

Muhammad Ali Jinnah: From Indian Nationalism to an Ambassador Of Hindu-Muslim Unity



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Abstract: *This piece of study investigates the efforts of Muhammad Ali Jinnah for Hindu-Muslim unity in Indian Sub-continent. This research article is qualitative and descriptive in nature. It is purely archive based research and the framework of content analysis has been adopted. He was a staunch advocate of Indian Nationalism, but, the initial days of the second decade of twenty century transformed his politics from Indian nationalism to Hindu-Muslim unity which resulted in the conclusion of Lucknow Pact in 1916 which was fully reflected during Caliphate Movement. Jinnah struggled hard to save the unity between the two largest nations for the larger interest of India after the failure of Caliphate Movement but, the conclusive outcome shows that Jinnah declared the partition of India as only solution to the political and constitutional turmoil of India after the provincial elections of 1936-37.*

Keywords: Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Liberalism, Nationalist, Hindu-Muslim Unity, Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity

Introduction

Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876- 1948), the architect of Hindu-Muslim unity and later on the founding father of the nascent State of Pakistan was born on December 25, 1876 in Wazir Mansion Karachi who was underweight at the time of his birth. But Jinnah's mother, Mithibai, was convinced that her delicate baby would one day shape the history¹. His father, Jinnah Bhai Poonja, a rich and thriving merchant from the State of Gondal situated in the Kathiawar region, province of Gujarat moved from there to Karachi in 1875 because of business partnership

with Grahams Trading and Shipping Company whose regional office was situated in Karachi². At the age of 6 years, his father got him admitted in the Sindh Madrasa-tul-Islamic School but Jinnah was more interested in games rather than studies³. As a thriving businessman, Jinnah's father stressed on the significance of studying mathematics, but, it was among Jinnah's most hated subject⁴. When Jinnah was nearly 11 years old, his only paternal aunt Manbai one day visited his home in Karachi from Bombay who was very close to Jinnah. The aunt proposed that Jinnah should go with her to Bombay where he will get a better educational environment than

¹ Sarojini Naidu, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, an Ambassador of Unity: His Speeches and Writing 1912-1917, (Madras: Ganesh Publication, 1918), p. 30.

² Muhammad Ali Shaikh, *Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, education, struggle and*

Achievements, (Karachi: SMI University Press, 2013), p.37.

³ Ibid. p. 38.

⁴ Muhammad Reza Kazimi. "Review Article MA Jinnah: The First Research Dissertation." *Pakistan Perspective* 13.1 (2008).

Karachi⁵. Without his mother's consent, he escorted his aunt to Bombay, where she got him enrolled in the Gokal Das Tej Primary School but here the result was also discouraging. Within six months, he was sent back to Karachi and again was put in Sind Madrassatul Islam, from where he was expelled due to long absentia⁶. Jinnah's parents then enrolled him in the Christian Missionary Society High School in Karachi, where at the age of sixteen years he passed the matriculation examination under the University of Bamby⁷.

As a teen Jinnah was deeply inspired of his father's business colleague, Sir Frederick Leigh Croft, who offered him an internship in London office of the Gram Trading and Shipping Company⁸. Jinnah accepted the offer, but Jinnah's mother was unwilling to send her son abroad. When she left no chance, she convinced him to marry before going to London to ensure his eventual return. Thus Jinnah at the age of 15, entered into an arranged marriage with his distant cousin, Emibai, in February 1892⁹. Following the marriage, Jinnah continued attending the Christian Missionary Society High School until he left for London for apprenticeship in Grahams Trading and Shipping

Company in the first week of January, 1893¹⁰. Jinnah soon left the internship and joined Lincoln's Inn in June, 1893 with a hope to study for the bar¹¹.

Literature Review

Muhammad Ali Shaikh (2013) writes that during his stay in England, Muhammad Ali Jinnah came under the spell of 19th.Century British liberalism. Inspired by the said atmosphere, Jinnah used to visit the British Parliament, where he showed deep interest in the

speeches of liberal leaders like W.E. Gladstone and John Morley. In addition to W.E. Gladstone and John Morley, Surendranath Banerjea, Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopal Krishna Gokhale were his political ideals.

Impressed from Banerjee, Jinnah commented: *I suppose you could argue that Sir Surendranath Banerjea was the one who taught me the fundamentals of politics. I regarded him as a leader and considered myself one of his disciples.* The author further elaborates that Dadabhai Naoroji had contested the election for the first time from a London constituency as a liberal candidate in the general elections of 1886, wherein he was defeated by a conservative candidate. After election Lord Salisbury issued a ridicules statement by saying that an English constituency was not ready to elect a "Blackman". This racist remarks injured the feelings of liberals who were gaining ground under the dynamic leadership of William Ewart Gladstone. In the coming elections of 1892, Naoroji was given the ticket of Central Finsbury constituency from Liberal party. Like other liberals, Jinnah also felt indignation and took active part in the election campaign of Naoroji who won the election with a narrow minority. Jinnah listened to Naoroji's speeches in the House of Commons from the visitor's gallery. When Naoroji was elected President of the Congress in 1906 and chose Jinnah to be his honorary private secretary, this bond was further solidified. Without a doubt, Jinnah's political development in such a liberal milieu and his interactions with such Liberal leaders could not have given him any emotions of community. I suppose you could argue that Sir Surendranath Banerjea was the one who taught me the fundamentals of politics. I regarded him as a leader and considered myself one of his

⁵ Muhammad Ali Shaikh, p.40.

⁶ Hasti Sulaiman. "Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Struggle in The Formation of the Pakistan State." *Santhet:(Journal Sejarah, Pendidikan, dan Humaniora)* 6, no. 2 (2022): 136-145.

⁷ Ziauddin Ahmad Suleri, *My leader: Being an estimate of Mr. Jinnah's work for Indian Mussalmans*, (Karachi: Lion's Publications, 1946), p. 130.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 135.

⁹ Bal Ram Nanda. *Road to Pakistan: the life and times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. Routledge, 2013.

¹⁰ See Rashid Zia Cheema, *Family of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah* at [www.http://nativepakistan.com/family-of-quaid-e-azam-muhammad-ali-jinnah/](http://nativepakistan.com/family-of-quaid-e-azam-muhammad-ali-jinnah/) d January 24, 2013, Accessed on December. 2022.

¹¹ Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, 1954, P. 9.

disciples¹².

Rashid Zia Cheema (2013) explains that in 1896 after the completion of degree in Bar-at- Law, Jinnah returned to Karachi in summer of 1896 where a number of problems were waiting for him. His father's business had badly collapsed and facing cases in the courts of law for payment of business debts. His father persuaded to start his law practice in Karachi. But he had made his mind to try his luck in Bombay finding Karachi too small for his career in law and politics. Here his believe in liberalism and progressive politic further strengthened through his close ties with Indian nationalists, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Feroz Shah Mehta, Surendranath Banerjee and Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha¹³.

Choudhury Ekramul Haque (2012) writes that once Jinnah established his career in law, Jinnah turned his attention to his political career. He started his political career from Bombay Presidency Association where he was closely associated with Badruddin Tyyabji (1844-1906). In March, 1904 he contested for the membership of Bombay Municipal Corporation and was returned successful. Inspired by Bombay Presidency Association, he joined All India National Congress in 1905. The idea of self-government was first floated at the Calcutta Congress (1906) which Jinnah attended at the capacity of personal secretary to its President Naoroji, and where he delivered his first political speech on self-government. Being popular in Bombay's politics, he was elected as a member of All India National Congress in 1908. On January 25, 1910 he returned as a member of the newly constituted Imperial Legislative Councils from Bombay, set up under the Indian Act of 1909. As a staunch believer of Indian nationalism, Jinnah strongly condemned the struggle of the Muslim elites under the guidance of Sir Aga Khan for the right of separate

electorate for the Muslims of India. He was "the prime mover" of the resolution condemning the extension of the principle of separate electorate to the Muslims. As a member Congress delegation he pleaded the Congress view-point about separate electorates before the Viceroy. He also stood against the establishment of All India Muslim League and declared it a body of Rajas and Nawabs aimed at the injection of poison of disunity into the body of India Nationalism¹⁴.

Sultan Muhammad Shah (1954) writes in his bibliography that Jinnah was the sole well-known Muslim to express vehement opposition to all that I and my comrades had done and were attempting to achieve in 1906 when the Muslim leaders presented their demands for a separate electorate to Governor General Lord Minto¹⁵.

Shehla Gul, and Madeha Neelam (2018) highlight that Jinnah's initial apprehensions to separate electorate thawed by 1910 when he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council, which brought him closer to the Muslim problems and the politics of All India Muslim League. He with close touch to other Muslims in Councils realized the demands of the Muslims including right to separate electorate. And these radical changes could be seen in his politics from 1910 onward¹⁶.

Nauman Reayat et al (2015) write that in the early 1910s the need for unity and understanding among the Indians for the larger interest of India was intensely felt by many prominent Indian leaders because the bifurcation of Bengal had created a wide gulf between the two largest communities of India. There was an atmosphere of animosity and hatred among the Muslims and Hindus. In such circumstances, at the efforts of the Congress President Sir William Wedderburn, a conference of Hindu and Muslim

¹² Muhammad Ali Shaikh, *Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, education, struggle and Achievements*, (Karachi: SMI University Press, 2013), p.40.

¹³ Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, 1954, P. 9.

¹⁴ Choudhury Ekramul Haque. "Muhammad Ali Jinnah: A Colorful Political Figure and an Enigma in the History of the Sub-Continent." *Education* 3, no. 6

(2012).

¹⁵ Sultan Muhammad Shah. *The memoirs of Aga Khan: World enough and time*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), p. 96.

¹⁶ Shehla Gul, and Madeha Neelam. "MA Jinnah in the Imperial Legislative Council of India, 1910-13 And 1916-19." *Pakistan Historical Society. Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 66, no. 3/4 (2018): 175-187.

leaders was held at Allahabad in January 1911 which was attended by the leading lights of both League and Congress, Sarendra Nath Benerji Gokhle, Sarsandr Lal Malvia, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Lord Sanha, Maharaja Dar Bangha, Sir Agha Khan, Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk, Sir Ibrahim Rahmat Ullah, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Sir Hassan Imam, Maulana Muhammad Ali, and Hakim Ajmal Khan. to discuss the political and constitutional issues of India. Jinnah, being a member of the Congress strived hard to create an amicable atmosphere of understanding between the Congress and the League and acted "as a sort of 'cross bencher'" at this conference but the efforts failed to achieve the desired results¹⁷.

Jawad Kadir and Majida Jawad (2020) explain that in 1910s, such events took place on the political horizon of both inside and outside of India, which changed the course of Muslim politics of India such as Italian invasion on Libya in October 1911, annulment of Bengal on December 12, 1911 and the defeat of Othman Empire at the hands of Balkan League in 1912. These developments injured the Muslim feelings and delineated them from the British government because the later stood completely against the Muslims. In the light of these changes, the League decided to re-visit its constitution and constituted a committee at the head of Sayyed Wazir Hassan, Secretary of the League. On December 31, 1912, League annual session held at Lucknow, chaired by Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi and took twins decisions-----incorporation of self-government and Hindu-Muslim Unity in the League's plank³¹. This change was welcomed all over the country and it brought the League closer to the Congress and paved the way for Jinnah to join All India Muslim League¹⁸.

Raza-ul-Haq Badkhshani (n.d.) shed lights on the situation and expressed that after these

developments, the Muslims of India faced the crisis of demolition of a portion of Kanpur Mosque incident resulted in brutal massacre of the innocent Muslims. The League expressed deep concern over the anti-Muslim activities of the British government and decided to send a Muslim delegation to London to appraise the Ministers and other officials of the Muslim feelings. Thus, in September, 1913 a deputation led by Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and Sayyed Wazir Hassan (Secretary of League) went to England but Secretary of State for Indian affairs Robert Offley Ashburton Crewe-Milnes, 1st Marquess of Crewe refused to meet them²⁰. Wasti (2002) explains that Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar wrote articles in different Newspapers in which he explained the Muslims viewpoint in a very befitting manner and diverted the attention¹⁹.

Sajid Mahmood Awan (2020) writes that Mohammad Ali Jauhar and Syed Wazir Hassan also saw Muhammad Ali Jinnah in England and invited him to join All India Muslim League since the aims of both the political parties were similar. Jinnah concurred, but he stipulated that "two sponsors were necessary to make a solemn preparatory pledge that devotion to the Muslim League and the Muslim interest would in no way and at no time imply even the shadow of treachery to the greater national cause to which his life was dedicated. Now the views of Muhammad Ali Jinnah were in conformity with those of the League, so, he joined All India League in September, 1913²⁰.

Suleman (2014) writes that on March 22, 1913, the annual session of the League under the chair of Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi passed a resolution which stated that *All India Muslim League expresses its deep concern that the harmonious coexistence and cooperation of the diverse communities are essential for the future*

¹⁷ Nauman Reayat, Manzoor Ali Veesrio, and Salma Baloch. "Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's Role in Hindu-Muslim Unity: A Case of Unity of Two Classes." *Journal of Grassroots* 49, no. 2 (2015).

¹⁸ Jawad Kadir and Majida Jawad. "Does conflict begin at home? using family dynamics to understand

The Hindu-Muslim conflict in British India; 1907–1947." *Asian Journal of Political Science* 28, no. 2 (2020): 71-96.

¹⁹ M. Raza-ul-Haq Badkhshani, *Towards Pakistan*, (Lahore: Star book Depot, n.d.), P. 44.

²⁰ Awan, Sajid Mahmood. "Quaid-e-Azam and the Muslim identity in South Asia." *PAKISTAN* 56, no. 1 (2020): 51-67.

*growth and advancement of India's people*²¹.

Aziz (1992) writes that during the First World War the political activities during war had reduced, yet the young Jinnah devoted all his time and energy to create unity among the ranks of the Indians in order to advance their demands forcefully. Jinnah also knew that the British government will transfer the power only when the two major communities of India had evolved a joint formula about the future constitution of India²²

Khan (2016), explains that when Jinnah knew the Congress would hold its annual session at Bombay in December, 1915, he exercised all the possible measures in persuading the League leaders to hold the annual session of the League also at Bombay at the same time. Despite of the opposition of some leaders of Muslim League and British Government, Jinnah succeeded to convene the League session at Bombay presided over by Mazhar-ul-Haq. In order to create an environment of friendship Jinnah played a vital role by inviting several key leaders of the Congress to the League session, including Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Mrs. Annie Basant, Chaman Lal and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. That's why prominent League leader, Suleman Kassim Mitha described it as a Congress body²³.

Naidu (1917) At this session the most outstanding contribution of Jinnah was the tabling of the resolution which states that a committee be established to develop a reform plan, and that this committee be permitted to consult with any political organizations, other organizations, or communities that may be designated by such organizations as they may judge appropriate²⁴. Hugh F. Owen (1972) focuses that both the committees of the League and the Congress began to work for the

formulation of a scheme of reforms. The joint meeting of both the committees held in Calcutta in November, 1916, settled the details of the Scheme. In December, 1916 the Muslim League and the Congress, for the first time in the political history of India, held their joint sessions in Lucknow. The Muslim League, in recognition to Jinnah's services for securing Hindu-Muslim unity, elected him as the President of its eighth session. Jinnah in his speech presented highlighted the political situation of India²⁵. Syeed Muhammad Taqveem-ul-Haq Kaka Khel (1977) writes that the reforms committee once again met at Lucknow before the session of the Congress and League and finalized the proposals before placing them in the regular session. The reforms scheme was placed before the joint session and was finally approved which is known as Lucknow Pact in the political annual of India. The credit of this pact goes to Muhammad Ali Jinnah. His political vision and wisdom impressed Sarojni Naidoo to such extend that he was honored with the title of "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" S.R. Reddy while appreciating his role described him "The pride of India"²⁶.

Zaman and Akhtar (1993) write that the Lucknow Pact was fully reflected in the non-cooperation movement launched for restoration of Othman Caliphate. But unfortunately, the said movement injected violence and terror into the body politics of India. As a lawyer and constitutionalist, Jinnah realized that violence would not lead to independence, but to disaster and destruction. So, he kept himself aloof from Gandhi's methods of Satyagraha, civil disobedience and the triple boycott of councils, courts and colleges. After the adoption of Gandian program of civil disobedience at Nagpur session (1920), Jinnah left the Congress

²¹ Zahida Suleman. "Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Hindu Muslim Unity." In *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 75, pp. 1341-1347. Indian History Congress, 2014.

²² Chaudhary Sardar Muhammad Khan Aziz, *Hayayti-Quaid-e-Azam*, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1992), P. 42-43.

²³ Sidra Jabeen Khan, *A comparative study of M.A. Jinnah and S.C. Bose* (M. Phil Thesis), (Lahore: Department of History, University of the Punjab, 2016).

²⁴ Sarjini Naidu Mohammad Ali Jinnah an Ambassador of Unity: His Speeches & Writings 1912-1917 Author: Publishers: Reproduced by Atish Fishan Publishers, Lahore, 1989 (Firstly published in Bombay in 1917), p.

²⁵ Hugh F Owen. "Negotiating the Lucknow Pact." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1972): 561-587.

²⁶ Syeed Muhammad Taqveem-ul-Haq Kakakhel, *Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, (Peshawar: Pashto Academy Peshawar University, 1977), P.41.

for good in 1920. The collapse of non-cooperation movement led to widespread communal riots between the two communities, Jinnah, however did not lose heart and continued his efforts to achieve some sort of understanding between the two communities. In 1922 he played a leading role in convening all parties' conference to take up the issue of Caliphate and self-government with the British Government²⁷.

Ayesha Jalal (1994) explains in her book "The sole spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the demand for Pakistan" that during Caliphate Movement, All India Muslim League had gone into eclipses and the Muslims of India had no separate political platform to face the challenges of the changing situation. By now Hindu Mahasabha was becoming popular and stronger among Hindu masses and the Congress was helpless before Mahasabha which had started a violent propaganda against separate electorate²⁸. Mohammad Noman (1942) sheds light on the political circumstances and explains that Jinnah tried to revive the League. He tried to convince Agha Khan to chair the coming session of the League, but in vain. Then, he requested Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgari of Hyderabad to chair the upcoming session of the League but soon adjourned for lack of quorum. The adjourned session was re-called on 24-25 May with the assistance of Sir Mian Fazal Hussain at Lahore. Despite the prevailing atmosphere of communal bitterness and animosity; he succeeded in passing of the resolution to maintain the atmosphere of unity between the Hindus and Muslims²⁹.

Raza ul Haq, (n. d.) writes that by the year of 1926, Hindu Mahasabha managed to get hold of the Congress leadership and had launched a poisonous propaganda against the right to separate electorate. In 1927, Moti Lal Nehru and Srinivasa Iyengar requested Jinnah that if the Muslim League dropped its demand of separate electorate, the Congress would accept any other

alternate proposal of the League. Jinnah gave a serious heed to the new offer and convened a meeting of 30 Muslim leaders of different shade of opinion in the Western Hotel Delhi to revisit the situation in which a formula of rapprochement between the Congress and the League was evolved to be known as Delhi Formula or Proposal. Delhi Proposals incorporate the separation of Bombay from Sindh, introduction of constitutional reforms in (K.P.K), one third representation in the Centre and representation in the Muslim majority provinces of Bengal and Punjab according to their strength. In return, Jinnah offered to waive the rights to separate electorates³⁰. Qalb-i-Abid, (1999) writes that the Congress Working Committee met at Delhi on March 21, 1927 welcomed the proposal and appointed a sub-committee comprising of Sarinivasa Iyengar, Moti Lal Nehru, Muhammad Ali and Sarojini Naidu to discuss the offer in detail. The sub-Committee submitted its report to the Congress Working Committee on 15-18 May, 1927 at Bombay and the committee approved these proposals. But unfortunately the Hindus in general started a violent propaganda against this sincere offer of the League. The Hindu members of the Central Legislative Assembly welcomed only the joint electorate and opposed the representation on the basis of population in the Punjab and Bengal. The Hindus in the Punjab under the leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai stood against the extension of reforms to the N.W.F.P. Sardar Mangal Singh, a Sikh member of the Punjab Assembly welcomed mixed electorate but opposed the extension of constitutional reforms to the N.W.F.P. Jay Ram Daulat Ram, a Hindu leader from Sindh severely criticized the separation of Sindh from Bombay. It's worth mentioning here that All India Muslim League itself divided into two factions on the question of separate electorate and Shafi League came into birth headed by Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi and stood against Delhi proposal. Muhammad

²⁷ Waheed-uz-Zaman and Saleem Akhtar, *Islam in South Asia* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural research, 1993), p. 396-98.

²⁸ Ayesha Jalal. *The sole spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the demand for Pakistan*,

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 100.

²⁹ Mohammad Noman, *Muslim India: Rise and Growth of the All India Muslim League*, (Allahabad: Kitabistan Publishers 1942,) p. 221.

³⁰ Raza ul Haq, p. 75-79.

Ali Jinnah was trying to bring about unity among the Muslims and Hindus but now the political atmosphere had changed. Hindu Mahasabha had emerged as a potent political factor which left no stone unturned to foil any effort of Jinnah made in this connection³¹

Abdul Razzaq Shahid(2007) explains that Jinnah was busy in these efforts when British Government dispatched a royal commission (Simon Commission after the name of Sir John Simon) to revisit the Indian Act of 1919 and putting forward the recommendations for the future constitution suitable to the Indian people. The major political parties boycotted the commission because no Indian was included in it. Though on one side the commission polluted the political atmosphere of India yet it created once again a hope for Hindu- Muslim unity. When the political leadership of India was on roads against Simon Commission, Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India declared "Indians are so divided that they are unable to produce an unanimously acceptable constitution". which further added fuel to the fire³². Syed Akmal Hussain Shah, (2022) writes that to meet this challenge, Congress convened an All Parties Conference at Bombay to produce a constitution for India. The conference appointed a committee headed by Moti Lal Nehru to determine the features for future constitution of India. The Muslims had pinned hopes on the committee that its report would solve the communal problems of India, but when its recommendations (Nehru Report) published, it threw cold water on the hopes of the Muslims because it had taken away all, the concessions from the Muslims given to them by the British Government under the Acts of 1909, 1919 and recognized by the Congress under Lucknow pact The publication of the Nehru Report aroused a tremendous response. The Hindus, Mahasabha and the Sikhs League voicing their full-throated support, the Muslims were sharply

divided into two groups. Nationalist Muslims like Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Sherwani, Syed Ali Imam, Abul Kalam Azad, Asif Ali, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, Zafar Ali Khan, Saifuddin Kichlew went for unqualified support while the rest of the Muslim leadership vehemently opposed it. Moti Lal Nehru had pinned his hopes on Muhammad Ali Jinnah who had returned to Delhi on 26 October, 1928 after his six months long visit to London, Paris and Dublin. Moti Lal Nehru wrote to Jinnah on 28 October, 1928 inviting him to attend the All Parties Committee meeting at Delhi on November5 but Jinnah refused to attend the meeting without the approval of Muslim League Council. The League appointed 23 member's delegation at the head of Jinnah to attend the convention scheduled on 27 December³³

Mahboob Hussain (2010) writes that Muhammad Ali Jinnah proposed these amendments to the Nehru Report; Separate electorate should be retained for the Muslims, Federal system should be introduced in the Center with full provincial autonomy and 1/3 seats should be given to the Muslims in the center legislature but Except Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, all other members of the convention rejected the League's amendment in the Report³⁴. Yaqubi et al (2009) describes that after the failure of his efforts to incorporate his amendments in Nehru Report, Jinnah now initiated two pronged program, to unite the Hindu-Muslims and to organize the shattered Muslim political organization. In March 1929, Muhammad Ali Jinnah summoned a meeting of All India Muslim League at Delhi in which he presented his famous fourteen points as the minimum Muslim demands for any political settlement. But these reasonable demands did not get popularity among the Hindu circles because the Congress was busy in the Civil Disobedience Movement to pressurize the government to accept the Nehru Report as a

³¹ Qalb-i-Abid, S. "Quaid-e-Azam's Negotiations with the Congress Leadership: Efforts for Hindu-Muslim Unity." *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 47, no. 4 (1999): 75.

³² Abdul Razzaq Shahid, All India Muslim League; split and reunification. *Pakistan Journal of history and culture* 28, no. 1 (2007): 156-168.

³³ Hussain Shah, Syed Akmal. "Sir Muhammad Shafi & Mainstream Muslim Politics, 1928-1932." *Pakistan Vision* 23, no. 1 (2022).

³⁴ Mahboob Hussain. "Muslim Nationalism in South Asia: Evolution Through Constitutional Reforms." *Journal of Political Studies* 17, no. 2 (2010): 65.

Constitution of India³⁵. Raza-ul-Haq (n. d) discusses that India was passing through unprecedented stress and strain when labor party returned to power as a result of May, 1929 elections. On October 31, 1929, the new viceroy of India, Lord Irwin on the behalf of the British Prime Minister, Ramsey Macdonald declared that the British Government intended to hold a Round Table Conference, to find out the solution upon which all quarters could agree. Both the groups of the Muslim League welcomed the offer, but Congress not only rejected the offer, but on January, 1930 celebrated an Independence Day. Jinnah and Viceroy tried to reconcile the Congress leaders, but in vain³⁶.

Kaka Khel(1977) writes that disillusioned by the attitude of Gandhi adopted during the course of the Round Table Conferences, Jinnah decided to keep himself aloof from the politics of India and settled in England as a practicing lawyer. During his stay in England his heart was beating with Muslims of India. His confident Abdul Majeed Chaudhry used to inform him about the political situation of India via letters. In one of his letters he stressed Jinnah to come to India to lead the Muslims of India. In July, 193, Liaquat Ali Khan along with his wife went to England and added to the efforts of Abdul Majeed Chaudhry. At last Jinnah agreed and come back to India in April, 1934. In 1934 Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Hafiz Hidayat Hussain were elected President and secretary of the League respectively³⁷. Ghulam Shabir(2020) highlights that Muhammad Ali Jinnah had returned to the Central Legislative Assembly as a result of 1934 elections. He inside and outside of the Assembly strived hard to evolve a formula alternative to the Communal Award. In the Assembly, he formed the Independent Party composed of 30 members and he was himself the president of the party. Jinnah severely criticized the White Paper and proposed some amendments in it which were

approved by the Government despite the opposition of the Congress. In this regard early in 1935 the Congress President Rajendra Prasad and Jinnah held several rounds of talks on the issue of both separate and joint electorates. Jinnah offered to accept joint electorates provided with the weightage to the Muslim population in the Punjab and Bengal. But these talks could not bear fruits due to the opposition of the Hindus of the Punjab and Bengal³⁸.

Ayesha Jalal(1994) advocates that the elections of the provincial Assemblies were to be held in 1937 under the Indian Act of 1935. Both League and Congress welcomed the new announcement and released their election manifesto which was almost similar. Jinnah launched a vigorous electioneering campaign to organize the Muslims on one platform. But the results of the election were quite opposite of his expectations and the League was severely defeated in the Muslim majority provinces while its performance was not bad in the Muslim minority provinces like, Assam, Bihar, C.P. and U.P. Congress being an organized and disciplined political party swept the elections and returned as the majority party in seven provinces out of eleven³⁹. *Jinnah reiterated his offer of cooperation to the Congress following the election, saying: "We are free and prepared to co-operate with any group or party if the fundamental principles are defined by common consensus* but these sincere efforts of Jinnah were not entertained by the leadership of the Congress. Thus the efforts of Jinnah for Hindu-Muslim unity once again ended in smoke.

Haroon-ur-Rasheed (1996) elaborates that the Congress formed ministries in eight provinces where they adopted certain measures which the Muslims found offensive from the religious and cultural point of view. Hoisting of tri-colored flag on public buildings, singing of Bandi

³⁵ Himayatullah Yaqubi and Ifikhar Ahmad Yusufzai. "Leadership and Legitimacy in Muslim India: An Analysis of Quaid-i-Azam and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad." *Dialogue* 4, no. 4 (2009): 557.

³⁶ Raza-ul-Haq, p. 80-81

³⁷ Syeed Muhammad Taqveem-ul-Haq Kakakhel, p. 50.

³⁸ Shabbir, Ghulam, Muhammad Kashif Ali,

Kaloom Hanif, and Imran Alam. "Comparative Study of Jinnah and Nehru's Political Leadership from 1928 to 1930." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 57, no. 2 (2020): 114.

³⁹ Ayesha Jalal. *The sole spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the demand for Pakistan*. Vol. 31. (Karachi: Cambridge University Press, 1994). P. 110.

Matram as a national anthem, introduction of Hindi in place of Urdu, liaison campaign, introduction of Widdia Mandir Scheme and ban on slaughtering of cows were all the anti-Muslim activities. All these developments were closely observed by Jinnah and determined to organize the Muslims under the banner of the League to combat the new situation. On 13 October, 1937 at the Lucknow session of the League, he delivered a presidential speech in which he stressed *“Do not deceive by the charming national slogans of the Congress. On one hand it raised the slogan of the self-government and complete independence and on the other hand it aimed at gaining predominance of the Hindus over the Muslims. In the light of the new circumstances, the Muslims belonging to different shade of opinion must create unity among themselves”*⁴⁰

Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada (1969) describes that this meeting increased the popularity of All India Muslim League among the Muslims and the Muslim stalwarts, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Chief Minister of Punjab, A.K. Fazal Haq, the Chief Minister of Bengal and Muhammad Saad Ullah Khan, the Chief Minister of Assam joined All India Muslim League. Jinnah accelerated the public contacts to gain the maximum public cooperation for the League. In this connection, on November 3, 1937, he addressed a public meeting at Bombay and informed the people about the nefarious designs of the Congress in these words; *“The high sounded slogans of Congress are based on deception and exploitation of the Muslims. The existing tension between Muslim League and Congress would not yield any benefit to either of these organizations; on the other hand it would strengthen the foothold of the British imperialism”*⁴¹. Hitendra Anupam, and Santosh Yadav (2022) writes that in a letter to Jinnah, Gandhi called Jinnah's speech in Lucknow "a declaration of war" and offered to act as a "bridge" between the two groups. Gandhi was

reassured by Jinnah that he was still pursuing a rapprochement between Hindus and Muslims. Jinnah also negotiated with Nehru and later with the Congress President; Subhas Chandra Bose for the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problems but no solution was sought because the Congress leaders were not willingness to understand the problems of the Muslims⁴². Raza-ul-Haq(n. d.) discusses that though by the end of nineteen centuries some Muslim leaders had expressed their view from time to time that Muslims and Hindus could never live together and their ultimate destiny was the homelands of their own. In October, 1938 Sindh Provincial Muslim League passed a resolution based on two –nation theory, yet Jinnah had not abandoned his efforts for Hindu-Muslim. He urged Congress leaders to work with the League to resolve the Hindu-Muslim conflict in a speech he gave to a crowd in Allahabad in January 1939. Later in September, in a speech at the dinner of the old boys of Osmania University, Jinnah said; "I still consider myself to be a patriot in the truest sense of the word. My belief in a Hindu-Muslim alliance has never wavered. However, such a pact can only be one of honour and not one that will result in one party's demise and the other's survival. Currently, there isn't much hope, but you never know when the two communities will come together"⁴³.

Raza-ul-Haq (n.d.) further writes that during the Congress Ministries the League realized that it was impossible for the Muslims of India to live with Hindus in a single country. In September, 1939, the working committee of All India Muslim League resolved that it would opposed any federal scheme in which a permanent majority ruled over a permanent minority. The league under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah had been trying for the last 23 years to reach an honorable agreement with Congress on two principles; (i) Congress should recognize Muslim League as a representative body of the Muslims of India, (ii) The Muslims of India

⁴⁰ Harron-ur-Rasheed, *Pakistan: The Successful Culmination*, (Lahore: Emporium publishers, 1996), p.56.

⁴¹ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, p. 256.

⁴² Anupam, Hitendra, and Santosh Yadav. "Role of

Jinnah after 1937 with special Reference of Lucknow Session of Muslim League." *The Researchers* (2022).

⁴³ Raza-ul-Haq, pp.115-116.

should not be taken as a minority community but the Congress did not give any weight to these fundamental principles⁴⁴. Moore (1983) writes that his was the reason that all the efforts of the League for the alliance ended in smoke. Muhammad Ali Jinnah came to the conclusion that Congress was not ready to accept the Muslims as a separate nation. That's why he dropped the idea of an alliance between the two communities and on March 23, 1940, the League under the guidance of Muhammad Ali Jinnah adopted the idea of the partition of India as its final destination and thus his role as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity came to an end spread over a long period of three decades⁴⁵.

Methodology

The research article is distinctly characterized as a qualitative and descriptive exploration, indicative of its overarching goal to delve into and articulate the endeavors of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in championing Hindu-Muslim unity in the Indian Subcontinent. This ambitious objective is pursued through a comprehensive analysis and nuanced interpretation of historical archives, positioning the study as a meticulous examination of the intricacies surrounding Jinnah's efforts. Notably, the cornerstone of this research lies in the meticulous utilization of archival sources, underscoring the researchers' commitment to accessing and meticulously reviewing an array of historical documents, records, speeches, writings, and other pertinent materials associated with Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the dynamic events shaping Hindu-Muslim unity in the Indian Subcontinent. A fundamental aspect of the research methodology is the adoption of a content analysis framework, a systematic approach that involves scrutinizing the content of textual sources. Through this method, the researchers aim to unearth patterns, themes, and deeper meanings embedded within the historical materials under consideration. The temporal focus of the study is primarily directed towards the second decade of the twentieth century, a pivotal period during which

Muhammad Ali Jinnah's political trajectory underwent a discernible transformation, shifting from the realms of Indian nationalism to a steadfast commitment to Hindu-Muslim unity. Intriguingly, the research study extends its scope to encompass the political and constitutional tumult that ensued in India subsequent to the provincial elections of 1936-37. This period of upheaval serves as a critical backdrop, offering insights into the complex landscape within which Jinnah navigated his political ideologies. Ultimately, the research culminates in an exploration of the decisive moment when Jinnah, in response to the challenges posed by the political milieu, unequivocally declared the partition of India as the singular and inevitable solution. This declaration adds a profound layer of significance to the study, as it signifies a watershed moment in the history of the Indian Subcontinent, influencing the trajectory of political and communal dynamics.

Results/Findings

This investigation underscores a pivotal juncture in the early 20th century where Muhammad Ali Jinnah underwent a discernible shift in his political stance, transitioning from an advocate of Indian nationalism to a fervent proponent of Hindu-Muslim unity. This ideological metamorphosis, as explored in the research study, wielded substantial ramifications in the intricate political landscape of India. One of the seminal points illuminated by this research is the instrumental role played by Jinnah in the culmination of the Lucknow Pact in 1916, a historic agreement that reverberated throughout the political milieu of the time and found full reflection in the Caliphate movement. Central to the study is the meticulous examination of Jinnah's unwavering efforts to sustain harmony between Hindus and Muslims, even in the aftermath of the Caliphate Movement's inability to provide a resolution to the pressing political and constitutional challenges facing India. The research underscores the resilience and determination exhibited by Jinnah in navigating

⁴⁴ Raza-ul-Haq, p.117.

⁴⁵ Robin J Moore. "Jinnah and the Pakistan demand." *Modern Asian Studies* 17, no. 4 (1983): 529-561.

the complexities of communal dynamics, seeking a common ground that could foster unity amid the diverse religious communities. The culmination of the study sheds light on a transformative moment in India's history, with Jinnah arriving at the definitive decision to advocate for the partition of India as the sole recourse to the mounting political and constitutional predicaments confronting the nation. This landmark decision, as uncovered by the research, was significantly influenced by the outcomes of the provincial elections of 1936-37. These elections are posited as a critical juncture that underscored the deepening divide between Hindus and Muslims, potentially serving as a catalyst for Jinnah's realization that the vision of a united India was becoming increasingly untenable. In essence, this research study provides a nuanced understanding of Jinnah's political evolution, tracing his trajectory from the pursuit of Indian nationalism to the fervent promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity. It intricately weaves together historical events, such as the Lucknow Pact and the Caliphate movement, with Jinnah's persistent endeavors for communal accord. The culmination of the study, marked by the declaration of the partition of India, is portrayed as a watershed moment, emblematic of the intricate interplay between political ideologies and the socio-religious fabric of the Indian Subcontinent during a transformative period in its history.

Conclusion

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, revered as the architect of Hindu-Muslim unity, initiated his political journey within the folds of the All India National Congress in 1906. Initially, he staunchly championed the cause of Indian Nationalism and vehemently opposed the concept of separate electorates and the establishment of the All India Muslim League. However, the onset of the second decade of the twentieth century marked a profound transformation in Jinnah's political ideology, steering him away from Indian nationalism toward a fervent advocacy for Hindu-Muslim unity. During this transformative period, Jinnah played a pivotal and dynamic role in fostering closer ties between Hindus and Muslims, culminating in the historic Lucknow

Pact of 1916. This landmark agreement was a constructive milestone in Hindu-Muslim relations in the post-British era and had significant repercussions on the political landscape of India, particularly during the Caliphate Movement. Following the disappointments of the Caliphate Movement, a new political dynamic emerged with the rise of the Hindu Mahasaba, becoming a formidable force in Indian politics. This organization exerted pressure on the Congress to retract from the Lucknow Pact. In response to these challenging circumstances, Jinnah found himself at a critical juncture, where he ardently endeavored to preserve the unity between the Hindus and Muslims for the greater good of India. The turning point in Hindu-Muslim relations occurred when the Provincial Ministries, under the influence of the Congress, displayed an unfavorable attitude towards the Muslim community. This development shattered the fragile unity between Hindus and Muslims. Faced with this disintegration, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, along with other Muslim leaders, embarked on a struggle for a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. In navigating these tumultuous waters, Jinnah's commitment to preserving unity was tested, and as the political landscape shifted, he ultimately became a staunch advocate for the creation of a separate nation for Muslims. This marked the genesis of the demand for Pakistan, a momentous chapter in the history of the Indian Subcontinent, shaped by the intricate interplay of political ideologies, communal dynamics, and the tireless efforts of leaders like Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

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