. G. Noorani's Analytical Study:

The significant work of a moderate non-historian author is A. G. Noorani's *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle*.⁴⁶² The work below analysis is a logical scrutiny of Jinnah and Tilak's personalities, their beliefs and their participation in the independence of India from the British. Many authors have compared Jinnah with Gandhi but the current study is unique due to the area of the study. The author believed that Jinnah's politics was politics of people from the beginning of his career. He remained a moderate, constitutionalist, open-minded and nationalist leader of the

⁴⁵⁷ A. G. Noorani, *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁴⁵⁸ S. K. Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi. Their Role in India's Quest For Freedom* (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1976).

⁴⁵⁹ Sheshrao. Chavan. *Mohammad Ali Jinnah; The Great Enigma* (Delhi: Authorspress, 2006).

⁴⁶⁰ Parkash Almeida, *Jinnah: Man of Destiny* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2001).

⁴⁶¹ Sailesh. Kumar. Bandopadhaya, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (New Delhi: Strling Publishers, 1991).

⁴⁶² A. G. Noorani, *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle*, Noorani is an advocate, Supreme Court of India and a leading constitutional expert, columnist, and author of many books.

contemporary India from beginning to the end of his life. On the other hand, at Congress front no one was of his match after the demise of Tilak who could settle the Hindu-Muslim problems as was settle in Lucknow Pact.

Noorani has considered that Jinnah was the leader of the masses right from the beginning of his political career. In Bombay, Jinnah's chamber and Sardar Tilak's home were two most famous political activity centers for freedom struggle during the 2nd decade of 20th century. Both were very active in mass politics and people used to come to them for advice, consultation and judgments. Both had friendly terms with each other.⁴⁶³ Noorani has narrated a famous event of Jinnah's mass politics when Jinnah in the company of his followers planned an agitation in opposition to the send-off celebration of the Governor of Bombay and that was the earliest victorious appearance of people's authority in the political history of Bombay.⁴⁶⁴

Noorani's judgment is contrary to the opinion of mainstream Indian writers. Jinnah was not against Gandhi's program due to the unlawful nature of that program instead he did not approve because of the unworkable and unreasonable character of Gandhi's program.⁴⁶⁵

The author has revealed that all the broadminded and rational leaders did not approve the transformation in the outlook and character of Congress. According to Noorani, the transformation in the Congress brought by Gandhi was destructive in nature that was why it was not liked by the prominent leaders of freedom struggle like Tilak, Lajpat Rai and Gokhale including Jinnah⁴⁶⁶

Noorani has also contradicted with the majority of the Indian authors about the friendly relationship of Jinnah and the British. The writer is of the view that Jinnah

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 1.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 29.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 82.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 140.

was the arch rival of the British rule in India. Like Congress leaders, his attitude was antagonistic towards the British rule in India. The British authorities in India also considered him their arch rival.⁴⁶⁷ Noorani also has acknowledged that Jinnah was a highly reputed leader of the Indian Muslims because of their recognition for him as a highly esteemed leader and followed his command so it was worthless for him whether Congress recognized him as a highly reputed leader or not. According to the writer, "Jinnah derived his strength and representative status from the support of the Muslim masses, not from the Congress recognition."⁴⁶⁸

Noorani has considered that Congress leading mentors; Patel, Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were equally accountable for the separation of India. They were not prepared to cooperate with Jinnah and the League and stimulated ahead to separate India.⁴⁶⁹ However, Jinnah sought to resolve the issue,⁴⁷⁰ but in Congress camp no one was skilled enough to resolve the issue as Jinnah was making an effort. No matter how much Jinnah wanted to cooperate with the Congress but at that time the Congress was lacking in a rational and practical politician like Tilak. Thus Jinnah had to change the technique and look forward for another option, although in the end Congress mentors and Jinnah both had to pay the price for their decisions.⁴⁷¹

Noorani has declared that unlike Tilak, the legendary personalities of Jinnah, Gandhi and Nehru were unable to understand the true sentiments of their devoted followers. Similarly, they were not contented with the ethical, official and political customs and

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 76.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 169.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 236-7.

⁴⁷⁰ 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 gesture, the whole problem would not be difficult to solve". Kanji Dwarkadas, *Ten Years to Freedom* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan. 1968),78-79

⁴⁷¹ A. G. Noorani, *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle*. 242.

traditions of the states which were formed by them after a long and furious struggle.⁴⁷²

It seems that author is not daring enough to accept the verdict of the history. The author has also perceived the false assumptions to avoid the truth. Noorani has assumed that Jinnah and Nehru were secular; nevertheless, their strategies were entirely opposite to their beliefs and dogmas and were inclined towards separation. No one understood the feelings of the people. Gandhi's decision of launching the movement of Civil disobedience paved the way for aggression and terror and thus undermined the rule of law. Nehru's defiance to settled issues with the minorities also came out with stalemate. Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory increased sectarianism.⁴⁷³ The author's assessment of Jinnah's Two Nation Theory could not be acceptable because that was the only solution for deadlock created by unreasonable attitude of the Congress leadership. However, the author was right that it was not enough to save whole Muslim community of India from the clutches of the evil forces of Hindu extremists nevertheless instead that formula saved almost half of the Muslims from that evil.

Noorani has claimed that separation of India took place as an outcome of the rejection of the Congress leadership, particularly Gandhi and Nehru for not providing space to the League and Jinnah in united India. Cabinet Mission Plan was collapsed because of the stubborn attitude of Nehru and the chance for the union of Bengal got wasted because of the impractical demand of the guide of the Congress namely Gandhi. In his words, "the safeguards which Gandhi demanded for the Hindus of Bengal. in his letter

⁴⁷² Ibid., 247.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 250

to Sarat Bose on 25 May, were never offered to Muslims in the union either by him, or by the Congress.⁴⁷⁴

The author has judged that Jinnah tried very hard to prevent the separation however, the Congress was not prepared for unified India with Jinnah. They would like to exclude Jinnah at whatever cost they had to pay including the division of India. In his words, “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.”⁴⁷⁵

Noorani has discussed that in unified India, the Congress leadership wanted to enjoy full authority by deducting the League and Jinnah from the orbit of authority. Still Nehru had recommended to the British authorities that Jinnah would not be given any role in power in India.⁴⁷⁶ Therefore, the awkward attitude of the Congress leaders was the main reason for him to demand for Pakistan. In the opinion of Noorani, Jinnah was sad over the formation of Pakistan. He was sad and dejected because of the consequences of the division of India. According to 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 foiled his policies.”⁴⁷⁷ The author has analyzed that Jinnah was discontented due to the horrible and spine-chilling incidents that happened as an outcome of division, not due to the creation of Pakistan.

The scrutiny of the events by Noorani therefore is in sharp contrast with the most of the Indian authors. A lot of Indian writers in addition to Pakistani and British writers have expressed that Jinnah was in high spirits over the formation of Pakistan.⁴⁷⁸ In

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 260.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 270.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid. Also see Alan Cambell-Jonson, *Mission With Mountbatten* (London: Robert Hale, 1951), 49.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 266.

⁴⁷⁸ 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*

short the analysis has distinctive aspects and it has created the innovative paths of study on Jinnah. This study can be called the earliest evaluation of Jinnah with other Hindu leaders like Tilak besides Gandhi. Possibly the analysis carried the exceptional characteristic of Jinnah's life into public attention. Noorani also has attempted to counter numerous queries connected to the persona of Jinnah and his political life. Yet, the study is an excellent and precious investigation about the persona of Jinnah and his political life. The writer has consulted not only the Indian sources but Pakistani and British sources as well. The study also contains some valuable historical documents.

5.2- S. K. Majumdar's Analytical Study:

The subsequent significant investigation is of S. K. Majumdar's *Jinnah and Gandhi. Their Role in India's Quest for Freedom*.⁴⁷⁹ The study below assessment is a comparison of the two grand legendary celebrities of Indian political arena of 20th century, Jinnah and Gandhi, their personas, philosophies, political opinions and their strategies. Jinnah and Gandhi were poles apart in term of political philosophies. Jinnah had great faith in tolerance, free thinking and rule of law whereas; Gandhi was absolutely in opposition to the western civilization. He also had no confidence in lawful techniques for fight. Therefore the clash between them was unavoidable and outcome of that clash was the division of India and the formation of Pakistan. Majumdar has praised the personal qualities of Jinnah such as, steel nerves,⁴⁸⁰ unafraid and firm follower of law. The author further has explained that Jinnah

(Delhi: Sidharam Publications. 1983). 142; Tara Chand. *History of Freedom Movement In India*. Vol. IV(Lahore: Book Traders. 1972). 541. Lal. Bahadur. *The Muslim League: Its History, Activities and Achievements* (Lahore: BookTraders.1979) .358; R. Majumdar. ed.. *Pakistan: Jinnah to the Present Day*, Vol. I. (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1998) 186; V. B. Kulkarni. *Pakistan: Its Origin & Relations with India* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 1988) 87.

⁴⁷⁹ S. K. Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi: Their Role in India's Quest For Freedom*. S. K. Majumdar, Barrister-at-Law Advocate, Patna High Court and Supreme Court of India.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 78.

planned to achieve freedom from the British rule through the constitutional ways by forging a unified endeavor of the Hindus and the Muslims. His vision of undivided India had parity in all fields of life for both the nations. Jinnah had no trust in Gandhi's method of undermining law and disobedience.⁴⁸¹

Majumdar has shed light on Jinnah's nature that Jinnah disliked plotting or deception instead he was matchless in direct and open competition.⁴⁸² After 1937, Jinnah and the League were compelled to depart from the mainstream course because of the irrational approach of Nehru who was the president of the Congress at that time.⁴⁸³ By the approval of Lahore Resolution in 1940, Jinnah and the League had selected their ultimate alternative for the resolution of Hindu-Muslim dilemma in India.⁴⁸⁴ Contrary to the majority of the Indian writers, Majumdar has judged that Gandhi's strategies, methods and dreams, not Jinnah's strategies, contributed fundamental job in the establishment of Pakistan and the division of India. The writer has considered that, Gandhi's aspiration to be the liberator of Indians stained the union of Indian. Gandhi's premature 'Quit India Movement' guided to escalation of antagonism among the Hindus and the Muslims and also cleared the course of Jinnah and the League to walk for the establishment of Pakistan. The author has expressed, "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."⁴⁸⁵

The writer also believed that the Congress headed by Gandhi left Jinnah and the League with no choice in undivided India and the Congress leaders were not prepared

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 109.

⁴⁸² Ibid., 156.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 164.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 171.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 198

to collaborate with them thus, Jinnah and the League decided the preference of splitting up of India and the formation of Pakistan.

The study is one of the earliest logical, relative and investigative explanations of an Indian writer. Majumdar has shed light on Gandhi's strategies and plans in Indian politics from another angle. It is pointed out that Gandhi created difficulty in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity and he damaged the agreements which were near to be signed to strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity. This work also has disclosed that Jinnah was a thorough gentleman of superior talent as compared to Gandhi. He did not at all negotiate on principles and always retained his position as a constitutionalist whereas Gandhi altered his plans and commitments many times. It was Gandhi, who actually mixed religion with politics and it was again Gandhi, who sought to be the liberator of India and his awkward and overestimated conclusion cemented the course for Jinnah to make Pakistan. On the other hand, the author is not pragmatic while he predicts that the survival of the sub-continent can be ensured only by the merger of Pakistan and India. It would be utopian day-dream that India and Pakistan might be joining up again.

Though at a few occasions, the writer has described the details devoid of any background and tried to put allegations. For instance according to the author, the British must not have provided the unnecessary significance to the claim of Jinnah which enhanced the position of Jinnah and weakened the position of the other Muslim leaders who were not part of the League. In his words, "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."⁴⁸⁶ The words of the

⁴⁸⁶Ibid., 215.

writer reveal his limitation as an Indian writer on one hand and on the other hand it is also an attempt to hide historical facts. Historical record shows that Jinnah was a leader of millions of supports in 1945 thus at that time it would not be easy for British or Congress to ignore Jinnah and his party League as Congress did in 1920 and in 1928 and British in third roundtable conference.⁴⁸⁷

Nonetheless, in reality Jinnah restructured the Muslims under the League banner prior to the Conference and the Viceroy only confessed that reality, he had no further alternative. Yet the research is extremely valuable for its excellent evaluation of Gandhi and Jinnah as political leaders with huge supporters. It is indeed a fine effort of an Indian writer to have measure up Jinnah and Gandhi as leaders, their beliefs, attitudes and their line of action.

5.3- Sheshrao Chavan's Analytical Study:

The subsequently vital work on Jinnah is Sheshrao Chavan's *Muhammad Ali Jinnah: The Great Enigma*.⁴⁸⁸ The work beneath evaluation is an examination of political life of Jinnah. The author began his political career as a patriotic and moderate leader of the Congress. Though, four key incidents altered him from an autonomist to a separatist. First shock to Jinnah's political career was his denial and disgrace at the Nagpur gathering of Congress in 1920. He got the next upset of his political life in the shape of his degradation at the 1928's All Parties Conference. His political profession was struck by subsequent denial by Nehru and Congress after the election of 1937. They tried hard to disgrace Jinnah and to conclude his political voyage. Last upset hit Jinnah's political journey with the adaptation of Lahore Resolution by League in

⁴⁸⁷ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: 1906-1921*, Vol.I(Karachi:East and West Publishing Company, 1984),402-406. Sikandar. Hayat. *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008). 49-50,52-56.

⁴⁸⁸ Sheshrao. Chavan, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: The Great Enigma*. 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.

1940. In Chavan's opinion, these four actions changed Jinnah's political expedition from the autonomist line to the separatist line.⁴⁸⁹

The writer has explained further, Jinnah was patriot, moderate and tolerant leader and tirelessly strove hard for Hindu-Muslim unity from the very beginning of his political profession. Jinnah participated significantly in the making of Lucknow Pact of Hindu-Muslim unity besides Tilak and Annie Besant.⁴⁹⁰ Jinnah deserted the Congress after Nagpur's degradation; however he never ceases to work for Hindu-Muslim unity. He time and again offered his collaboration to the Congress for that objective on the other hand Congress leaders rejected him again and again. To make them realize their limitations and to demonstrate himself as superior to the combined leadership of the Congress namely Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and Azad, Jinnah pressed himself to establish Pakistan. In author's opinion, "It was only for psychological satisfaction to show that, he was more than a match to 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".⁴⁹¹

Contrary to a lot of Indian writers, Chavan has also confessed that Gandhi's non-cooperation and non-violence plan enhanced the sentiments of separatism amid Hindus and Muslims and unleashed hostility, turmoil and antagonism between them. When Gandhi's plan was ongoing, a lot of people withdrew their titles, educational institutions were deserted and lawyers stopped appearing in the courts. To sum-up, Gandhi's agenda of disobedience reversed the process of growth and rebuilding of India.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., ivi.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 17.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 292.

⁴⁹² Ibid., 23.

The writer has admired Jinnah's insight and sound judgment for not participating with the Khilafat movement.⁴⁹³ Unlike the other Indian writers, the author has admitted that Jinnah was crowned by the title of 'Quaid-i-Azam' by his fellow community, not by Gandhi. In the opinion of 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'".⁴⁹⁴ The author has paid tribute to Jinnah's persona with open heart. Though author has judged each participant of freedom struggle so, according to him, Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and the British, all were accountable for the division of India.⁴⁹⁵

This study under evaluation holds some inconsistency because at one place, the author has stated that the British had shored up Jinnah but he himself has disclosed regarding an accord namely Treaty of Filkins 1938, of power transfer between Nehru and Labour party leadership.⁴⁹⁶ On the other hand, he has not discovered any deal amid Jinnah and the British. These type of errors demonstrate that writer is not courageous enough to dare to disapprove Congress leaders for their faults and thus endeavored to convince himself while historical fact disclose the true account of freedom struggle. Numerous Indian writers themselves are clear about the fact that Jinnah was the greatest foe of British rule in India.⁴⁹⁷ Actually the British were extremely against Jinnah and were fond of the Congress.

There is confusion in the examination of Chavan. In one statement, he himself has admitted that "Jinnah took pride in saying that he created Pakistan with the help of his stenographer and his typewriter" but in another statement, he has argued that Jinnah

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 58.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., ivii,

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid, 293.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid, 308.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid, 308.

was distressed over the establishment of Pakistan. It seems that author's announcement was for self pleasure while historical fact was enlightening the other side of the coin. However, this is a fine effort to re-examine the description of freedom movement. Chavan has judged all the three Congress leaders Nehru, Patel and Gandhi along with the British as equally responsible for the partition with Jinnah. This explanation is incredibly opposite to the mainstream Indian writers' interpretations. Thus the study provides another interpretation of Jinnah's political life and freedom movement. However the author also has maintained the inherited weakness of Indian school of writers and could not stop himself for not admitting reality. Nevertheless the author has cited some very valuable information with regard to Congress leaders' relation with the British. The study is worthy for researchers as it is giving a new and unique insight to study the political career and the stature of Jinnah.

5.4- Parkash Almeida's Analytical Study:

Parkash Almeida's *Jinnah: Man of Destiny* is also the biographical study of the personality and the nature of Jinnah.⁴⁹⁸ The writer has stated that Jinnah was an egotistical, proud and annoyed personality. Nevertheless he also admits that Jinnah was constitutionalist, straightforward, unwavering, and a big communicator. The author has pointed out that Jinnah formed Pakistan to obtain reprisal from Gandhi. The entire examination has been done under the powerful sway of Gandhi's persona. The author's point of view is extremely prejudiced. He has evaluated the persona of Jinnah and freedom struggle under the shades of deeds and beliefs of Gandhi and according to the author's point of view. if one wishes to understand Jinnah's persona

⁴⁹⁸ 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.

and the nature along with his deeds, one should analyze Gandhi first. He has 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."⁴⁹⁹

Even though Almeida has admired the traits of Jinnah, and has labelled him as a man of unconquerable will and honesty, on the other hand he also has labelled him as an egotistical and proud. The writer has considered that Jinnah had immense power of logic. He was a truthful constitutionalist, who by no means approved the participation of unruly masses into politics. The difference between Jinnah and Gandhi methodology was so huge that it could not be breached.⁵⁰⁰ However writer is so busy in measuring Jinnah under the light that he misses the historical record of freedom from 1916 to 1918.⁵⁰¹

Yet Almeida has admitted the predictions and accurate verdicts of Jinnah. Jinnah was not in favor of practical participation of untaught people into political arena since he could predict the outcome of that participation. In writer's opinion, "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 and his utopian thought".⁵⁰² The author has judged that Gandhi's arrival into Indian political arena and his grasp over the Congress outdated Jinnah in Congress. Therefore, Jinnah being an arrogant and self-centered

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 48.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 49.

⁵⁰¹ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: 1906-1921*, Vol.I,188-195,296-301.. Sikandar. Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*, 41-42.

⁵⁰² Ibid., 75.

person presented the concept of a separate nation immediately to obtain reprisal from Gandhi.⁵⁰³

According to the historical facts, Jinnah time and again aided Congress on the subjects of welfare of people of India regardless of his individual dishonor in Nagpur gathering of Congress in 1920 and in 1928's APC in Calcutta by Congress guided by Gandhi. Jinnah simply estranged from Congress after the conversion of Congress in to a Hindu dominated party which protected only Hindu and not national interests.⁵⁰⁴

Almeida has acknowledged that Jinnah's position was very significant in the formation of Pakistan. He was not aided by any of the armed forces throughout the very stiff fight of his life. Jinnah was victorious at the end due to his belief and indestructible will. Almeida has maintained his argument that, "Jinnah with the wings to his indomitable will, and himself as his one man army created a nation-state".⁵⁰⁵

Yet the author never regarded Jinnah as the Solo factor accountable for the division of India or the making of Pakistan. The writer has identified some more factors which contributed for the division of India such as the British strategy of divide and rule, and their regular help to the Muslims as an alternative of the Congress, greedy leaders of the Congress and their appetite for power also has contributed in the separation of India and the making of Pakistan.⁵⁰⁶

Almeida has harshly condemned the British authorities for their shoring up of Jinnah. Yet, off and on, he has revealed about the undisclosed accord of Nehru with the British for the shift of authority. On June 24, 1938, Nehru and the Labor leaders at the house of Stafford Cripps signed an undisclosed treaty for the shift of control.⁵⁰⁷ There

⁵⁰³ Ibid., 238.

⁵⁰⁴ M. M. Saleem Qureshi, *The Politics of Jinnah* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1988), 110.

⁵⁰⁵ Parkash Almeida, *Jinnah: Man of Destiny*, 15.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 232.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., 197.

are Indian writers besides Pakistani and British writers, who have considered that it was Jinnah who declined each bid, each label and each office of the British.⁵⁰⁸

Furthermore, arguments of the author seem to have a lack of continuity. He left no stone unturned to prove Gandhi's innocence and to describe him as a Saint. "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".⁵⁰⁹ The work seems to provide rationalization and justification of the deeds and misdeeds of Gandhi than Jinnah's biographical scrutiny. The author required that Jinnah must have submitted before Gandhi. No matter what Gandhi did, correct or incorrect, Jinnah must have followed him without questioning the logic of it. In writer's opinion, "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."⁵¹⁰

Almeida has admitted that Jinnah had exceptional talent, skill and traits. He was a futuristic person with realistic attitude towards every issue and his finding bore out true during the freedom struggle. The author has no guts and power to own up the reality which he recognized through data. It has given the impression that the study was to pay tribute to Gandhi rather than a biography on Jinnah. In addition, as the author is a non-historian writer and without appropriate guidance for writing of history, consequently he has carelessly used the factual data to prove his hypothesis. Almeida is not to a great extent worried about the data and reality unveiled by the data

⁵⁰⁸ 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.

⁵⁰⁹ Parkash. Almeida, *Jinnah: Man of Destiny*. 198.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 118.

and has built his argument according to his personal wishes. The work appears to be on the pattern of misunderstanding of the truth by the author.

5.5- S. K. Bandopadhaya's Analytical Study:

S. K. Bandopadhaya's *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* is also a biographical investigation of Jinnah.⁵¹¹ The work is also an evaluation of Jinnah and Gandhi, their philosophies, characters and political tactics. The writer has accused that Jinnah was self-centered, arrogant, sober, unemotional, and an upper-class separatist person. Yet he has disclosed that he was also a broadminded, reasonable, autonomist, constitutionalist, bold and blunt personality. Moreover, Bandopadhaya has argued that Jinnah was arrogant enough to be an assistant of any person thus; he formed Pakistan to maintain his individuality and self-respect of his community. The author has given the impression of being under the unfathomable sway of Gandhi and his philosophy. He has mentioned 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".⁵¹²

Bandopadhaya has described that Jinnah was a highly esteemed lawyer, reasonable and broadminded person and was careless about apparent customs. According to the writer, "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 etiquettes. He did not care to observe the rituals of the Indian Muslims of his day, like the offering of regular prayers (Namaz), growing of beards, etc".⁵¹³ It is not a surprise that the present study under the beacon-light of Gandhi has shown a great concern about the outlook and the rituals followed by Jinnah. The author's mentor, Gandhi.

⁵¹¹ Sailesh. Kumar. Bandopadhaya, *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.

⁵¹² Ibid., 1.

⁵¹³ Ibid., 4.

was a great advertiser of the rituals whereas, Jinnah followed the code of Islam in which a person could wear any type of clothes until and unless that did not cross the limits set by Islam. Many writers have revealed that Jinnah used to offer prayers however he did not like to advertize it like Gandhi. As for as his stories about eating pork are concerned, cannot be accepted due to the biases of the narrators. Dr Riaz Ahmad has explained that most of the narrators were jealous of Jinnah so their narrations have no values.⁵¹⁴ However the writer has also acknowledged Jinnah's intellectual guts, and firm resolution.⁵¹⁵

Bandopadhaya has believed that Jinnah left the Congress in 1920, the reason of conflict with Gandhi's method of politics. Jinnah was a man of law and an upper-class political leader so he was misfit with Gandhi's methodology of mass mobilization, non-violence, civil disobedience and non-cooperation.⁵¹⁶

Bandopadhaya also has considered that Jinnah could not bear to work under any junior. In the opinion of the author, "it was not easy for Jinnah to play the second fiddle giving a walkover to Gandhi comparatively a newcomer to national politics."⁵¹⁷

The author has confessed that Pakistan was the supreme accomplishment of Jinnah and he formed Pakistan in just seven years following the Pakistan Resolution with his ability and political insight.⁵¹⁸ The author has reflected that there was no comparison between Jinnah and Gandhi. He has used a justification that that Jinnah was just a

⁵¹⁴ 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

⁵¹⁵ Sailesh. Kumar. Bandopadhaya. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*. Ibid., 10.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., 343.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., 44.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 334

political leader whereas, Gandhi was not a political leader in fact he was a spiritual leader.⁵¹⁹

The statement of the author has shown that the author has been under the charisma of Gandhi and he has had already decided the conclusion of the study. And the objective of his study was to prove Gandhi as a spiritual leader. Another illusion of the author was that the British were on friendly terms with Jinnah and the League and the British were also the key player in the division of India. However, the author has flexible views for Attlee's government and Mountbatten, possibly the reason was their closeness with the Congress. He has argued that British strategy of divide and rule has contributed a significant share in the separation of India. The author has charges that the British authorities shored up the League as a substitute of the Congress while he has not held Attlee's Government and Mountbatten accountable for the separation of India.⁵²⁰

He has alleged that the British authorities were sympathetic towards the League, but he has not regarded Attlee's government and Lord Mountbatten accountable for the separation of India. The declaration of the author seemed an amalgamation of inconsistency. How could it be possible for the high command of administration to be in the east and for the low command to be in the west? It is always impossible that low command could act in opposition to its own high command of any administration. In reality the historical record has disclosed that there was very close and frank relationship between Congress leadership and high command of the British administration. Even they had a secret pact over the shift of control in India. On June

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 344.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 352-3.

24, 1938, Nehru and Labour leaders at the house of Stafford Cripps signed a secret pact for the shift of authority.⁵²¹

Bandopadhyaya has also tried to protect the blunders of Nehru and to rationalize Patel's approach. He has no courage and guts to condemn for their errors and wrong steps. Similarly, he has attempted to give explanation for Gandhi's faults by announcing him spiritual leader to a certain extent than being a political leader and also has tried to give explanation for the other leaders of the Congress.⁵²²

This work also has disclosed that Bandopadhyaya is under the profound sway of the Congress. The writer has condemned Jinnah, his persona and accomplishments brutally and has rationalized each deed of the Congress. He has claimed that Gandhi was his ideal right from the beginning of the work which has revealed his attention of the research. His unwrapped claim has illustrated his sympathetic attitude towards the Congress. He did not pass judgments on Congress friends like Atlee and Mountbatten. The writer has brutally accused Jinnah and the League to prove his hypothesis. For that purpose, he has picked the selected facts without context and pretext to prove his judgments rights. The study is an amalgamation of the contradictions and lacks continuity. The study is a fine example of misinterpretation of the facts and the distortion of the history. Thus it is not worthy of being called a scholarly work.

5.6- H. M. Seervai's Analytical Approach:

Next significant work of an Indian non-historian is H. M. Seervai's *Partition of India: Legend and Reality*.⁵²³ The main focus of the research is the split of India, while discussing the reason of division of India; the author has highlighted the roles of key figures of freedom movement. He has also discussed the persona and politics of

⁵²¹ Parkash. Almeida. *Jinnah: Man of Destiny*, 197.

⁵²² Ibid., 354

⁵²³ 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.

Jinnah. He has regarded Jinnah as courageous, determined and constitutionalist. Being a moderate and nationalist political leader, he strove hard to build a combined front of the Hindus and the Muslims to attain freedom. But due to the unreasonable behavior of the Congress leaders, he was forced to create Pakistan.

The writer has acknowledged the leadership qualities and rational approach of Jinnah. He was a leader of great repute at national level who had contributed a lot to build a combined front of the Hindus and the Muslims against the British. Due to the changes occurred in Congress constitution after the entrance of Gandhi into Indian politics and holding the presidency of the Congress, Jinnah being a hard core constitutionalist left the Congress. As a rationalist, Jinnah rightly predicted that the unconstitutional methods would create hostility, anarchy and turmoil in the region.⁵²⁴

Seervai, contrary to the bulk of Indian writers has judged that Jinnah before putting forward the case of Pakistan, throughout his last thirty years in politics yearned for the settlement of Hindu- Muslim dilemma. On the other hand, most of the Congress leaders were not serious or deliberately never desired to solve the core issue. Nehru, even being an imaginative person, could not see the actual situation of the sub-continent and Gandhi having claimed the supernatural powers remained helpless to feel the gravity of the Hindu-Muslim dilemma in India.

In his words, "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."⁵²⁵

The writer has exposed the true appearance and mindset of Congress camp. Consequently Jinnah like a realist and rationalist had to modify his strategy to bring back them on earth. To counter that rude and arrogant approach Jinnah adopted very

⁵²⁴ Ibid,51-2.

⁵²⁵ Ibid. 53.

wise and reasonable strategy which was tagged by Gandhi as a 'declaration of war'.⁵²⁶ Yes that was a declaration of war which was made by Jinnah to protect the Muslims and their right in India. In the words of writer, "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."⁵²⁷

Seervai has narrated that the Cabinet Mission Plan was collapsed mainly because of the harmful manners and tactics of the Congress. The author is of the opinion that Congress being the major party and claiming the confidence of the masses had to leave some room for minorities particularly for the Muslims and the League. Thus the Congress did not co-operate and the Cabinet Mission Plan failed. In his words, "Only the Congress....could show good will by working the plan in the spirit in which it was indent 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."⁵²⁸

The author's main narrative is that Congress was accountable for the division of India instead of Jinnah. Jinnah and his party strove really hard to live in undivided India with Congress. On the other hand Congress was unsuccessful to satisfy Jinnah and the Muslim. Thus Jinnah had to decide to part the ways and to create a new homeland Pakistan. The author's narrative is quite different from the main stream Indian school. His analysis about the outcome of the Cabinet Mission plan is not only different from the bulk of Indian writers but also his analysis about Simla Conference is also different. He has narrated that the Simla Conference remained worthless and

⁵²⁶ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed. *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (Karachi: East and West Publishing Compy, 1977), 89.

⁵²⁷ H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality*. 53.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid*, 65.

unsuccessful again due to the unbending nature of Jinnah but the time has proved that he was right and had far-sighted the outcome. At that time Jinnah, as a leader of League, the representative of Muslims in India, wanted the right to nominate Muslims members for Interim Government. In writer words, "In logic and in theory, Jinnah's stand was indefensible. But, as later event were to show, the reasons for his stand were practical."⁵²⁹

Bulks of the Indian authors have bitterly condemned the behavior of Jinnah during the final phase of freedom movement.⁵³⁰ The work under review is totally reversed to the typical Indian narrative. Seervai has condemned the behavior of Congress leaders instead of Jinnah. The author by profession was a lawyer thus, he could comment on the politics and persona of Jinnah, Gandhi and Nehru in a best manner because all of them were lawyers. To sum up, the author in a very logical manner has narrated the factors of division of India contrary to Indian school. The author has concluded his research with this statement. "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."⁵³¹ In the opinion of the author, the Congress was the one who wanted badly the partition of India and Jinnah was the one who tried to restrain it but accepted it because it was the only available option for him.

Seervia has openly acknowledged the leadership qualities of Jinnah and on the other hand he has perceived Gandhi as a political leader not as a super natural creature and also has condemned him for mixing politics with religion.⁵³² The research is very

⁵²⁹ Ibid. 176.

⁵³⁰ 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.

⁵³¹ Ibid. 178.

⁵³² Ibid.,11.

unique due to the logical understanding of the author. The author has used all the relevant sources very well and has presented his research in an easy language. The study is a worthy document for the students of history and general readers alike.

5.7- M. K. Akbar's Analytical Approach:

M. K. Akbar has explored Jinnah political life in a general study with the name of *Pakistan: From Jinnah to Sharif*.⁵³³ He has analyzed Jinnah persona and politics along current history of Pakistan. According to his interpretation of history Jinnah was a liberal and nationalist leader, who had worked hard to create a joint front of Hindus and Muslims against British rule in India during the first two decade of last century. He was the crafter of Lucknow pact which was the only successful attempt to bring both communities in one united front against foreign rule during the freedom struggle. Jinnah was a well-known and admired figure of both in Congress and League in Indian political arena before the adaptation of Gandhian program of non-cooperation by Congress.⁵³⁴

Akbar has accused Jinnah for power hunger and personal ambition, the one who did too much only for power. Author believes that Jinnah deserted Congress because after the arrival Gandhi's pregame of non-cooperation as an organization police it would become difficult for Jinnah to remain a top leader in that organization thus he left it. Congress under the command of Gandhi left no room for Jinnah narrative and Jinnah was not ready to follow Gandhi from second position. Jinnah had joined League where he would become the paramount leader of his community. He then quoted events of Jinnah life to prove his hypothesis. However author languages and choice of

⁵³³ M. K. Akbar, *Pakistan: From Jinnah to Sharif* (New Delhi: Mittal Publication, 1997). He is a renowned writer.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

words have revealed the not only his love for Congress and hate and anger for Jinnah.⁵³⁵

Author has cited about event without background and full detail which is very common practice of Indian school. He has twisted facts according to his inner desire. He has claimed that Jinnah say goodbye to Congress for chasing his personal dreams. His analysis has not only revealed his motive of writing about Jinnah and history but also revealed the nature of stubborn approach of most of the Indian writers have maintained towards Jinnah and Pakistan. In last decade of last century has been the time of publishing of the study under review thus when a person who knew that he is writing about those events about whom other people knew in detail and historical record has available to counter check the authenticity of narrative of authors as well. Then it seems that author has built his narrative for self-satisfaction only. Historical date did not match with author narrative.⁵³⁶

Akbar accused Jinnah with charge of creating hater among Hindus and Muslims by using the policy of Muslim isolationism after the 1857 event which led them to 'their long-cherished dreams of carving out an independent Muslim state.'⁵³⁷ Quite amazingly author like many Muslims who were associated themselves with Congress could not come out with any counter narrative which could give sense of security Muslims community in India where they have to face permanent majority of Hindus who were totally hostile towards them. When these so-called leaders had felt

⁵³⁵ Ibid., 27-8.

⁵³⁶ M. Rafique Afzal. *A History of the All India Muslim League: 1906-1947*: Riaz Ahmad. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: The Formative Years, 1892-1920*: Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada. ed. *Foundations of Pakistan: All India Muslim League Documents 1906-1924*: __, *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*: Z. H. Zaidi, *Quaid-i- Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*. Vol. I-XVIII. (Islamabad: Quaid-i- Azam Paper Wing, 1993-2011).

⁵³⁷ M. K. Akbar, *Pakistan: From Jinnah to Sharif* , 18.

powerless against Hindus atrocities against Muslims India. Than in state of complete depression they wrote this kind of narrative.⁵³⁸

Akbar has thought Sir Syed Ahmed was the pioneer of creating separatism among Hindus and Muslims like main stream Indian authors. He has created connectivity between Jinnah and Sir Syed Ahmed. According to his narrative Sir Syed Ahmed guided the Muslim community during the fatal decades of nineteenth century and Jinnah took the command of Muslims community during the turbulent decades of twentieth century. Jinnah took the whole accomplishment due to the solid achievement with the name of Pakistan. However Jinnah could not create Pakistan if Sir Syed Ahmed did not paves ways for him.⁵³⁹ However all these authors did not consider Hindu extremist organizations as a reason of separatism between these two communities. Historical record of past has reveals that who were responsible of creating separatism between these communities which ultimately led to the partition of India.

Study has been done with special narrative. His language and tone is very harsh towards Jinnah and very appeasing towards Congress leaders which reveals the biased approach of author. Author belong to the those Muslims who were used by Congress to buy the vote of Muslims and after using them were thrown like dirty tissue papers and after that treatment at the hand of Congress they spite their anger on Jinnah by adopting these narrative. Author has played the fact by twisting them and molding them according to his desire. This is an attempt to write history under the imagination and for self-satisfaction. It is not for history students but for the novel reader.

⁵³⁸ Rafiq. Zakria. *The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath: Maulana Abual Kalam Azad, India Wins Freedom: The Complete Version.*

⁵³⁹ M. K. Akbar, *Pakistan: From Jinnah to Sharif*, 34.

5.8- Jagdish Mitter Sarin and Brig. Pramodh Sarin's Analytical Approach:

Another important historical work on Jinnah by Indian author is *Who Made Me Refugee: Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru, Mountbatten* by Jagdish Mitter Sarin and Brig. Pramodh Sarin.⁵⁴⁰ It is analytical study of freedom struggle and also the analysis of the politics and persona of the key player of that struggle. Authors thought that Jinnah was a patriotic and moderate leader of freedom struggle. Jinnah was most dynamic, optimistic and a constitutionalist. Author like many Indian author also consider that division of India or creation of Pakistan was the outcome of the divergence of characters of Gandhi and Jinnah. However his argument is not correct because there were so many factors that play their part in the division of India and creation of Pakistan. Thus considering one solo factor the only reason of creation of Pakistan is not the right approach. Author has considered that Jinnah was a patriotic and autonomist leader of national level. He was working hard to solve the problem of Hindu Muslim in Indian political arena by demanding safeguard for the minority community of Muslims in India. He always worked with Congress party in assembly for the constitution reform in India. However with the passage of time 'demands of Muslims political interests' also increase from Muslim majority provinces and further more even voices for separate Muslim state had come out and on the other hand Hindus were tiring to rejecting them. Author on contrary to main stream Indian consider that Congress leadership did not made any attempt to bridge the gap between these two communities and never tried to address the grievances of the Muslims so

⁵⁴⁰ 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 Main History from 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.

that Muslims could live peacefully in united India with Hindus. On the other hand Jinnah to hold power in his hand had made alliance with 'separatists.' Author thought that Jinnah could not thought that these 'brilliant Hindu leaders' would ready for division.⁵⁴¹

Author strongly criticized the behavior of Congress leadership for not handling the Hindu Muslim problem in right manner they use to claim that Congress was the only party of Indian however they have serious behavior problem whenever Jinnah approach Gandhi to discussed the Hindu Muslim problem he did not take it serious by asking for waiting for god help.⁵⁴² And second important person was Nehru who was so much arrogant that he never considers anybody worthy to talk.⁵⁴³

Thus in that situation Jinnah was left with no choice except to create Pakistan the only save place for Muslims and other minorities in India. It was not right to claim that Jinnah demanded Pakistan to maintain his power as a matter of fact Jinnah come to that conclusion after the thirty years of working experience with Congress he was the only Muslims who understood their politics.

Sarin has criticized Congress leadership strategy of ignoring minorities leadership according to him mass contact movement of Congress or her leadership forceful claim of the solo representative of whole India would be required for the speech-making in political arena or for dealing with British however that strategy of Congress had

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., 370.

⁵⁴²Rajmohan 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.

⁵⁴³ S. R. Bakshi, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Role in Freedom Struggle*. 238. S. Gopal ed. *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. VIII, 119,121.

created great problem at domestic level for itself. That dangerous tendency of that strategy had never check by Congress leadership. With the passage of time a situation develop in India where no main political party had any plan to rule on united India. 'The price of the freedom become partition.' ⁵⁴⁴ however author has not mention Gandhi politics which was one of the great factor of creating hater between Hindus and Muslims.⁵⁴⁵

Sarin has severely question about the credibility of Congress leadership on freedom of India. He seriously asked about their claims and different situation on ground. He criticized on Gandhi's claim that freedom was without bloodshed. He has suggested that anyone can get information from refugees of both sides who last their loved one, their homes and wealth. They would inform about the real price of freedom. For them Gandhi and Nehru joy and proud over freedom is meaningless. He also taunted on other claim of these leader that 'they had been in hurry to see India free in their lifetime' could not be justified in the eyes of refugee either Hindu, Sikh, or Muslim who had paid the price of their foolish mentality.⁵⁴⁶

By and large is a fine effort to evaluate the account of freedom movement. He bring the another angle to view the event and also highlight the pain of refugees. His language and tone is hard. However although he did not join the line of main stream authors of India but he also did hide some facts and not present the Jinnah in true colour. It is a fine study with some weakness.

To sum up, the Indian non-historians also have no agreed narrative on Jinnah. Some of the non-historian authors are lawyers similar to Jinnah. Possibly due to that reason, these authors might be aware of Jinnah's persona from an unusual angle than the rest

⁵⁴⁴ Jagdish Mitter Sarin and Brig. Pramodh Sarin. *Who Made Me Refugee. Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru. Mountbatten*,371.

⁵⁴⁵ S. K. Majumdar. *Jinnah and Gandhi: Their Role in India's Quest For Freedom*. 109.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*. 371

of the Indian authors. All these authors incredibly admired the persona and nature of Jinnah. Similarly they condemned the Congress and its leaders harshly in broad-spectrum and Gandhi in particular. Even though most of the Indian authors have strictly condemned Jinnah yet, some of the authors also have admired Jinnah's persona a lot and it gave the impression that they individually were not in harmony over his politics. Majority of the writers have recognized the administrative abilities and leadership qualities of Jinnah. It seems that there was an inconsistency found in their understanding about Jinnah. They are not in a situation to reject a number of extremely renowned truths however they lack the morality of a researcher and courage to admit the truth. Majority of the authors are of the opinion that British were shoring-up Jinnah and the League. However, some of them have revealed about an accord of Nehru with Labour Party Leaders and companionship between the British and the Congress. A lot of authors also believe that British like Congress Leadership was as arch enemy of Jinnah. Mutually they have one common enemy and left no stone unturned to defeat him but failed.

Some of the non-historian writers also frankly confess that Jinnah was the principal reason in the formation of Pakistan. They also assert that Jinnah formed Pakistan to obtain reprisal from Gandhi. The majority of Indian non-historian writers give the impression that they have especial objective of writing on Jinnah to prove him inferior to Gandhi by raising the status of Gandhi through declaring him as a spiritual leader above the political leader. They are not in a situation to reject several recognized truth yet they attempt to take to mean it in opposition to Jinnah. The significant features of the writing of these authors are that they by no means pass judgment on their Congress leadership especially Gandhi and all the time pay tribute to them. Unlike historians they not at all are aware of the responsibility of writing history. However

their entire focal point was to give explanation for no matter what Congress and Gandhi did. Most of them constantly gave the impression to carry out the character assassination of Jinnah. They thought that he could not create reunion with Congress since he required being number one which was not feasible in Congress. This group of authors prefers those set of facts which suited their personal choices, emotions, their purpose and completely neglected the reality. Thus most of the authors twisted, misunderstood and hide the facts. Some of them present facts without background to create wrong impression and distort history. On the other hand, the private biases and prejudices also played an extremely significant role in concluding the ultimate scrutiny and version of these authors and it may be understood that bulk of them have biases against Jinnah and main motive of their examination is to defame him.

CHAPTER- 6

INDIAN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP ON JINNAH

The vital and principal idea of this chapter is to systematically understand the opinions of the Indian political leaders regarding Jinnah. It will be tried to analyze the methodology through which they have evaluated his struggle for the freedom of sub-continent, his persona, policies, techniques and thoughts. Indian political leaders might be categorized into two sections namely the Congress school of thought and the non-Congress school of thought.

Congress School of Thought

The Congress was not merely the political opponent organization of the League rather it was previously the party of Jinnah the Congressmen were ex-colleagues of Jinnah. Once following the Nagpur gathering, the Congress approved the unlawful techniques like civil-disobedience, non-violence and non-co-operation to attain freedom from the British, Jinnah as firm believer of law, disapproved the strategies of the Congress and left this organization. Whereas he has attempted again and again for collaboration with the Congressmen for attainment of freedom from the British by making Hindu-Muslim united front but ultimately failed in this task. Jinnah started again the active participation in the politics being the president of the League in 1935 and revitalized and modernized it. Under the leadership of Jinnah, the League turned out to be well-organized and mass organization of the Muslims in India.

Whereas Congress overconfidently has presupposed itself as the caretaker of the entire India strongly opposed Jinnah and his League. Initial response of the Congress towards Jinnah was to pay no attention to him, and then they started teasing him and lastly started to develop and spread hatred and disgust against him. Therefore the writings of the Congressmen revealed the same sentiments. Riaz Ahmad is of the

view that Congress leaders' writings are not trustworthy due to the distrust and prejudiced approach of the Congress leaders towards Jinnah.⁵⁴⁷ According to the examination of Indian school by Sharif-al-Mujahid Jinnah was portrayed in Indian narrative as an extremely harmful personality of the freedom struggle after Aurangzeb.⁵⁴⁸

Non Congress School of Thought:

Rests of the all except Congress, the leaders of India have regarded the Congress leaders accountable for the division of India including Jinnah or excluding Jinnah. Their point of view is that it was irrational and unworkable approach of the Congress leaders particularly of Nehru which compelled Jinnah to change from a zealous autonomist to be the creator of new motherland for Muslims namely Pakistan. The early writing of this section hold the position of primary sources and are based on personal memories. They were the participants of the freedom struggle. Thus, they have produced a large amount of work to justify themselves. On the other hand non-Congress writer not only have appreciated Jinnah but also have criticized Congress leaders for their unfair approach. These writings are full of biases and prejudices. Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India* is a short narration of India and alongside that a short autobiography of the writer as well as accounts of freedom struggle.⁵⁴⁹ The study has presented his relationship with Jinnah. The next significant work over Jinnah is Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad's *India Wins Freedom: The Complete*

⁵⁴⁷ 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

⁵⁴⁸ Sharif-al-Mujahid, *Jinnah:s Entry into Maunstream Muslim Politics: A Reappraisal* in the Dr Riaz Ahmed.ed. *Pakistani Scholars on Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University, 1999). 31.

⁵⁴⁹ Jawaharlal Nehru. *The Discovery of India* (Calcutta: The Signet Press, 1946).

Version.⁵⁵⁰ The study is an individual explanation of the author concerning the momentous time of freedom struggle and it also has highlighted the position of Jinnah in the eyes of the author. Sarojini Naidu's *Mohammed Ali Jinnah: An Ambassador of Unity: A Pen Portrait* is a short scrutiny of Jinnah's persona and politics during initial period of his political career.⁵⁵¹ B. R. Ambedkar's *Pakistan or the Partition of India*, is an investigative study of Hindu-Muslim dilemma in India, and alongside it is also an investigation of Jinnah's persona, traits and his politics.⁵⁵² Jaswant Singh's *Jinnah: India-Partition Independence* is a biographical analysis of Jinnah, his political journey and his participation throughout the freedom struggle of India.⁵⁵³

6.1- Jawaharlal Nehru's Descriptive Study:

This exceptionally significant study has been done by Congress' renowned president, the first prime minister of India and the bitter challenger of Jinnah. Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India* is a short narration about the history of India and along with that a short autobiography of the author as well as accounts of freedom struggle.⁵⁵⁴ The writer has argued that Jinnah was a person of unconstructive and pessimistic approach who used to give no value to state.⁵⁵⁵ The writer has charged that Jinnah was an excellent lawyer politician and negotiator but not equipped with some acquaintance of economic troubles of India.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁰ Maulana Abual Kalam Azad. *India Wins Freedom: The Complete Version* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1988).

⁵⁵¹ 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)

⁵⁵² Ambedkar. *Pakistan or the Partition of India*(Lahore: Book Traders. n.d.).

⁵⁵³ Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India- partition independence* (New Delhi: Rupa. 2009). He was one of the prominent leader of BJP and held many important portfolios.

⁵⁵⁴ 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.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 340.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 339.

The author has added that Jinnah decided to leave Congress due to his inability to accept new dogmas and techniques of involving masses into politics. The author has assumed that Jinnah hated the involvement of the common man into the politics; his thoughts on politics were different and outdated which were appropriate only for lawmaking assembly and group discussion.⁵⁵⁷ The words of writer reveal not only his misreading of Jinnah persona but also his hatred towards Jinnah.

As a matter of fact, the author has totally neglected the historical facts to prove his hypothesis about Jinnah and many authors have noted that. Ajeet Jawed, who has recorded that Jinnah was once one of the central leaders of the Congress and the torch-bearer of its philosophy, left the Congress when he realized that Congress was differing from its belief of Constitutionalism to non Constitutionalism. Furthermore, it is also renowned fact that Jinnah was actively involved into mass politics even before the Congress' acceptance of Gandhian plan of mass agitation and the presence of P J Hall [Bombay] is a proof of Jinnah's victorious mass demonstration.⁵⁵⁸

The author has assumed that Jinnah disliked the Congress whereas author's narration has illustrated that he himself had developed a strong feeling of hater for 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 strength and tenacity, he is a strangely negative person whose appropriate symbol might well be a 'no.'"⁵⁵⁹ At some place Nehru has mentioned that Jinnah was very much uncultured person and with all his abilities failed to impress writer and writer also has perceived that Jinnah had no ability to understand world and its problems. Thus writer was such an allergic with Jinnah that he was ready for partition so that Jinnah could not participate in the

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., 314.

⁵⁵⁸ Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984). 60.

⁵⁵⁹ Nehru, *The Discovery of India*. 340.

politics of India after obtaining Pakistan and author can feel easiness in politics without Jinnah, "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."⁵⁶⁰ These words show that author has an inferiority complex with Jinnah. Jinnah was not only more experience in the field of politics but also a better strategist than author. These words of author seem to be the confession of author to the superior political strategy.

Nehru has claimed that Gandhi and some other Congress leaders had attempted to resolve the Hindu-Muslim dilemma with Jinnah however the irrational desires of Jinnah could not let them to be successful. The author has described that the Congress leaders negotiated with Jinnah again and again to resolve the disagreements amid them however their efforts bore no fruit because of the stubbornness of Jinnah. The Congress and Jinnah both were unable to compromise on their principles.⁵⁶¹ Jinnah had experience of negotiation with Congress for last 20years. Thus he knew Congress better than anybody else. He had bitter memories of betrayal and deception from

⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶⁰ 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.

⁵⁶¹ 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. Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 341.

Congress camp thus he insisted on setting principles first than on further development. And writer has been playing with words to hide the facts.

The real reason for the failure of compromise was that the Congress was not willing to recognize the fundamental principle of the partition initially, thus if Congress was not agreed on that principle than how could she resolve the issue.⁵⁶² While the grandson of Gandhi, Raj Mohan Gandhi, has unveiled the additional surface of the account. He has stated that Jinnah even after the elections of 1937, attempted to resolve Hindu-Muslim dilemma with Gandhi but once more was let down by Gandhi.⁵⁶³ Historical data has revealed that Jinnah was struggling for the unity Hindus and the Muslims right from the beginning of his political journey in 1906. And the Lucknow Pact [1916], which was considered as the solitary thriving accord between the League and the Congress, was exclusively coined by Jinnah. Whereas Congress leadership tried to spoil each and every attempt of Jinnah for Hindu-Muslim unity. Nehru himself also had contributed by ruining the final attempt of Jinnah's approval of Cabinet Mission Plan [1946], with his irrational and bad-tempered statements. Saad R. Khairi has obtained the evidence from historical facts that Jinnah remained a nationalist till the closure of his political career and has also stated that it was the

⁵⁶² Beverley Nichols, *Verdict on India* (Bombay: Thacker & Co., 1946),189.

⁵⁶³ Rajmohan 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.

Congress whose strategies and philosophies were changing again and again and lastly one and only alternative remained for Jinnah and that was Pakistan.⁵⁶⁴

The author's narration is full of biases and he has distorted the facts. His collection of data and the ruthless tone has revealed that he was strongly allergic to Jinnah. The author has argued that the Congress leaders attempted to resolve the disagreement among them but Jinnah never replied in an optimistic manner. It is clear from the data that the Congress leaders strived to be successful with Jinnah on any compromise in 40s, on the other hand historical details have illustrated that Jinnah was striving for resolution of Hindu-Muslim disagreement from the beginning of his political career and each endeavor of Jinnah was ruined by Congress. Matter of the fact is that time and again Nehru himself mocked Jinnah and his leadership.⁵⁶⁵ Most of the Indian writers also have condemned the Congress leaders for their attitude and behavior which eventually paved the way for partition along with Jinnah and the League.⁵⁶⁶ Bakshi paid excessive admiration to Nehru and his writing has eventually confessed that Nehru's attitude was more global than local in writings.⁵⁶⁷

The study is full of biases and prejudices of the author and the author has tried to hide facts at some places and at many places misinterpret the facts to create false impression. The work also has revealed that the author has avoided narrating about Jinnah which showed his extreme level of irritation with Jinnah. His tone is full of arrogance and rudeness. The author holds high regard for himself and his mentor

⁵⁶⁴ Saad R. Khairi, *Jinnah Reinterpreted: The Journey from Indian Nationalism to Muslim Statehood* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 452-453.

⁵⁶⁵ S. Gopal ed. *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. VIII. (New Delhi: Nehru foundation, 1976). 119.121.

⁵⁶⁶ 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.

⁵⁶⁷ S. R. Bakshi, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Role in Freedom Struggle* (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1990), 238.

Gandhi but has tried to defame Jinnah. Although the work contains too many weak points yet is worthy to understand the mindset of the Congress and set the foundation of Indian national narrative. The account is highly valuable for the researchers who want to work on freedom struggle and Jinnah to understand the view point of Congress leadership.

6.2- Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad's Descriptive Study:

The next significant work on Jinnah is Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad's *India Wins Freedom: The Complete Version*.⁵⁶⁸ The account under evaluation is an individual explanation of the author related to the momentous time of freedom struggle and it also has tried to highlight the position of Jinnah during that turbulent time. The writer has argued that Jinnah was not an important political leader following the exit from the Congress. He regarded Gandhi who showered him too much admiration by settling Hindu-Muslim crisis with him in 1944 as considering him the only spokesperson of the Muslims. The author also has claimed that Gandhi's strategy brought back Jinnah on the central stage of the political arena of India. He has stated that, "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."⁵⁶⁹

The historical data has revealed that Jinnah was an important leader even ahead of the advent of Gandhi in India. His decision of departure from the Congress could not malign him among his supporters. Under his skilled guidance, the League passed through a huge transformation and became a popular party from a drawing room

⁵⁶⁸ Maulana Abual Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom: The Complete Version* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1988). He was one the most prominent Congress man and Scholar and author of many books.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 96-7.

party. Thus, only Gandhi admitted that reality and the status of Jinnah among the Muslim masses by initiating discussions with Jinnah.

Many authors like, Dr. Ambedkar and I. H. Qureshi have revealed that it was the requirement of Gandhi to go round toward Jinnah instead of Jinnah because he was unsuccessful in attaining any outcome from his badly organized 'Quit India Movement' [1942], and also has lost his value in the eyes of the British.⁵⁷⁰ Thus to regain his value in the eyes of the British, Gandhi staged a drama of the negotiations.

Azad also has declared that the label of Quaid-i-Azam was conferred to Jinnah by Gandhi but has not provided any accurate evidence.⁵⁷¹ In reality Jinnah was crowned by this title by the Muslims and again Gandhi confessed it. A reviewer of Azad, Wahid Khan has disclosed that the reason of Azad's hostility to Jinnah was Jinnah's declaration of Azad as a 'show boy'⁵⁷² of the Congress. Throughout his life, Azad struggled very hard to come out from that embarrassment. As a matter of fact, it was that injury which enforced Azad to narrate this account.⁵⁷³ Raj Mohan Gandhi also has condemned Azad for his untrustworthy sources and has stated that, "The haste and anxiety, and the fact that he relied on his memory, have produced some one-sided judgments and also several simple inaccuracies".⁵⁷⁴ Syeda has also considered that there was a grave inconsistency between the persona of Azad and his narration.⁵⁷⁵

Azad has placed responsibility of the division of India on all the prominent leaders except himself.⁵⁷⁶ The writer has agreed upon the fact that there were a number of

⁵⁷⁰ 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.

⁵⁷¹ Azad, *India Wins Freedom*. 97.

⁵⁷² Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed. *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (Karachi: EWP, 1977). 33.

⁵⁷³ Abdul Waheed Khan, *India wins Freedom The Other Side* (Karachi: Pakistan Educational Publishers Ltd, 1961), 19.

⁵⁷⁴ Rajmohan Gandhi, *India Wins Errors: A Scrutiny of Maulana Azad's India Wins Freedom* (New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1989), 251.

⁵⁷⁵ Syeda Saiyidam Hameed, *Islamic Seal on India's Independence Abul Kalam Azad. A Fresh Look* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998), 198.

⁵⁷⁶ Azad, *India Wins Freedom*. 201-3.

grave blunders made by Congress leaders which paved the way for the separation of India.⁵⁷⁷ This explanation has also disclosed that Congress was not a party with democratic values. It was dictated by solo person, Gandhi and rest of all were to obey him unconditionally, "I have always had the feeling that these colleagues 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 react."⁵⁷⁸

Azad has disclosed that the Congress was not an open party and Gandhi had limitless powers. He was followed without questioning by his followers. He was the sole man of Congress and his decision was final. The study seems to be personal protrusion of the writer and explanation of his deed. The author also has misinterpreted the specifics and proclamations. The historical data has exposed that Jinnah had no individual conflict with Azad. The author has attempted very hard to establish himself the most significant person in the freedom struggle. The work apparently cannot be called a historical work. However the account is valuable for the researchers to understand the mindset of Muslim who remained loyal to the Congress.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.. 170.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.. 98-9.

6.3- Sarojini Naidu's Descriptive Study:

Sarojini Naidu's *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: An Ambassador of Unity: A Pen Portrait* is a short scrutiny of Jinnah's persona and politics during the initial period of his political career.⁵⁷⁹ In the opinion of the writer, Jinnah was a man of unique qualities because he had comprehensible insight, was sober, straightforward and devoted human being.⁵⁸⁰

The author has claimed that Jinnah was a grand campaigner,⁵⁸¹ courageous, firm,⁵⁸² composed, broadminded, coherent, realistic,⁵⁸³ great nationalist and an Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. He climbed swiftly to the central leaders of national movement.⁵⁸⁴ The writer has recognized Jinnah's hard work and responsibility when talked about his participation in presentation of the Lucknow Pact.⁵⁸⁵

The significance of the study is that the scrutiny was in black and white in 1917 just a year following the Lucknow Pact. The examination was the earliest investigation of the persona and politics of Jinnah about the period of the initial years of his political journey. The author has had an impartial vision about Jinnah in Congress possibly she has been familiar with him prior to at all other Congress leader of final stages of freedom struggle. Jinnah and the author were both the disciples of Gokhale and had worked together in Gokhale's Congress. She had no private bigotries against Jinnah and by no means negated him yet following separation. She forever had enormous regard for Jinnah. She frankly pleaded guilty after the division of India that the

⁵⁷⁹ Sarojini. Naidu. Mohammed Ali Jinnah: An Ambassador of Unity: A Pen Portrait. in *Mohammed 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.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 22.

⁵⁸² Ibid., 15.

⁵⁸³ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., 13.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., 24.

Congress behavior towards Jinnah was not based on justice.⁵⁸⁶ Although the study is based on the data only about the early years of Jinnah yet the study is of much importance because it has revealed the significance of Jinnah from the beginning of his career. The study is also an evidence of Jinnah's contribution during the early years of his career, a truth which has been hard enough for congress narrative to defy.

6.4- K. M. Ashraf's Analytical Approach:

Another noteworthy work of an Indian political personality is K. M. Ashraf's *Hindu-Muslim Question and Our Freedom Struggle (1857-1935)*.⁵⁸⁷ The main concern of the study is to find out the reasons of Hindu-Muslim dilemma in India and the impact of that dilemma on freedom struggle. While discussing the history of the freedom movement, he has also commented on the persona and the politics of Jinnah and his role during the freedom movement. In the opinion of the author, Jinnah along with his followers desired to peacefully coexist with the Congress and the Hindus. The author has described that Jinnah and his companions sought to co-operate with the Congress to work on the future constitution of India.⁵⁸⁸

According to the author, Jinnah re-organized and rebuilt the League after returning to India and also attained the cooperation of moderate group along with the religious groups of the Muslims community.⁵⁸⁹ Under the dynamic leadership of Jinnah, the League took up a new plan and strategy in Lucknow Session which lead to the separation.⁵⁹⁰ The author has accused Jinnah and his companions for the negativity which in the long run disintegrated the unity of India. The writer not only has accused the Muslim leadership but also their organization for its policies and strategies which

⁵⁸⁶ Jawed. *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*. 211

⁵⁸⁷ 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.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol.I, 197.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 277.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 46.

were pessimistic according to him. He also has perceived that the League wanted to work with anti-democratic parties in India.⁵⁹¹

Ashraf, like the bulk of Indian writers, could not understand the uneasiness of the Muslims in India. He belonged to the group of those day-dreamers who were under the spell of the Indian nationalism. He has failed to check the threat of a total elimination of the Muslims in India by the hands of hostile, aggressive and permanent majority. His language and tone is very harsh about Jinnah and the League whereas very sweet, appeasing and flattery about the Congress. He has claimed that the Congress leadership left no stone unturned to win the hearts of Muslims but remained unsuccessful. At last writer confesses that usage of Hindu symbol by Congress to promote nationalism failed to convince Muslims. He has stated that, "An uncompromising national attitude was taken by the Congress leadership in the matter of exclusively Hindu symbols..... These conciliatory measures, however, signally failed to win over the bulk of Musalmans to the Congress ideals of Nationalism."⁵⁹²

Actually the Congress leaders especially Gandhi had used Hindu religious terminology to explain his political philosophy which generated insecurities among the Muslims under Hindu dominance. The author has perceived that Jinnah did not correctly read the situation and let him go with the swing and as a result separatism disintegrated India.⁵⁹³ The author has claimed that Jinnah got huge support from the Muslims only after the Congress' 'Quit India movement' which failed and caused a setback for the Congress. Thus, the political vacuum was filled by Jinnah and the League in Muslim majority areas. The author has said that, "It may be recalled that Mr. Jinnah came to acquire a dominating position in Muslims politics only after the

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.. 61.

⁵⁹² Ibid.. 67.

⁵⁹³ Ibid.. 70.

abandonment of Direct Action by Congress and the inauguration of the Provincial Ministries under the new Act in 1937".⁵⁹⁴

The author's argument is baseless and he has quoted facts without any pretext and context. The author is afraid of facing reality and did not have much courage to accept the political wisdom of Jinnah. On the other hand PJH has revealed the popularity of Jinnah that Jinnah did not need the exit of the Congress from politics to strengthen his position in politics. His annual election from the League for its presidency even in his absence from India has shown the trust and support of the Muslims for him.⁵⁹⁵ Ashraf has claimed that the outcome of 1945-6 elections was astonishing. The League's narrative won the support of the Muslims and the Congress' narrative won the support of the Hindus thus both attained consent in opposition to each other. The outcome of the election potted the fortune of the Muslim in congress camps. They lost everything in politics.⁵⁹⁶

The author has adopted very biased approach towards Jinnah just like mainstream Indian writers. He has tried to present the version of the story which suited him. The author, for the sake of his pre-supposed conclusion misrepresented the true picture. He has selected the facts to fabricate a story of his own choice. He has quoted the facts without context and pretext and also has hidden some important facts. He has used very rude language for Jinnah which has revealed his personal grudges against him. On the other hand he has used very sweet words for the Congress leadership. The work is an example of misrepresentation of history and distortion of the facts.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., 154.

⁵⁹⁵ M. H. Saiyed, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study*(Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf. 1954),228.

⁵⁹⁶ Ashraf. *Hindu- Muslim Question*, 206.

6.5- B. R. Ambedkar's Descriptive Study:

B. R. Ambedkar's *Pakistan or the Partition of India*, is a diagnostic study of Hindu-Muslim dilemma in India, and alongside that it is also an assessment of Jinnah's persona, traits and his politics,⁵⁹⁷ the author has claimed that Jinnah was a person of morally upright character, impossible to be bought, a self-centered, bigheaded and tough opponent of the British rule in India.⁵⁹⁸ The writer has argued that Jinnah was a patriotic leader and has skills and talents of administration. During the late 30's Jinnah's politics had turned towards the Muslims only. Under his skilled leadership, the League's character got changed because Jinnah not only revitalized and modernized the League but also turned it into a popular party. The author has also claimed that under the guidance of Jinnah the League was no more a communal party.⁵⁹⁹

Ambedkar has a belief that Jinnah was activated again into politics and acquired the control of the League, restructured it and also brought back Muslims under its banner, while Gandhi was not prepared to understand that fact. The author is surprised by the attitude of Gandhi who was still denying the position of Jinnah and his demand for Pakistan. The author has argued that Gandhi was too much obsessed with his desire that was unable to see the level of popularity of Jinnah among the Muslim.⁶⁰⁰

The writer has also described that Jinnah had to change his policies and strategies when he became the leader of the masses. He was very close to his followers instead of being at a distance. That was the reason; they elevated his position and crowned him with the title of Quaid-i-Azam. He emerged at that time not only as a dedicated

⁵⁹⁷ Ambedkar. *Pakistan or the Partition of India*. Dr. Ambedkar was the leader of depressed class during freedom movement and architect of Indian constitution.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 323.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 356-57.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 405.

Muslim but was ready to die for Islam. He participated in the religious and social activities, visited mosques and also joined the Muslim gatherings after the change.⁶⁰¹

Ambedkar has given logics that it was not acceptable that Jinnah passed through the transformation in mid-thirties. Numerous incidents have illustrated that Jinnah was a leader of masses right from the beginning of his political career such as a protest against Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay's farewell party.⁶⁰² He was a dutiful Muslim from the start, though he never advertized his religion. Passing of the Muslim Wakf Bill is the proof of his religious awareness.⁶⁰³ The author has also argued that with the breakdown of Quit India Movement and the loss of the admiration in the eyes of the British, Gandhi must have to turn towards Jinnah. Gandhi started negotiations with the British authorities at one side and on the other, he showed his desire to discuss issues with Jinnah which was previously unimaginable. Gandhi got the divine light to discuss Hindu-Muslim problems with Jinnah who had tried again and again to resolve that problem but Gandhi was not in a mood to resolve the issue and rejected every time by claiming that he was waiting for divine light of guidance. However the failure of his movements brought light for him to resolve issues with Jinnah. Writer has stated that, "On coming out of goal, he found that he and the Congress had not only missed the bus but had also lost the road."⁶⁰⁴

Thus as a bargained material Gandhi started dialogue with Jinnah to regain his position in the eyes of British. "To retrieve the position and win for the Congress the respect of the British Government as a premier party in the country.....he started negotiating with the Viceroy. Thwarted in that attempt, Mr. Gandhi turned to Mr.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., 405-6.

⁶⁰² Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. Vol.I. 296-301.

⁶⁰³ Ibid., 22-34.

⁶⁰⁴ Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India*, 407.

Jinnah.”⁶⁰⁵ Whenever Jinnah approached Gandhi to resolve issues the latter always made some illogical excuses to avoid from dialogue with Jinnah.⁶⁰⁶ However when he and Congress was in hot water due to their own miscalculation he thought he could win back British by playing the drama of dialogue. Writer has taunted on the Hippocratic and insincere manner of Gandhi, “It is good that at long last wisdom dawned on Mr. Gandhi he agreed to see the light which was staring him in the face and which he had so far refused to see.”⁶⁰⁷

The opinion of the author has been contrary to the view point of the Congress throughout this study. According to the writer, Jinnah never ever has required some acknowledgment from Gandhi or the Congress instead he was by now the leader of the Muslims, their Quaid-i-Azam. At that occasion it was the requirement of Gandhi to discuss with Jinnah to get back reliability which was lost because of his decisions at the wrong time. This investigation has portrayed Jinnah in comparatively constructive way and the writer has praised Jinnah’s persona, traits and skills although, he has also attached some negative attributes with Jinnah’s persona at times, the author has hidden some facts to prove his hypothesis. Nevertheless the author also has interpreted a lot of details about the freedom movement thus he can be called the predecessor of the modest and positive faction of the Indian writers of freedom movement and of Jinnah. The research is of great value to understand the mindset and the limitations of the Indian writers on history.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., 407.

⁶⁰⁶ Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, ed. *Speeches and Writings of Mr Jinnah*, Vol. 1, (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1968), 25.

⁶⁰⁷ Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India*, 407.

6.6- Jaswant Singh's Analytical Study:

Jaswant Singh's *Jinnah: India-Partition Independence* is a biographical analysis of Jinnah, his political journey and the part he participated throughout the freedom struggle of India, narrated by a Politician of India after 60 years of separation.⁶⁰⁸ The author has claimed that Jinnah was a patriotic leader, self-educated and unwavering human being. Jinnah by nature and ideology was a constitutionalist and an opponent of the foreign rule. In his words, "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."⁶⁰⁹

Singh has a belief that Jinnah expertly joined the Indian political forces in opposition to the British rule and built a pressure on them for the introduction of self-rule in India. However, the influx of the Gandhian tactics which comforted the British from that strain and also contributed to the prolonged British rule for the next three decades. In the opinion of writer, "Gandhi differing with Jinnah on the working of these reforms carved his own path and went to civil disobedience and the agitation 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."⁶¹⁰

The writer also has claimed that Jinnah was dedicated to his goal and not at all altered his place. He started his political occupation as big campaigner of Hindu-Muslim united front to attain independence from the British. Jinnah endeavored for the liberty of India from the British he was at the same time working to seek protection for the

⁶⁰⁸ Jaswant Singh. *Jinnah: India- partition independence* (New Delhi: Rupa; 2009). He was one of the prominent leader of BJP and held many important portfolios.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., 72.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 99.

Indian Muslims in India. Thus, for that reason he tried ceaselessly for Hindu-Muslim unity. In the words of writer, "Jinnah...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 Muslims, working ceaselessly for both these aims."⁶¹¹

To achieve unity, Hindus had to offer a few protections to the Muslims. However Hindus were not in mood to offer some protection to Muslims. Thus to save Muslims rights and interests Jinnah had to do something unique. Subsequently Jinnah came up with a strategy and with a competent approach; Jinnah was triumphant to attain Pakistan a safe land for Muslims in India.⁶¹² According to Singh, "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."⁶¹³

The author has analyzed that Jinnah's fight was political in nature and his claim for Pakistan was political too thus religion was not mixed with politics by Jinnah intentionally. Jinnah was not only essential for the formation of Pakistan, however Pakistan was also essential to describe the persona and skills of Jinnah. In the words of writer, "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."⁶¹⁴

⁶¹¹Ibid.. 485.

⁶¹² Sikandar. Hayat. *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*, 71-78.268-317.

⁶¹³Ibid.. 485.

⁶¹⁴Ibid.. 486.

According to the author, separation was the outcome of conflict between Jinnah and Nehru. Nehru was extremely antagonistic to Jinnah, who sought to expel Jinnah out of the Indian political arena and that conflict eventually paved the way for the separation of India. The writer also has admitted that the Congress leaders were powerless to recognize the gravity of the state of affairs. Singh has stated 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".⁶¹⁵

Jaswant Singh's hypothesis is very unique and dissimilar to most of the Indian authors. He has depicted Jinnah's persona and character in optimistic manner however, also has attempted to counter many issues about Jinnah's persona and politics along with the freedom struggle. He made it clear that Jinnah was not ready to negotiate with Gandhi at Gandhi's residence not due to the proud behavior of Jinnah who preferred to discredit Gandhi. As a matter of fact, Jinnah had realized from a previous experience that at Gandhi's residence, it was almost impossible to negotiate about the serious matters because of the crowd of the supporters of Gandhi.⁶¹⁶ The study is an excellent and logical account of the political life of Jinnah and has brought to light the hardly ever discussed area of Jinnah's political life. The study has justified that Jinnah was a political leader and his struggle and demands, both were political in nature and religion had not been used by Jinnah for political purposes deliberately. The study is well-structured and also has consulted many documents which have enhanced the significance of the study. The author has taken an objective approach

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.. 509.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.. 307.

and with factual data has justified that Jinnah was a great political leader of his times. The study is an excellent count of intellectual circle.

6.7- Kuldip Nayar's Analytical Approach:

The next historical work is Kuldip Nayar's *Wall at Wagah: India Pakistan Relations* is a critical analysis of bilateral relations of two neighboring countries.⁶¹⁷ Author has presented the analysis of partition of India before exploring his main topic. Author has also explored the persona and politics of Jinnah as a key player related to those events. According to the examination of author Jinnah was power-seeker and self-centered person. He was the one who created separatism between Muslims and Hindus to achieve his objective.⁶¹⁸

Author has tried to compare the persona of Jinnah with Gandhi and explored that Jinnah and Gandhi were to belong to two different worlds totally dialectical from life style to ideology. Jinnah had an elegant and sophisticated dressing and Gandhi wear dhoti. Jinnah was address by everyone Mr. Jinnah and Gandhi was address as Gandhiji.⁶¹⁹ Matter of the fact that Jinnah and Gandhi were antithesis to each other in every sphere of life. Jinnah was realist and rational person and Gandhi was idealist and daydreamer person. Jinnah was a responsible person and own the responsibility of every action he took on the other hand Gandhi put the responsibility of every frailer of his political life on the other shoulders either mortal or immortals.⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁷ Kuldip Nayar. *Wall at Wagah: India-Pakistan Relations* (New Delhi: Gyan Publication House. 2003). He is a renowned journalist and writer. He was also the member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.. 31.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.. 49-50

⁶²⁰ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada. ed. *Foundations of Pakistan: All India Muslim League Documents 1906-1924*: _____, *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*: Z. H. Zaidi. *Quaid-i- Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, Vol. I-XVIII. (Islamabad: Quaid-i- Azam Paper Wing, 1993-2011). Ajeet .Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*.;S. R. Sharma, ed., *Mohammad Ali Jinnah*.; Rajmohan Gandhi, *Eight Live: A Study of the Hindu- Muslim Encounter* : Ajeet .Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*.

Nayar thought that 1937 was the year which changes the political landscape of India. Prior to 1937 although there was always difference between Hindus and Muslims not only in the sphere of religion but in social, cultural and political terms as well as. However from 1937 these differences had started to 'institutionalize.' Jinnah had turned the whole situation in his favor by fanning these differences.⁶²¹ After that he quoted some event from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad book to support his argument. He also quoted some other story from other book. But matter of fact Pakistan has to be come in to being as only save place for Muslims in India according to the law of nature survival for the fittest. Jinnah leadership was one of the important factors along with other factors. These two communities who belong to the two different civilizations which are totally opposite to each other in every aspect of life could not live together under British parliamentary system. Whole Indian school wanted a united India to live but they always forget that to rule united India you have the heart of Asoka, Babar and Akbar. Unfortunately Congress leaders were lack of these qualities.

Author himself has narrated the reasonless behavior of Nehru push toward Pakistan by question on his abilities as a leader and his authority on League. Thus Jinnah had to organized League and Muslims under the banner of League. According to the perception of author Jinnah took every taunt and mock of Nehru very seriously and always remember those taunt and never let Nehru go.⁶²² According to author, Jinnah

⁶²¹ Kuldip Nayar. *Wall at Wagah: India-Pakistan Relations*, 31.

⁶²² 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.

had adopted the approach of winning the trust of Muslim masses and also brings them in the fold of League to prove to Congress and its president Nehru particularly that League is the only representative party of Muslims in India and Jinnah was the only paramount leader of them. Author himself quoted that after the rejection of League offer of cooperation in UP Nehru declared that in India there were only two force British and Congress. But here author did not quoted full message of Nehru he was dictating other to join one from these two thus it was quite natural that Jinnah had to correct him by reminding him League was a third force as the main political party of Muslims and League under the president ship of a dynamic leader would not be 'campfollower' of any of these option given by Congress president Nehru.⁶²³ Author has adopted very biased approach while comparing Jinnah and Congress two most important leaders Nehru and Gandhi in politics and persona. He has harshly condemned Jinnah for his actions and words use for Nehru and Gandhi and justified their words and actions in very sweet tone. For that reason author has twisted the facts very boldly. He quoted from Azad That Gandhi granted the title of Quaid-i-Azam to Jinnah to Honor him but Jinnah did not respect Gandhi generous grant. '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".⁶²⁴ However author did not read careful Azad book otherwise he could not committed this kind of blunder Azad clearly stated that at that time in some newspaper were addressing Jinnah with the title of Quaid-i-Azam.⁶²⁵ That reveal it was not Gandhi someone else who first use this title for Jinnah.⁶²⁶ Matter of fact Gandhi letter to Jinnah has revealed the purpose of Gandhi addressing Jinnah with

⁶²³ Ibid., 32.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., 35.

⁶²⁵ Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, 97.

⁶²⁶ Sharif -al-Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation* .419-436.

such title. It also exposes the Gandhi cunning tact to play with other by beautiful words.⁶²⁷ However languages of both the leaders also exposed the caliber and morality of these two leaders. Same is the case of Jinnah treatment with Nehru. Historical record has revealed that it was Nehru who not only raised the question of Jinnah authority on Muslims but also advised him to rely on 'internal strength'. Jinnah simply forced him to eat his own words by proving him the only leader of Muslims of India by organizing them in one political party League.⁶²⁸

Author has discussed the Jinnah strategy of bring the Muslims leader under League fold than he discusses the issues of at that time. In very cunning manner author justified the Hindus atrocity against Muslims by saying that Hindus were subject to Muslims for many centuries than subject to British for nearly century so it's time for Hindus to shows their 'chauvinistic trends that had long been dormant were coming to the surface.'⁶²⁹

It is really sad that a person who is interacting with world so much representing his nation have such kind of mentality. By any mean chauvinist does not synonym with

⁶²⁷Gandhi 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, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (Karachi: East and West Publishing Company, 3rd .1977),95-98.

⁶²⁸ 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 our inherent strength." Kuldip Nayar, *Wall at Wagah. India-Pakistan Relations*, Ibid., 35

⁶²⁹ Ibid., 34.

atrocities on weak, poor and minor sections of society. By any definition these actions are under the fold of cruelty, brutality and unjust treatment. If Indian intelligentsia is agreed with the thinking of the author then they are on the way of self-destruction. Accounts of world history reveal that whenever a nation adopted this kind of approach towards others, sooner or later they were wiped out from the face of earth. Nayar like many Indian authors thought that British and Congress gave too much value to Jinnah which was used by him to build his authority on Muslims.⁶³⁰ Historical records reveal that Jinnah was treated by British on equal status with Gandhi was not due to the sudden change in British policy towards Muslims but due to the lack of options in their hands. In the past for so many years British and Congress supported many Muslims to become the leader of the Muslim nation but no one was as worthy as Jinnah in the eyes of the Muslim nation. Thus both were forced by the love, trust and respect of the Muslim nation for Jinnah to acknowledge his authority on them.⁶³¹ The impotence of the present study is that the author unlike mainstream Indian writers admitted that Jinnah wanted Pakistan wholeheartedly and never disowned it. The author over the years met with key persons related to the transfer of power in India from British authorities and they testified that Jinnah wholeheartedly demanded Pakistan and never turned around. Pakistan.⁶³² The study has a deep influence of Congress narrative which

⁶³⁰ Ibid., 37-38.

⁶³¹ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed. *Foundations of Pakistan: All India Muslim League Documents 1906-1924*; __, *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. Z. H. Zaidi, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, Vol. I-XVIII. (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam Paper Wing, 1993-2011).

⁶³² 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 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

is a dominant factor in opinion making in India towards Pakistan. Author has maintained a biased approach towards Jinnah. His languages and words are harsh towards Jinnah. Study is a fine example of self-satisfaction. He has followed the tradition of Indian school by twisting and playing with fact. However author desire for good relation with Pakistan is a fine gesture which is often use by Indian leaders to soften western world.

6.8- L. K. Advani's Analytical Study:

The next important work on Jinnah by Indian political leader is *My Country: My Life* by L. K. Advani.⁶³³ Study is an autobiography of the author. He also presented the analysis of event of last century from the start of the century thus evaluating the event of freedom struggle he also presented his analysis about the politics and persona of Jinnah. Author like many Indian authors consider that Jinnah begin his political journey from the platforms of Congress as a patriotic leader. He had worked day and night to bring Hindu and Muslim in one united front against British to attain freedom from them. Author has acknowledged Jinnah as the architect of Lucknow Pact but also included Tilak with him in that Pact which is remember as the only successful effort to bring Hindus and Muslims close together.⁶³⁴

Advani has examined that Jinnah was the height of his glory in Indian political arena thus he imagine that he would lead India from the front in the march toward the freedom and he would initial the every move towards that destiny however his dream

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." Ibid., 22-23.

⁶³³ L. K. Advani, *My Country: My Life* (New Delhi: Rupa & Co, 2008). Lal Krishna Advani is an Indian politician who served as the 7th Deputy Prime Minister of India from 2002 to 2004 under Atal Bihari Vajpayee. He is the co-founder and senior leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party. He was awarded the Padma Vibhushan, the 2nd highest civilian award in India.

⁶³⁴ Ibid., 819.

were broken down by the arrival of Gandhi in to the Indian political arena. With all out sudden Gandhi capture the central position in Indian political arena with his magical impact on people which push Jinnah to back bench. By comparing both those personalities author consider that Jinnah was from beginning to end 'anti-thesis' of Gandhi. Gandhi was a religious leader in politics with his intangible standards and mix the religious thought on politic. Jinnah was a political leader who follows only rational practical approach in politics.⁶³⁵ However author analysis is not totally acceptable he hide act to build his argument. He consider Jinnah at once a egoist person who had a fantasy of becoming the most important leader of India on the other he also claim that Jinnah was practical person if author has no time to study historical facts than he should only discussed with his colleague Jaswant Singh to get more information about the persona and politics of Jinnah than his analysis is not ill with the contradictory statement.⁶³⁶

Author has claimed that Jinnah dislike Nehru. Jinnah and Nehru were also total opposite to each other from persona to political philosophy.⁶³⁷ Yes both belong to two different worlds which were pole apart from each other. Jinnah was a hard core rational and practical person on the other hand Nehru was a very arrogant plus imaginary person. Their letter and speeches themselves present the person and political believes of these two.⁶³⁸ Author after acknowledging Jinnah personal skill an organizational quality which able League to gather Muslims under its wings so that it can challenged Congress and fought for them and finally successful in making Pakistan only safe place for Muslims in India. Author also put the major blame of

⁶³⁵ Ibid.. 821.

⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁶ Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India- partition independence*.307.

⁶³⁷ L. K. Advani, *My Country: My Life*, 821.

⁶³⁸ Syed Sarifuddin Pirzada, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (Karachi: East and West Publishing Company,3rd .1977):S. Gopal ed. *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*. Vol. VIII, (New Delhi: Nehru foundation, 1976), 119,121.

partition on Jinnah.⁶³⁹ Author views are like most of the Indian author are biased. He uses very harsh language and tone about Jinnah and did not pay any attention on the attitude of Congress leadership. He has blamed Jinnah for creating separatism among Hindus and Muslims. Author himself participating in flaming the Hindutav ideology in Indian central politics and he himself led *Rath yatra* to Ayodhya from Somnath which resulted in the destruction of Babari Masjid at one hand and other hand resulted in the killing of many Muslims. Thus he has pulled off the cover of secularism on Indian politics and destroying the fabric of Indian nationalism. As a result of the rise of Hindutav in India Indian minorities are feeling the same sense of insecurity which was felt by Muslims 73 years back. On the birthday of Jinnah in 2020 minorities in India at many places have celebrated his birthday as a protest against Hindutav. His analysis is full of biases and he used harsh language and tone.

In nutshell, the bulk of the Congress leadership's narrations illustrate the psychological inferiority complex of Congress leadership towards Jinnah and also the envy and private grudge. Their narrative is full of biases and distortion of the facts. Their collection of data and ruthless tone reveals that they were strongly allergic to Jinnah. Their narrative is prejudiced enough to assassinate the character of Jinnah politically. The authors have tried to hide the facts at some places and at many places misrepresent the facts to create a false impression. However, the rest of the leadership except Congress has high regard for Jinnah's politics and persona. They have portrayed Jinnah in a comparatively positive manner. They have an impartial vision about Jinnah. The Congress leaders endeavored to slander Jinnah through every achievable means but never thrived. Nevertheless, almost every non-Congress leader has regarded Jinnah as a superior leader in comparison to the entire of the Congress camp.

⁶³⁹ L. K. Advani, *My Country: My Life*, 818.

They also held Congress responsible for not treating Jinnah reasonably that was why they have a bigger contribution in the division. Their commentary illustrates that it was Congress instead of Jinnah who did not patch up with others. It was again Congress who left Muslims without safeguard in India thus leveled the ground for Jinnah to build Pakistan.

CHAPTER- 7

STYLES AND TRENDS OF SCHOOLS

7.1- Pakistani School:

Pakistani historical work is reactionary from the beginning to some extent because most of the early work is a kind of replay to the Indian work and has tried to answer many questions put forward by the Indian authors and also has tried to present the remaining facts of history which were kept hidden by the Indians to prove their hypothesis. Historical work on Jinnah and the freedom movement started in Pakistan relatively late as compared to India due to the hardships faced by the local researchers in Pakistan. Bureaucratic hurdles are the one of biggest obstacles in the way of research in Pakistan for local researcher to attain official document for research purposes. The bureaucracy in Pakistan is a stereotype as inherited the loyalty to the British raj and white skin and aloofness from the locals, right from the British time period. Their mindset and behavior did not change with the change of power and has been continued till today. They could present every possible official record to any white man and deliberately create hurdle in the way of the local researchers.

Writings of the Congress, Hindu and non-Hindu leaders from the Congress and other parties provided the ground for the Indian historical work to build argument and develop hypothesis on that foundation. In that field Pakistani authors also faced great difficulty because their main leader Jinnah, being a hard core honest and strict constitutionalist and above all very conscious of the importance of truth and freedom of thinking in history did not like to influence historical work of Pakistani authors by writing history and biography. He let the Pakistani authors to explore the truth and facts without any obligation like a real man. Other leaders and their heirs present the

opinion of the League later thus; the Pakistani authors started their work on Jinnah late as compared to the Indian.

However Pakistani author worked on various aspects of Jinnah and tried their best to present the League and the official narrative of Pakistan. Similarly some historians, mainly who have been influenced by some other schools have presented a totally different narrative. It is not that Jinnah had had a lack of sense of history. He was well aware of the fact that he was making history so that he deliberately did not waste any document instead preserved even a little note for the evidence. On the other hand, he especially appointed a person to preserve the record of AIML and safely brought to Pakistan as a treasure of history for the future generations. He was very caring about preserving facts. He did not write his biography so that he could not influence the historical work of the Pakistani authors. He let them free to seek truth without any manipulation or deliberate influence.

Other leaders of Pakistan movement also did not deliberately hide or forge any fact to present or influence of anything. They honestly narrate the event with full detail as it happened before their eyes. They did not try to present any rose-tinted picture or build any image. They have narrated the event without any hesitation. They tried their best to fulfill the responsibility of eye witness honestly.

7.2- Pakistani Historians:

Pakistani authors have adopted various methods to discuss the personality and the politics of Jinnah. Some of them have adopted theoretical approach to define the persona and politics of Jinnah. Sikander Hayat has applied the theory of charismatic leader on the personality of Jinnah and has proved with facts and figures that Jinnah was a great charismatic leader.⁶⁴⁰ He has consulted a variety of sources from Pakistan, India, US and UK. He has utilized the published and unpublished sources like documents, letters, speeches and statements, biographies, books, chapters and articles, dissertations, newspapers and journals. His bibliography is very rich. Such an academic work is not only useful for the study of Jinnah's persona and politics but also helpful for common historian to know how to use sources and how to built argument. Organization of the study is very thoughtful. Although main focus of the study is the last decade of Jinnah's political life however the author, before stating his main topic has briefly discussed the early three decades of Jinnah's political life. The author's approach is very fair and unbiased. These kinds of studies are considered classical to learn history writing. Wheed- uz- Zaman's objective of the study is clearly shown in the title of the book.⁶⁴¹ The author has tried to answer the charges leveled by many authors against Jinnah. The author has adopted thematic approach to deal with the facts and has skillfully torn-out the false fabrications built by those authors. The author's approach is reactionary. He also has utilized the historical sources in order to build his arguments. The study is a fine example of academically unbiased research. Riaz Ahmad's study is unique of its kind due to the area chosen by the author.⁶⁴² The

⁶⁴⁰ Sikandar. Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁶⁴¹ Waheed -uz Zaman, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Myth and Reality* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1976).

⁶⁴² Riaz. Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: the formative years, 1882-1920*,(Islamabad: NIHCR, 1988).

author has picked the area of his study which has been the neglected by the majority of the authors while studying the persona and the politics of Jinnah. The study has revealed the early years of Jinnah in politics and the role he played to build the joint front of the Hindu and the Muslim to attain freedom from the British. Sharif-al-Mujahid has adopted a topic-based approach to explore the personality of Jinnah.⁶⁴³ It seems like a collection of articles on different aspects of Jinnah's political life and it can also be considered as a response to answer many questions put by the Indian authors on the politics and the personality of Jinnah.

On the other hand, K.B. Sayeed's study has covered the ninety years of freedom struggle. The author has failed to show the reasons and factors which led to the change in the behavior and manners of Jinnah.⁶⁴⁴ The author has not discussed the utopian and unrealistic behavior of the Congress and Gandhi towards the Muslims and Jinnah which left them with only one solution, Pakistan. The author although has acknowledged Jinnah's unique qualities but has failed to depict the full persona of Jinnah. His language is harsh and telling the half truth. It seems that he was under the deep spell of Gandhi that was why he could not do justice with this study. Thus the study cannot be called worthy for scholarly world.

Ayesha Jalal's study is also based on theoretical frame work and from the title it reveals that the study is pre-defined and biased from the beginning.⁶⁴⁵ It seems that author's research is based on some false assumptions which have no match with the facts. The author has relied heavily on the British and the Indian sources. The author's whole research is based on pre-concluded hypothesis. The author has neglected many facts or perhaps deliberately has tried to hide many facts and twisted them because of

⁶⁴³ Sharif -al-Mujahid. *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1981).

⁶⁴⁴ K. B. Sayeed. *Pakistan: the Formative phase 1857-1948* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1968).

⁶⁴⁵ Ayesha Jalal. *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

which she has failed to produce any fair contribution to the existing body of knowledge.

The Politics of Jinnah by Saleem M. M. Qureshi is a significant work on Jinnah.⁶⁴⁶ He has commented on the strategies of Jinnah in a comparative manner. According to him, Jinnah was neither an apologetic like Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and nor critical like Iqbal, instead he supported the Muslims, gave them the confidence, led them and guarded their interests very well.⁶⁴⁷ It seems that the author has tried to present both the Indian and the Pakistani narrative. The author has used very rich language and in a logical manner has clarified the misunderstandings of many writers about the politics of Jinnah.

7.3- Pakistani Non-Historians:

Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad's work is a thematic study of Jinnah's personality and politics.⁶⁴⁸ The author has paid a huge tribute to Jinnah and has explained his personality and politics in an organized manner. The author's approach is thematic and his words have shown his deep admiration for Jinnah. The study is based on an essay about Jinnah. The research is based on the personal memories of the author and at many places he often has quoted the exact words of Jinnah. The research is a great source for the exploration of Jinnah's personality. It is not only helpful for the historians who want to conduct research about Jinnah but also an interesting for the general reader.

M. H. Saiyed's work is a political biography of Jinnah.⁶⁴⁹ The author has narrated the life story of Jinnah along with the political situation at that time in an organized and

⁶⁴⁶ M.M. Saleem Qurashi, *The Politics of Jinnah* (Karachi: Royal Book Company. 1988).

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid..111.

⁶⁴⁸ Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad. *Glimpses of Quaid-i-Azam.*(Karachi: Educational Press. 1960).

⁶⁴⁹ M. H. Saiyed, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf. 1954).

composed manner. His words have shown great admiration and respect for Jinnah. He has used very simple and easy to understand language. Although he has never used decorated and pompous words however, at many places, the usage of idioms, phrases and examples has provided a literary touch to the study. He has used Jinnah's speeches to support his arguments. The study is considered a primary source on Jinnah because it is based on the documentary evidence published in 1945 and also has been used as a primary source in the following studies on Jinnah.

Shamsul Hasan's account is based on the collection of works on the League and Jinnah.⁶⁵⁰ The author's narration is very simple and he has explained the nature of Jinnah and his hard work to unify the Muslims under one banner, in easy way. Although the author's judgments about Jinnah are faulty enough yet it can be called a fine study to understand some important facts about Jinnah. The study is of a great value because it contained details about Jinnah's career from 1906 to 1936.

G. Allana's work is a biographical study of Jinnah's life and his political career.⁶⁵¹ The study is well researched and well organized. The author's approach is analytical and his way of presentation of the facts is optimistic. He has built his arguments with facts and figures and the study is helpful for the historian and the general reader as well. Aziz Beg's study is a massive and inclusive life story of Jinnah.⁶⁵² The author has shed light on Jinnah's life, character, personality and political career of Jinnah. The author has presented in this book every facet of the Quaid-i-Azam's life and the complex and delicate political negotiations and legal battles preceding the emergence of Pakistan. It also has thrown light on the Jinnah's personal life and has given a detailed account of his family background. The author has taken pains to discover not only the historical Jinnah who played the most important and decisive role in shaping

⁶⁵⁰ Shams-ul- Hasan, ...*plan MR Jinnah* (Al-Shams: Karachi, 1976).

⁶⁵¹ G. Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah: the story of a Nation* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1967).

⁶⁵² Aziz Beg, *Jinnah And His Times* (Islamabad: Babur & Amer Publication, 1986).

the destiny of the South Asian sub-continent but also to interpret him as a man and as a politician. The author has emphasized the role of the Quaid in India's struggle for freedom and has analyzed his methods and strategies to win a homeland for the Muslims of the sub-continent. The bibliography, the index and the detailed reference notes have manifested the great labor by the author to produce this kind of scholarly work. A great deal of new material has been used to make this work as authoritative as possible and thus, it has emerged as a well-researched and absorbing research work.

Nasim Hasan Shah's *Quaid-i-Azam: Whether Secularist or Fundamentalist*.⁶⁵³ is mainly focused on only one aspect of the Jinnah's personality.⁶⁵⁴ The author has used very simple language and has tried to prove his narrative with factual data. The study is very composed and well researched. He has used the speeches of Jinnah to build his narrative. As the approach of the author is analytical and logical, the work is useful for the general reader and the historian alike.

7.4- Pakistani Political Leadership:

Fatima Jinnah's study is an interesting analysis of Jinnah's habits, behavior and life style and it has shed light on the humanistic aspect of Jinnah's life.⁶⁵⁵ The book is not written in chronological order. The author has started from the last phase of Jinnah's political career then turned to the family background and the early life of Jinnah. However the author has not discussed the early political life of Jinnah. The study is the personal account of Jinnah's younger sister Miss Fatima Jinnah who was the companion of Jinnah for last four decades of his life. It has also revealed that Jinnah

⁶⁵³ Nasim Hasan Shah. *Quaid-i-Azam: whether Secularist or fundamentalist*. in Riaz Ahmed, *Pakistani Scholars on Quaid-i- Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University, 1999). Nasim Hasan Shah is the former Chief Justice of Pakistan and author of many books.

⁶⁵⁴ Nasim Hasan Shah, *Quaid-i-Azam: whether Secularist or fundamentalist*, in Riaz Ahmed, *Pakistani Scholars on Quaid-i- Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University, 1999).

⁶⁵⁵ Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, ed Sharif al Mujahid(Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1987).

had to face so much pain and suffering at personal level while kept he, himself busy in the furious battle for Pakistan. He remained very composed and strong in public but inside he was in deep pain and was exhausted by illness which claimed his precious life in the end. He completely ignored the advice of his doctor and fought alone with illness. Despite the severe illness, he strove hard for the salvation of Indian Muslims and created a new homeland for them in the shape of Pakistan. By making Pakistan a strong country, he sacrificed his life slowly and gradually. In short, the study is done with the emotions of love and care of a sister for his brother. Nevertheless, the study is useful to understand Jinnah's personality and politics.

Chaudhri Muhammad Ali's study is the narration of the personal account of the author that how he looked at the freedom movement and especially the politics and personality of Jinnah.⁶⁵⁶ He openly has admitted that there was no one leader among the Indian Muslims who could win the battle for Pakistan. He has narrated many events of the movement which he witnessed. He has used a simple language to describe and narrate the life and attributes of Jinnah to the readers.

Aitzaz Ahsan's work is the epic story of the cultural and economic history of the people of Pakistan and the author has traced out the historical origin of Pakistan and its inhabitants throughout centuries.⁶⁵⁷ The study is the fine explanation of the idea of Pakistan throughout the ages. The separation of Pakistan from the rest of India was not an unexpected outcome rather was the only rightful outcome of historical process of progress because Indus was never a part of India throughout history. The study is a fine example of historical process of time and how an idea travelled through ages. The struggle for the creation of Pakistan was instinctive and prehistoric footing

⁶⁵⁶ Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan 3rd impression 1979).

⁶⁵⁷ Aitzaz Ahsan, *The Indus Saga and The Making of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996).

identity search that the Indus was slipped back to its prehistoric position in form of Pakistan.

Ispahani's narrative is about of the relationship between the author and Jinnah.⁶⁵⁸ The study is based on the personal accounts of the author. He has paid a huge tribute to the politics and the leadership qualities of Jinnah. He has considered Jinnah as a savior who was sent by Allah Almighty to save the Indian Muslims from complete disappearance. On the other hand, he has also uncovered the true face of the Indian leadership namely the Congress top leaders and their narrow mindedness about the Muslims. The study also has shed light on the humanistic attributes of Jinnah's character and personality in a simple and easy language.

K. H. Khurshid's study is a personal account of the author's memories related to Jinnah and his relations with his worker.⁶⁵⁹ The author shed light on the rare and unique aspects of Jinnah's personality. The author has narrated in very simple way and his words have shown respect, love and admiration for Jinnah. The study is a refreshing personal and human view about Jinnah, written with candour and sincerity by the author. The study is based on the notebooks kept by the author. Throughout the very significant era of freedom struggle from 1944 to 1947, he had the chance of working with Jinnah very closely. Thus he has thrived in rebuilding Jinnah's thoughts through that era and has supplied numerous priceless footnotes to the history of that era. Thus this is a worthy manuscript.

Pakistan: the Heart of Asia by Liaquat Ali Khan is the collection of the author's speeches.⁶⁶⁰ The author has used very simple and easy language and his expression has revealed love and respect for his leader. He has explained the concept of Pakistan

⁶⁵⁸ M. A. H. Ispahani, *Qaid -e Azam As I Knew Him* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1976).

⁶⁵⁹ K. H. Kurshid, *memories of Jinnah*. ed. By Khalid Hasan (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001).

⁶⁶⁰ Liaquat Ali Khan, *Pakistan: the Heart of Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950).

and Jinnah's persona and politics with logic and reasoning. His words have shown his commitment with his leader and the commander.

Pakistani political leaders generally have used easy language and their studies have been based on their personal accounts. However, some of them have written well-researched books with well-built arguments. Most of them are unbiased and have showered praise on Jinnah's personality and the politics.

7.5- Indian School:

The main issue with the Indian historical work is the interpretation of the facts. The history writing for the Indian authors has never been a subject to recollect past correctly according to the factual data but has only been a tool to interpret the past according to their desires. Basically, the Indian school is founded on the Hindu historiographical traditions which lacked a sense of history. They used to live in a utopian world and it is their inner desire to hide the truth from the rest of the world and that desire is not against the moral values of the Hindu society. The Indian authors have failed to explain the transition in Jinnah political career after 1930s. They also were unable to understand the condition and the situation at that time and of the Muslim mind. They could not justify the behavior of the Congress towards Jinnah and Pakistan. Many of the authors used to quote one historical letter of Jinnah to Gandhi to prove him egoist and proud but without pretext and context.

They used to hide facts, for instance, most of the Indian authors have described Jinnah-Gandhi talks of 1944 and have described Jinnah as rude, proud, arrogant and egoist. They have described that Jinnah forced Gandhi to meet him at his residence in Bombay not anywhere else. But narrating the meeting, they used to forget Jinnah's efforts and passion to meet Gandhi during early 1920's to early 1940's. Especially

one of his meetings with Gandhi at his ashram, to discuss the Hindu-Muslim problem which was badly interrupted by the followers of Gandhi.

Most of the Indian authors have concentrated only on the last decade of Jinnah's political life and have ignored the 30 years of Jinnah's political career. They used to charge Jinnah being too much rude and arrogant towards the Congress leadership especially Gandhi, Nehru and Patel. However Indian authors have totally missed the efforts and offers of Jinnah to these leaders time and again.

7.6- Indian Historians:

Exclusively, the Indian historians have maintained a paradoxical observation concerning Jinnah and have contradicted each other. They are prejudiced in their line of action towards Jinnah because they have considered Jinnah either a patriot or a separatist. They have revealed the partial reality about Jinnah. They were defaming Jinnah and his contributions during the freedom movement. Basically, every one of them has written about Jinnah because of his own specific objectives and pre-decided hypothesis. For instance, Ajeet was a daughter of an opponent of Gandhi therefore she has attempted to depict Jinnah as a substitution of Gandhi in Indian political arena and as a result, her depiction of Jinnah was exceptionally optimistic. Likewise, Zakaria was comprehensively prejudiced against Jinnah and prior to materialize the book, he had made some definite hypothesis that Jinnah was an irreligious person and that he was exclusively accountable for the splitting-up of India. This type of approach has created difficulties on the way of significant, scientific and critical research.

Ajeet has completed a widespread exploration of the traits and the accomplishments of Jinnah.⁶⁶¹ She has attempted to establish with data that Jinnah was a nationalist and liberal leader, who struggled hard for the unity of Hindus and the Muslims and for the

⁶⁶¹ Ajeet Jawed. *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009)

freedom of India for four decades of his political life. Yet, he was required to modify his line of action and plan by the awkward manners of Congress leaders. However, the author has shown her biased attitude by depicting him secular and unhappy over the creation of Pakistan. Both of these allegations proved wrong through the evidence thus, it can be rightly said that the research is done with pre-concluded mind. Despite all the limitations and shortcomings of the author, the study is worthy for researcher. She has consulted mainly the Indian sources. She has utilized primary sources, the official files, official publications, proceedings and debates, newspapers, journals and books.

Sharma's study of Jinnah's persona has given much impartial impression.⁶⁶² He fairly has disclosed the extremely capable guidance of Jinnah and his decision. The writer's standard examination has disclosed that Jinnah was not only equipped by nature with a vision but also with deep understanding of the history and the historical forces. The approach of author is exceptionally diverse from the mainstream Indian historians. The investigation also has revealed a lot of remarkable features of Jinnah's persona like his affection for cricket and his great knowledge of game rules and regulations and Jinnah's affection for the horses. The author has created relativity with these small stuffs and enlightened diverse good qualities of Jinnah's nature. Sharma also has verified with details that Jinnah was a Hindu friendly leader and a matter of the fact was that many of Jinnah's friends were the Hindus. However, Sharma has stressed on the affable connection amid the British and Jinnah. Possibly, it was due to lack of the sources consulted. Sharma has given no footnotes, endnotes and bibliography in the book.

⁶⁶² S. R. Sharma, ed., *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Hero or a Villain* (Jaipur: Sublime Publications, 2005).

Expressively, Pal like many other Indian historians is not prepared to offer any leader a superior position than that of Gandhi.⁶⁶³ The author's pre-concluded hypothesis has badly affected the nature of the study. The study is full of false assumptions of the author. The author has followed the stereotype narrative of the Indian school and has usually not seen the political achievements of the leaders critically. Due to the misrepresentation of the facts, the study could not be considered as a worthy research. It seems that study has been done only to prove a typical narrative which could not be done without hiding some important facts.

Nanda has attempted to impose an assumed concept on historical record thus it is an attempt to mold historical record according to the hypotheses.⁶⁶⁴ It seems that the author's purpose of writing this book was to treat it as a novel rather than as a book on history. The author is under the deep influence of the Congress leadership and the purpose of writing this book is to provide justification of the Congress headship. Thus, the study is not worthy for a common reader and is feasible only for researchers of history. Zakria's examination of Jinnah's political life is a classic example of character assassination.⁶⁶⁵ Lal Bahadur's *The Muslim League: It's History, Activities and Achievements* is not mainly about the personality and political life of Jinnah, however the study has focused on the League, its origin, development and its culmination. Thus the author has to study Jinnah, his politics and his political ideology and strategies.⁶⁶⁶ The author's approach is very biased and he has studied with a pre-concluded hypothesis. To prove his hypothesis, he has twisted and turned

⁶⁶³ J. J. Pal. *Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Delhi: Sidharam Publications, 1983).

⁶⁶⁴ B. R. Nanda. *Road to Pakistan: The Life and Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010).

⁶⁶⁵ Rafiq. Zakria. *The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and Its Aftermath* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2001).

⁶⁶⁶ Lal. Bahadur. *The Muslim League: Its History Activities and Achievements* (Lahore: Book Traders: 1979).

the facts to prove his arguments. This work is not worthy of academic work because the author has heavily relied on the Indian sources.

7.7- Indian Non-Historians:

Moderate mainstream non-Historian writers were from the profession of law, the very own occupation of Jinnah. Possibly all these researcher might be aware of Jinnah's persona from a diverse approach unlike mainstream Indian writers. They showered great admiration on the persona and nature of Jinnah.

The faction of Immoderate Indian non-historians has appeared to blend their works with personal biases, sentiments and the truth. However they were not in a situation to deny the factual data yet, when it came to the interpretation of data, they attempted to understand it in opposition to Jinnah. The very significant and common observation about these authors is that they did not condemn the Congress leadership as an alternative rather they used to admire them. Contrary to the historians, they by no means sensed the responsibility of indicating the errors of the Congress leadership. Alternatively, their entire focal point was to rationalize each and every deed of the Congress and Gandhi. A number of writers have tried to severely criticize Jinnah and to minimize his stature, have labelled him as a person having lust for power. In their opinion, Jinnah could not create pacification with the Congress since he wanted to achieve power and to monopolize the Indian politics which was not possible in the Congress for him. This faction of the writers have selected those set of specifics which has appropriated their intentions and has totally abandoned the former element of Jinnah political career in which he desperately attempted to unify the Hindus and the Muslims to attain freedom from the British. They also have disregarded Jinnah's efforts which turned out to be completely fruitless due to the arrogance of the Congress. Therefore several writers have manipulated the data and consciously tried

to hide the truth. Most of the writers have investigated the facts without any context and the pretext.

Possibly the motive behind the distortion of the truth is the lack of training in writing history and also the deficiency of perception of historical processes by a number of the writers of this school. Nevertheless the individual's likes and dislikes also have contributed an incredibly significant part in cultivating the ultimate scrutiny and understandings of these writers and it seems that bulk of them were unfair to Jinnah. Noorani's analysis has distinctive aspects and it has created the innovative paths of study over Jinnah.⁶⁶⁷ The work under assessment is the earliest evaluation of Jinnah with the other Hindu leader, Tilak rather than Gandhi. Possibly the analysis has brought some exceptional characteristics of Jinnah's life into public. Noorani has also attempted to counter the numerous queries connected to the persona of Jinnah and his political life. Yet, the study is an excellent effort to investigate the persona of Jinnah and his political life. The author has consulted not only the Indian source but Pakistani and British sources as well. The study has contained some valuable historical sources. Majumdar's research is extremely valuable for its excellent evaluation of Gandhi and Jinnah as popular political leaders of the masses.⁶⁶⁸ It is indeed a fine effort of any Indian writer to measure up Jinnah with Gandhi as a leader, their beliefs, their attitudes and their line of action without charge from the burden of the Congress.

Chavan's explanation is incredibly opposite to the mainstream Indian writers' interpretation.⁶⁶⁹ Thus the study has provided another interpretation of Jinnah's political life and the freedom movement. However the author also has maintained the

⁶⁶⁷ A. G. Noorani, *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁶⁶⁸ S. K. Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi: Their Role in India's Quest For Freedom* (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1976).

⁶⁶⁹ Sheshrao. Chavan, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah; The Great Enigma* (Delhi: Authorspress, 2006).

inherited weaknesses of the Indian school and could not stop himself for not admitting reality. Nevertheless, the author has cited some very valuable information regarding the Congress leaders' relations with the British. The study is worthy for the researchers. Almeida has no guts and power to own up the reality which he has recognized through data. It has given an impression that the study was conducted to pay a tribute to Gandhi rather than a biography of Jinnah. In addition, as the author is a non-historian writer and has no appropriate guidance for conducting a historical research, consequently he carelessly has used the factual data to prove his hypothesis. Almeida is not to a great extent worried about the data and a reality unveiled by the data and has built his argument according to the personal wishes.⁶⁷⁰ The work appears to be a pattern of misunderstanding of the truth.

Bandopadhyaya's analysis is under the profound sway of the Congress.⁶⁷¹ He has condemned Jinnah's persona and accomplishments brutally and has justified each deed of the Congress. He has claimed in the very beginning of this work that Gandhi was his ideal which has revealed the attention of the research. His unwrapped claim has illustrated his sympathetic attitude towards the Congress. He has not passed judgments about the Congress friends like Attlee and Mountbatten. He brutally has accused Jinnah and his League to prove his hypothesis. For that purpose, he has picked the selected facts without context and pretext to prove his judgment fair. The study lacks connectivity and is full of contradictions. The study is a fine example of misperception of the facts and distortion of the history. Thus it is not worthy to be called a scholarly work.

M. Seervai's *Partition of India: Legend and Reality* has mainly focused on the split of India however, while discussing the reasons for the division of India, the author also

⁶⁷⁰ Parkash Almeida, *Jinnah: Man of Destiny* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2001).

⁶⁷¹ Sailesh. Kumar. Bandopadhyaya, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1991).

has highlighted the role of the key figures of the freedom movement.⁶⁷² He also has discussed the persona and the politics of Jinnah. Seervai has openly acknowledged the leadership qualities of Jinnah and on the other hand, he has treated Gandhi as a political leader not as a super natural creature and has also condemned him for mixing politics with religion.⁶⁷³ The research is very unique due to the logical understanding of the author. The author has used very valuable sources and has presented his research in a very easy language. The research is worthy to the student of history and a general reader as well.

7.8- Indian Political Leadership:

Congress Leadership never had excused Jinnah for his actions. Thus, they vigorously generated obstacles for Jinnah but remained unsuccessful to prevent him from triumph. Therefore, the bulk of the Congress leadership's narrative has illustrated the psychological inferiority complex of the Congress leadership towards Jinnah and also the envy and individual bitterness.

Congress leaders endeavored to slander Jinnah through every possible means but never succeeded. Nevertheless, each non-Congress leader regarded Jinnah as a superior quality leader in comparison to the entire Congress camp. They also held the Congress responsible for not treating Jinnah reasonably and in that way they contributed in the division of India. Their commentary has illustrated that it was the Congress instead of Jinnah that did not patch up with others. It was again the Congress which left the Muslims of India in aloofness and isolation, thus leveled the ground for Jinnah to build Pakistan.

⁶⁷² H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India. Legend and Reality*: (Karachi: Oxford University Press, ed. 2nd. 2005).

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, 11.

The Congress Leadership never let Jinnah off for his act and they zealously generated obstacles in the way of Jinnah but failed to halt him from winning. Consequently, the mainstream Congress leadership's narrative has explained the psychological inferiority complex of the Congress leadership towards Jinnah and also the distrust and special bitterness. Nehru's work is full of biases and distortion of the facts.⁶⁷⁴ His collection of data and the ruthless tone has revealed that he was strongly allergic to Jinnah. The author has argued that the Congress leaders attempted to resolve the disagreements among them but Jinnah never replied in an optimistic manner. It is clear from the data that the Congress leaders strived to be successful with Jinnah on any compromise in 40s, while on the other hand, the historical details have illustrated that Jinnah was striving for the resolution of Hindu-Muslim disagreement from the beginning of his political career and each endeavor of Jinnah was ruined by the Congress. The study is full of biases and prejudices of the author. The author has tried to hide facts at some places and at many places, has misinterpreted the facts to create false impression. The work also has revealed that the author has avoided narrating about Jinnah which has shown his extreme level of irritation with Jinnah. His tone is full of arrogance and rudeness. The author has held high regard for himself and his mentor, Gandhi and has tried to defame Jinnah. Although the work has contained too many weak points but still worthy to understand the mindset of Congress and set the foundation of Indian national narrative. The account is highly valuable for the researchers who want to work on freedom struggle and Jinnah to understand the thought of Congress leadership.

Azad blamed every one for the partition of India except himself. The author also has misrepresented specifics and proclamations. Historical data has exposed that Jinnah

⁶⁷⁴ Jawaharlal Nehru. *The Discovery of India* (Calcutta: The Signet Press, 1946).

had no individual conflict with Azad but the author has attempted very hard to establish himself the most significant person in the freedom struggle. The work apparently does not qualify to be considered a historical work. However the account is valuable for the researchers to understand the mindset of those Muslims who remained loyal to the Congress. K. M. Ashraf's *Hindu-Muslim Question and Our Freedom Struggle (1857-1935)* mainly is concerned with the digging out of the reasons of Hindu-Muslim dilemma in India.⁶⁷⁵ Impact of that dilemma on freedom struggle is also the part of discussion by the author. While discussing the history he also has commented over the persona and politics of Jinnah and his role during the freedom movement. The author has adopted very biased approach towards Jinnah just like mainstream Indian writers. He has tried to present a story which suits him and for the sake of his pre-supposed conclusion, has misrepresented the picture. He has selected the facts to fabricate a story of his own choice. He has quoted the facts without context and pretext and also has tried to hide some facts. He has used very harsh language for Jinnah which revealed his personal grudges against him. On the other hand, he has used very sweet words for Congress leadership thus; the work is an example of misrepresentation of history.

Ambedkar's opinion is contrary to the general opinion of the Congress.⁶⁷⁶ According to him, Jinnah never required an acknowledgment from Gandhi or the Congress instead he was by now the leader of the Muslims, their Quaid-i-Azam. At that occasion, it was the requirement of Gandhi to discuss some solution of the Indian problem with Jinnah which was vanished because of his move at the wrong time. The study has portrayed Jinnah in comparatively constructive style and the author has admired Jinnah's persona, his traits and his skills although, he has attached some

⁶⁷⁵ K. M. Ashraf, *Hindu-Muslim Question and Our Freedom Struggle 1857-1935* (New Delhi: Sunrise Publications; Vol. I & II, 2005).

⁶⁷⁶ Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India* (Lahore: Book Traders, n.d.).

negative attributes with Jinnah's persona. At times, the author has tried to hide some facts to prove his hypothesis right. Nevertheless, the author also has interpreted a lot of details about the freedom movement thus he was the predecessor of the modest and positive faction of Indian writers about the freedom movement and Jinnah. The research is valuable to understand the mindset and limitation of Indian writers on history.

Jaswant Singh's work is an excellent and logical account of political life of Jinnah that has brought to light the hardly ever discussed area of Jinnah's political life.⁶⁷⁷ The study has described that Jinnah was a true political leader and his struggle and demand both were political in nature and religion had not been used by Jinnah for political purposes deliberately. The study is well structured and also is equipped with many documents which have enhanced the significance of the study. The author has taken an objective approach and with the help of factual data has justified that Jinnah was a great political leader. The study is an excellent account of intellectual circle.

The work of Sarojini Naidu is very significant due to the timing of the study.⁶⁷⁸ The scrutiny was in black and white in 1917 just a year following the Lucknow Pact. The study was the earliest investigation of the persona and politics of Jinnah during the initial years of his political journey. The author had an impartial vision about Jinnah in the Congress because possibly she was familiar with him prior to the rest of the Congress leaders of the final stages of freedom struggle. Jinnah and the author were both the disciples of Gokhale and had worked together in Gokhale's Congress. She had no personal grudges against Jinnah and by no means negated him yet following separation. She forever had enormous regard for Jinnah. She frankly has pleaded

⁶⁷⁷ Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India- partition independence* (New Delhi: Rupa; 2009). He was one of the prominent leader of BJP and held many important portfolios.

⁶⁷⁸ 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)

guilty after the division of India that the Congress behavior towards Jinnah was not based on justice. The study has a great value as it has revealed the significance of Jinnah from the start of his political career. The study is also an evidence of Jinnah's contribution during the early years and this was a truth which was very hard for the Congress narrative to defy.

Kuldip Nayar has a deep influence of Congress narrative on his work which is a dominant factor in opinion making in India towards Pakistan⁶⁷⁹. Author has maintained a biased approach towards Jinnah. His languages and words are harsh towards Jinnah. Study is a fine example of self-satisfaction. He has followed the tradition of Indian school by twisting and playing with fact. However author desire for good relation with Pakistan is a fine gesture which is often use by Indian leaders to soften western world. The next important work on Jinnah by Indian political leader is *My Country: My Life* by L. K. Advani.⁶⁸⁰ Study is an autobiography of the author. He also presented the analysis of event of last century from the start of the century thus evaluating the event of freedom struggle he also presented his analysis about the politics and persona of Jinnah. Author has adopted biased approach toward Jinnah. He also has hidden facts to build his narrative.

The Congress leaders have tried to defame Jinnah through every possible means but could not succeed. However, every non-Congress leader has considered Jinnah as a person having more calibers as compared to rest of the Congress leadership. They also have blamed the Congress for not dealing with Jinnah fairly and have a larger share in the partition. Their narrations have shown that it was the Congress, not Jinnah who did not reconcile with others. It was again the Congress that denied safeguard for the

⁶⁷⁹ Kuldip Nayar, *Wall at Wagah: India-Pakistan Relations* (New Delhi: Gyan Publication House, 2003).

⁶⁸⁰ L. K. Advani, *My Country: My Life* (New Delhi: Rupa & Co, 2008).

Muslims in India and paved the way for the separation of the Muslim majority areas of Indo-Pak subcontinent.

CONCLUSION

History is a study of past events and analysis of these events how and when and why these events unfolded. It could be biography of those personalities who were involved in those events. It could be treasure of keys to solve today's problems under the light of past generation's experiments. It is hope and light for humankind. Ibn Khaldun has explained history writing and problems of historian and then set the rules for history writing in his book. And on the other hand National Narrative build on solid chronicle related to the remarkable occasions in the history. They narrate the past of the nation in these chronicles which develop into model of the matchless traits of a nation. That narrative is source of national individuality and also maintains the authenticity of regime. A National Narrative provides citizen consciousness of their common traits and behaviors as a nation. It is a cause of pleasure and esteem for nation. However the narrative can be cultivate by reinterpretation and addition of chronicle. National narratives are very important factors in the process of history writing and interpretation of history.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, being the founder of Pakistan and the political mentor of the Muslims of Sub-Continent during the time of turmoil, has always been the center of attention for the writers and researchers of India and Pakistan. His personality, motives and political struggle have been discussed, analyzed and portrayed by friends and foes alike. Pakistani writers and researchers have portrayed Jinnah as the savior of the Muslims of the Sub-Continent because for them Jinnah is a hero who achieved a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. Whereas the Indian authors have depicted Jinnah as a person responsible for the division of India and because of this reason, they have studied Jinnah from a very different angle.

Pakistani historians' stance on the political career and persona of Jinnah is really objective. They have implemented a range of techniques and approaches to explore the personality and politics of Jinnah. They have recognized Jinnah as one of the exceptional personalities of the 20th century who owned incredibly talented traits of leadership. Although, they have attempted to portray Jinnah in his true form yet, they have not portrayed Jinnah in impractical and idealistic way. They have provided reason and logic to establish Jinnah as a matchless leader rather than using sentiment. Some early works of Pakistani historians seemed to be more reactionary than independent research work, however with the passage of time this section developed more research oriented and objective approach to explore the personality and politics of Jinnah. Some of them have adopted theoretical approach to explain the politics and persona of Jinnah while the others have adopted a thematic approach to describe the personality and politics of Jinnah. However interestingly enough, a small number of the historians have taken a very different narrative possibly due to the sway of their adviser or foreign land influence. For instance, Ayesha Jalal's narrative is completely opposite to the Pakistani historians' narrative. It seems that she was inspired by the sources she consulted at the time of her research. It seems that she has investigated the persona and politics of Jinnah with a pre-concluded mind-set which resembles pretty much with the Indian style of research.

On the other hand, mainstream Pakistani non-historians have awarded a huge appreciation to Jinnah's personality, his qualities, his commitment and devotion for his nation. He was a 'promised Messiah' blessed by Allah to sheltered Muslim in India from extermination. The authors have generally described his character and politics in magnificent style. They seem to be a bit emotional unlike historians but their approach is based on objectivity and reason. Early works of non-historians have

been done to preserve the life history of Jinnah for future generation. In the beginning, the non-historians tried to explore the persona and politics of Jinnah through simple narrative style but later on a few of them opted to explore Jinnah in thematic manner. Some authors were not interested in writing a lengthy book so they confined their exploration in form of articles, a chapter in a book or an essay. From the very beginning, the non-historians used to compose the biographies however, with the passage of time, they developed an analytical approach in their research.

Likewise Pakistani historians and Pakistani non-historians, Pakistani leadership has highly praised Jinnah's personal traits and politics. They have been sincerely grateful to him for creating Pakistan which was the solitary safe place for the Muslims to live in the Sub-continent. Most of the Pakistani political writings are based on personal memories which are a great record of primary source and also is a base for Pakistani historiography on Jinnah. Their narration is plain enough but their expressions are coming straight from their hearts. They reproduced the events through their memory as they observed it. A lot of their assumptions were proved right in later times when documents were opened up for historians. For instance, when Mohammad Ali Jinnah wrote about the negotiations about the Cabinet Mission Plan and its acceptance by the League initially, Jinnah's justification was very accurate and the time testified it. After so many years when British documents were opened up for the researchers, it was revealed that the Labor Party was appeasing the Congress due to their deep friendship. If Jinnah would have rejected the Plan, they would have definitely given the whole power to the Congress and have left the Muslims alone and helpless. Pakistani political leaders have generally used a simple language. Their works are mostly based on their personal accounts however, some of them have written well-researched books with well-built arguments. Most of them have showered admiration

on Jinnah's personality and politics, but they have explained only one side of the events. They also have not consulted each other's work to present the full narration of the event. They also have judged the personality of Jinnah according to their relationship with him. Among these authors, except one no one has consulted the sources to verify their information.

The Indian historians have maintained a paradoxical opinion about Jinnah but diverged from each other. They are prejudiced in their line of action towards Jinnah and either they judged him as a nationalist or a communalist. They are revealing the partial reality about Jinnah and defaming Jinnah and his contributions in freedom movement. Fundamentally, all of them wrote about Jinnah because of their personal specific objectives and ultimately they seemed concerned in gratifying their own objectives. For instance Ajeet was a daughter of an opponent of Gandhi therefore she attempts to depict Jinnah as a substitution of Gandhi in Indian political arena and therefore her depiction of Jinnah seems exceptionally optimistic. Likewise Zakaria who was influenced by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was comprehensively prejudiced against Jinnah and prior to inscribe the book, he made some definite hypothesis that Jinnah was an irreligious person and that he was exclusively accountable for the splitting up of India. This type of approach poses a question mark on the significance of scientific and critical research.

The Indian non-historians also have no agreed narrative on Jinnah. Some of the non-historian authors are lawyers similar to Jinnah. Possibly due to that reason, these authors might be aware of Jinnah's persona from an unusual angle than the rest of the Indian authors. All these authors incredibly admired the persona and nature of Jinnah. Similarly they condemned the Congress and its leaders harshly in broad-spectrum and Gandhi in particular. Even though most of the Indian authors have strictly condemned

Jinnah yet, some of the authors also have admired Jinnah's persona a lot and it gave the impression that they individually were not in harmony over his politics. Majority of the writers have recognized the administrative abilities and leadership qualities of Jinnah. It seems that there was an inconsistency found in their understanding about Jinnah. They are not in a situation to reject a number of extremely renowned truths however they lack the morality of a researcher and courage to admit the truths. Majority of the authors are of the opinion that British were shoring-up Jinnah and the League. However, some of them have revealed about an accord of Nehru with Labour Party Leaders and companionship between the British and the Congress. A lot of authors also believe that British like Congress Leadership was as arch enemy of Jinnah. Mutually they have one common enemy and left no stone unturned to defeat him but failed.

Dissimilar to the moderate school of non-historian writers, immoderate school of non-historian writers also frankly confesses that Jinnah was the principal reason in the formation of Pakistan. They also assert that Jinnah formed Pakistan to obtain reprisal from Gandhi. The majority of Indian non-historian writers have given the impression that they have especial objective of writing on Jinnah to prove him inferior to Gandhi by raising the status of Gandhi through declaring him as a spiritual leader above the political leader. They are not in a situation to reject several recognized truths yet they attempt to take to mean it in opposition to Jinnah. The significant features of the writing of these authors are that they by no means pass judgment on their Congress leadership especially Gandhi and all the time pay tribute to them. Unlike historians they not at all are aware of the responsibility of writing history. However their entire focal point was to give explanation for no matter what Congress and Gandhi did. Most of them constantly gave the impression to carry out the character assassination

of Jinnah. They thought that he could not create reunion with Congress since he required being number one which was not feasible in Congress. This group of authors prefers those set of facts which suited their personal choices, emotions, their purpose and completely neglected the reality. Thus most of the authors twisted, misunderstood and hide the facts. Some of them present facts without background to create wrong impression and distort history. On the other hand, the private biases and prejudices also played an extremely significant role in concluding the ultimate scrutiny and version of these authors and it may be understood that bulk of them have biases against Jinnah and main motive of their examination is to defame him.

The bulk of the Congress leadership's narrations illustrate the psychological inferiority complex of Congress leadership towards Jinnah and also the envy and private grudge. Their narrative is full of biases and distortion the facts. Their collection of data and ruthless tone reveals that they were strongly allergic to Jinnah. Their narrative is prejudiced enough to assassinate the character of Jinnah politically. The authors have tried to hide the facts at some places and at many places misrepresent the facts to create false impression. However the rest of the leadership except Congress has high regard for Jinnah's politics and persona. They have portrayed Jinnah in comparatively positive manner. They have impartial vision about Jinnah. The Congress leaders endeavored to slander Jinnah through every achievable means but never thrived. Nevertheless, almost every non-Congress leader has regarded Jinnah as a superior leader in comparison to entire of the Congress camp. They also held Congress responsible for not treating Jinnah reasonably that was why they have a bigger contribution in the division. Their commentary illustrates that it was Congress instead of Jinnah who did not patch up with others. It was again Congress who left Muslims without safeguard in India thus leveled the ground for

Jinnah to build Pakistan. Pakistani authors have regarded Jinnah as a great leader than Gandhi, Nehru and Mountbatten. They consider him human not superhuman as compare to Indian authors. It is not surprised that majority of the author compare Jinnah personality and politics with Gandhi personality and politics Pakistani authors highly appreciated Jinnah for his contribution for his ultimate accomplishment in shape of Pakistan. However Jinnah had a long political career of more than four decade through this long period he passed though many difficult situations. His rational approach, logic and honesty has been highly regarded by majority of authors on the other hand Gandhi's twist and turns along with his miscalculation has been severely criticized by not only majority of Pakistani authors but also by some Indian author as well. Some of the authors resemble Gandhi attitude with 'English weather' due to his inconsistency and sudden change in position. Azad in his work also show surprise over sudden changes in Gandhi mood and action. At some places reveal that Gandhi position in Congress was like a godfather and no one oppose him everyone act like an obedient child in front of Gandhi. On the other hand majority of Indian authors evaluate Jinnah under the light of Gandhi.

However if there is a huge class of authors around the globe admire Gandhi his politics. His critics could not be underestimated due to the less numbers. They also have very sound reason to criticize him. Ajeet Jawed has criticized him for mixing politics with religion and using constantly Hindu Jargon which slowly drifted Muslims away from the Congress and bringing them close to League and Jinnah. She devoted a full chapter to explain the difference between Jinnah and Gandhi and Jinnah and 'Nehrus'. Majumdar also criticized Gandhi for adopting illusionary approach in politics which bring less benefit and more harm to the people of Indian. He considers

that under the illusion Gandhi act like a 'Messiah' but his action resulted in huge failure which ultimately harmed himself and the people of India.

Nehru after Gandhi was a second important figures in Congress thus he was also compared with Jinnah by authors but he was not treated as superhero like Gandhi. Majority of Pakistani authors adopted practical approach to evaluated Nehrus [Motilal Nehru + Jawaharlal Nehru] and Jinnah and their contribution in freedom struggle. Pakistani authors have been criticizing Jawaharlal Nehru for his irrational and imaginary approach and his twist in position and his negative attitude towards Jinnah. His father Motilal Nehru tried hard to cut size of Jinnah in late twenties and early thirties and in forties he did the same but both were knocking down by Jinnah's rational and logic. They use not only Pakistani sources but also use Indian sources and to prove their logic they quoted the recorded words and speeches of Nehrus.

On the other hand majority of Indian authors praised Nehru's worldview his imagination and highly anger on Jinnah for his denial of utopian dreams of Nehru. However they are unable to explain to why Jinnah should accept the imaginary world of Nehrus which could not tolerate Jinnah himself why he should sacrifice millions of Muslims just to appease and satisfied the false ego of Nehrus. However some of the Indian authors have criticized Nehru for his negative attitude towards Jinnah. Ajeet Jawed has devoted one section of his chapter in her book to discuss the comparison of Nehru and Jinnah's personalities. their politics and their ideologies. She has revealed in detail how Nehrus time to time tried to cut Jinnah but failed to undermine the importance of Jinnah.

Most of the Indian authors consider that British were friendly towards Jinnah without their help Jinnah could not be able to create Pakistan. British police of divide and rule play significant role in creating separatism among Muslims and Hindus than lead

towards the creation of Pakistan. However some of the Indian author especially in later period they themselves have exposed the friendly relation between Congress leadership and British particularly with Cripps, Mountbatten and Nehru. On the other hand British official time and again themselves repeat that united India was in best interest of kingdom of British and they tried hard to retain the unity of India. How could they have friendly relation with Jinnah who wanted Pakistan and divided India? However some Indian also maintains that British very arch enemy of Jinnah. Ajeet Jawed in her well knitted work devoted one full chapter on the relation of Jinnah with British which cover the four decade of his political career. It seem that all those author who buy the concept of friendly relationship between Jinnah and British and especially with Mountbatten are simply tried to undermine the importance of Jinnah in the eyes of his followers. They could not simple admit that Jinnah was the winner against all enemies despite the all odds in his way to march for freedom and salvation of Muslims in India. On the other hand Pakistani authors maintain that Jinnah was not in friendly relationship with British especially with Mountbatten. British always dislike Jinnah because of his strong character they always tried to create hurdle in his ways but failed to stop him. Muhammad Ali and Ispahani both were present during the final days of freedom struggle and witness the Mountbatten and Jinnah reveal the biased and rude behavior of Mountbatten. Waheed-uz-Zaman in his work devoted a chapter on Mountbatten and his relation with Indian political leader which exposed his biased attitude and unfair dealing with Jinnah particularly and Muslims in general. Objective and motive of the studies also created difference of opinion not only in two schools but within the schools as well. Mostly Pakistani author have explored Jinnah to counter Indian accusation but person and politics of Jinnah. Sharif al Mujahid and Waheed-uz-Zaman have explored Jinnah to resolve the issues raised by their Indian

counterpart. Riaz Ahmad has explored Jinnah to record his contribution during the early years of his practical and political life which is needed for better understanding of Jinnah's personality and politics. Sikander Hayat and Ayesha Jalal have explored Jinnah with the help of modern political science's theories which open a window of exploration to understand Jinnah in different angles. Aitzaz Ahsan has provided the roots of Pakistan throughout ages. On the other hand Indian explored Jinnah to prove their leader heroes of freedom struggle and justified their wrong do mostly Indian studied Jinnah to glorified Gandhi. When they find difficult to justify the misadventure of Gandhi they simply place him in the line of supernatural and expose their anger towards Jinnah for not show respect for supernatural and tried to treat him as a normal human. One of the Indian author expresses that, "Tragically, Jinnah failed to see and appreciate Gandhi whom he saw only in political light.....Gandhi's tragedy lied in his blunders and mistakes which resulted out of the conflict between the 'Saint Mahatma and politician Mr Gandhi'." Some of the Indian authors evaluate Jinnah under the light of Azad.

Main crux of the chapter is that both Pakistani and Indian authors have explored politics and persona of Jinnah under the limitation of their country they belong. For most of the Pakistani authors he was a liberator and savior of their and their kins's life and other hand Indian consider him the destroyer of their motherland. Pakistani authors have consulted more diverse sources than Indian that's why they present more logical and rational interpretation of facts. If Indian authors tried to hide fact and misrepresented data to prove their narrative then quite amazingly some Pakistani also ignore some fact to build their narrative. Sources and impact of time also play their part in damaging the process of history writing. Before the disclosing of official document authors were influence by big name like Azad and Nehru in India on the

other hand Pakistani authors have to face really difficult time to reach sources on their side before the publication base on Jinnah's papers. Western world rely heavily on Indian narrative to understand Jinnah which make difficulties for Pakistani authors to find space for their narrative in western world.

Limitations of human nature is also an important factor which influences the historical work on Jinnah. A large number of Indian authors after admitting the unfair treatment of Congress towards Muslims generally and particularly towards League and Jinnah have not agreed on partition due to the human limitation. They have consider that partition cut the size of their motherland thus to show the love for the motherland they have desire for the unification of India and Pakistan. On the other hand for same reason some Pakistani authors have stress too much on Jinnah as a protector of Muslims which some time overshadow his unbiased and rational personalities. Same like with interpretation for the grant of right of separate electorate to Muslims. Mostly Pakistani authors have stress only on Muslims right which on one hand provides justification for Indian propaganda of British and Muslims alliance against Hindus on other hand it also provide justification another Indian narrative of British divide and rule policy. Thus human limitation has also play their part in creating hurdle in way of objectivity in history writing.

Thus authors have adopted different styles and approaches to measure the politics and personality of Jinnah to understand the historical process. Some of them adopt rational and logical behavior to write historical work on Jinnah. Some take it as a tool to explain their desire which severely damage the objectivity of their work.

All these assessments and findings regarding the Indian and Pakistani authors and theirs writings about Jinnah's career have been done very carefully. Every single argument of these authors in their selected works has been tried to keep in mind to

avoid any misunderstanding. Mainly the leading works have been picked up for the analysis of the writing style but the same authors may have a different point of view about Jinnah and freedom movement in their later works which have not been added here. Evolution of the thought process is quite natural for a scholar as well so, there is always a room for improvement.

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