CHAPTER--III

Rise of M. K. Gandhi and M.A. Jinnah at the Centre-Stage of India’s Politics

Emboldened by the success in South Africa where he forged a new method of non-violence for fighting against injustice, discrimination and exploitation, Gandhji had already become a known figure among the Indians and had pouring admiration all walks of Indian life. His tremendous success in South Africa gave credence to his belief and strengthened his conviction.

His return to India in 1915 saw the public opinion tilted towards him with hope and respect. His moral struggle made him not only stalwart among various organizations engaged in National Movement in India but also gave him high position among the general Indian masses. The poor and illiterate of the Indian masses started seeing towards him as the man who dressed like them, ate like them and talked for the highest morality. Gandhiji’s appearance in the political mobilization of the enslaved country was nothing less than magical. His admiration started echoing all around. The veteran moderate nationalist leader G.K. Kokhale was so much charmed by his successful accomplishment of Satyagraha Mission that he was overwhelmed and spoke at the Lahore Session of the Congress in 1909 in the following words:

Fellow delegates, after the immortal part which Mr. Gandhi has played in this (South Africa) affair, I must say it will not be possible for any Indian, at any time, here or in any other assembly of Indians, to mention his name without deep
emotion and pride. Gentlemen, it is one of the privileges of my life that I known Mr. Gandhi intimately; and I can tell you that a purer, a nobler, a braver and a more exalted spirit has never moved on this earth. Mr. Gandhi is one of those men who, living an austerely simple life themselves and devoted to all the highest principles of love to their fellow beings and to truth and justice, touch the eyes of their weaker brethren as with magic and give them a new vision.¹

At another place Gokhale pointed out, “He (Gandhiji) has in him the marvelous spiritual power to turn ordinary men around him into heroes and martyrs.”² The words of Gokhale were bound to evoke positive responses. His words were more like recommendation for Gandhiji and paved ways for Gandhiji’s beginning in the National Movement although in his absence.

Gandhiji after his arrival took extensive tour of the nation to get to know first-hand information regarding the plight of Indians under the British Raj. Like an obedient disciple of Gokhale who first wanted Gandhiji to become aware of ground realities. Gokhale wanted him to travel throughout the country. Gandhi remained true to the promise he had given to his political mentor Gokhale and remained silent and aloof in his own words:

Gokhale took from me a promise that I should travel in India for gaining experience, and express no opinion on public questions until I have finished the period of probation. Even after the year is over, I will be in no hurry
to speak and pronounce opinions. And so I do not suppose there will be any occasion for Satyagraha for five years or so.³

Meanwhile he maintained silence and continued to keep close watch on the situation. He participated in the session of Indian National Congress and the Muslim League but chose not to intervene. This showed his intentions in the following words:

At my time of life and with views firmly formed on several matters, I could only join an organization to affect its policies and not be affected by it. This does not mean that I would not now have an open mind to receive new light. I simply wish to emphasize the fact that the new light will have to be especially dazzling in order to entrance me.⁴

Gandhiji had no faith in any existing political methods which were in momentum in the colonial country and believed that none of these methods could bring any relief to Indians unless these movements own up the policies and principles of Satyagraha. Clearly Gandhiji seemed not to entertain any one policy, idea, opinion, methods and did not want himself to fit into other shoes. Whether it was extreme arrogance of Gandhiji or it was his political doctrine that neither coincided with moderates or extremists but all through the time he kept changing his instances; sometimes shown up as moderates and sometimes as extremists. The Indian National Congress up to 1916 remained as an organization of moderates but from 1916 the Indian National Congress turned
out to be an extremist organization. For Gandhiji, however, any of the options can be put to use but with the concern that the means adopted to attain the goal should be pure and just. After the advent of Gandhiji, the Congress ceased to be either a ‘Moderate’ or an ‘Extremist’ body, but Gandhian, because he gave the Congress an indelible print of his ideology and programme.” In his own words Gandhiji declared:

I wanted to acquaint India with the method I had tried in South Africa and I desired to test in India the extent to which its application might be possible. So my companions and I selected the name ‘Satyagraha Ashram’ as conveying both our goal and our method of service. The fact that he had his firm conviction which he wanted to remain unprotected and unchallenged, he always remained in the public eyes and the eyes of the government too for his actions and beliefs. For instance when he was invited in 1916 in the foundation stone ceremony of Banaras Hindu University, Gandhiji confronted not only the then Viceroy Lord Hardinge but also became alarming for those who invited him on the occasion. It was there he spoke:

It is a matter of deep humiliation and shame to us that I am compelled this evening under the shadow of this great college, and in this sacred city to address my country men in a language that is foreign to me.
He went further to embarrass the princes, “princes go and sell your jewels. There is no salvation for India unless you strip yourselves of the jewellery and hold it on trust for the benefit of your poor countrymen.” And finally he made a frontal attack on the Viceroy, “why this distrust of the people? Is it not better that the Viceroy should take the risk of being shot rather than flooding the whole town with police harassing the people?” By no standards Gandhiji showed any tinge of modesty and decency. But then he was like that only, frank, outspoken and bold enough not to eschew any word for which he thought to be just and dignified way to launch frontal attack which he vehemently disliked.

In the coming days of his political career he remained throughout the way. His dogmas often caused discomfort to many of his admirer but he continued. In the aftermath of the above event, many were confused and embarrassed. In the event of his joining the Home Rule League, he again went against the wishes of many prominent League members. Gandhiji proposed change of the name and creed of the League which was bitterly contested by Jinnah and others. Consequently they all tendered their resignations.

Gandhiji had inherent desire and ambition to make his ideology, convictions, methods and philosophy, a sort of gospel truth and for that matter he would not hesitate in making his first move. It always invited critics to call him egoist and apparently opportunist atleast the way he conducted himself in the event of war. His enthusiasm for saving the empire and his declaration and
solemn pledge that he is ready to sacrifice Indian youths for defending the empire seems bitterly contradicting. In his letter addressed to the Viceroy he wrote:

Whilst, therefore, it is clear to me that we should give to the Empire every available man for its defense, I fear that I cannot say the same thing about financial assistance. My intimate intercourse with the ryots convinces me that India has already donated to the Imperial Exchequer beyond her capacity.\textsuperscript{12}

Furthermore his moves were bound to be criticized. But he was quick to fix the anger of his critics by immediately being apologetic from his so-called concrete hard instance. He would immediately reconcile as he did this time again. The other motive was to qualify for Swaraj through good offices of the statesmen of the empire.\textsuperscript{13}

His magical power as crowd puller is although a hard fact and that his words were regarded as sacrosanct as religious rituals which was perhaps the sole mover of Gandhiji to a political height which he had carefully planned and seriously executed. He had long realized that to the majority of Indians what mattered was religious sentiment and Gandhiji left no opportunity to grab that. He lived and spoke in their style and language as he spoke like ardent supporter of empire when he recruited Indians to be used as cannon fodder for the empire. It was perhaps his strongest and durable weapon which could make no one to raise eyebrows and challenge but forced to seek a nation within nation.
It was with this mindset Gandhiji tried to get salvation for the Indians and in the end perhaps the only the end could justify the means. His habits of putting his ideas to the experiment make him to launch civil disobedience movement which against the Rowlatt Act although badly backfired yet could place Gandhiji on still high raised political platform. His political declaration was proved fatal and many boldly spoke against Gandhiji:

The passing of the Rowlatt Bill brought Mr. Gandhi on the scene. With a faith in the passive resistance, almost pathetic and incurable, brought over from South Africa, Mr. Gandhi had rehearsed the practice of this art on a smaller scale in connection with local grievances in Bardoli in Gujarat and Champaran in Bihar. The success he achieved there led him to think of the same method on their occasions and on a scale less suited to it. He started the Satyagraha campaign against the Rowlatt Act. He had been warned that there was such a tremendous amount of anti British feeling in the country and so little understanding of his own niceties in the practice of Satyagraha, that he would be letting loose forces of disorder which he would be unable to control. He brushed aside all objections with a sweep of his hands and embarked upon his campaign. The sequel was far worse than those who had warned him had feared.14
Despite the failure and despite all the brutalities perpetrated on the Indians Gandhiji seemed to be relentless in his approach and conviction and although he bowed down to the Government by terminating his civil disobedience yet his aspiration ran high. He while declaring to abide by the will of administration, also made statements which does not properly suit to his conviction. In a press statement dated 21st July 1919 Gandhiji said:

The Government of India had given me a grave warning that the resumption of civil disobedience is likely to be attended with serious consequences to public security. In response to these warnings and to the public desire urgently expressed by Dewan Bahadur L.A. Govind Raghava Iyer, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and several editors, I have, after deep consideration, decided not to resume civil resistance for the time being. With these indications of good will, it would be unwise on my part not to listen to the warning given by the Government. Indeed, my acceptance of the Government’s advice is a further demonstration of the nature of civil resistance. A civil resister never seeks to embarrass the Government.15

We thus find a clear contrast. He chose to take on the administration yet he wishes not to embarrass the Government. This is what politics demanded but should he be Gandhiji? Soon after when a royal proclamation was issued for introducing new reforms in order to pave the way for full responsible
Government in India, Gandhiji not only chose to support the administration but also chose to curse all the extremist talk of obstructing the working of the reforms. Gandhiji once again showered his blessing and made a turn around by asking that the Indians should trust the British:

> On the question of the propriety of obstruction I say that Indian cultural demands that we shall trust the man who extends the hand of fellowship. The King – Emperor has extended the hand of fellowship and if he had done so we do not reject the advance. Tell Mr. Montagu and all the officials of the bureaucracy, we are going to trust you.\(^{16}\)

Till the time M.A. Jinnah still believed in Gandhiji’s charismatic views and Gandhiji’s resolution was seconded by him:

> I ask you, do you object to work the Reforms so as to make the establishment of full Responsible Government as early as possible? Cries of ‘No’, ‘No’. Then why not say so I, therefore, say that Mahatma Gandhi does not propose to do anything more than what this house has expressed over and over again that we must work the Reforms Act.\(^{17}\)

But as the destiny goes, Gandhiji again made a turn around by plunging into Khilafat movement. The world was shocked and surprised at the speed Gandhiji kicked off his campaign, Gandhiji’s close associate Indulal Yajnik expressed as:
Political circles were frankly perplexed and amazed at the increasing military tones and tactics of Mr. Gandhi, who began really to surpass even the most orthodox Mahomedan in his fanatical zeal for the cause of Islam.  

Maulana Azad, then a close associate of Gandhi recounted the event in the following words:

The question now arose about the next step. A meeting was held in which Mr. Mohammad Ali, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Maulvi Abdul Bari of Firanghi Mahal Lucknow were also present. Gandhiji presented his programme of Non-co-operation. He said that the days of deputations and memorials were over. We must withdraw all support from the Government and this alone would persuade the Government to come to terms. He suggested that all Government titles should be returned, law courts and educational institutions should be boycotted. Indians should resign from the services and refuse to take any part in the newly constituted legislature.

However despite Gandhiji’s launching of non-cooperation, the British administration seemed to be insensitive to the call and remained unmoved. But this could only further enhance the charismatic influence over wider and wider section of Indian population. Gandhiji was all set to get wide support base of the Muslim intelligentsia. Gandhiji although could not convince many political
stalwarts to his Khilafat-non-cooperation movement yet he could make his influence felt on everyone. The Khilafat Congress combined movement gained momentum. Gandhiji asserted, “Cooperation is a duty only so long as Government protects your honour, and non-cooperation is an equal duty when the Government instead of protecting robs you of your honour.”

In the mean time Hunter report was submitted which recommended no measure against General Dyer and this further infuriated Gandhiji. He who had used his good offices in preparing the Congress to accept the Montford Reforms at the Amritsar Session in December 1919 as a gesture of co-operation and good will had also lost faith in the British sense of Justice after the announcement of the Hunter Report. The combined pressure on the Congress of the growing distrust and continued British oppression along with the Gandhiji’s factor of popularity made the Congress to adopt the programme of the non-cooperation of Gandhiji at the Calcutta Session of the Congress in September 1920. This resolution in the non-cooperation movement included three demands, i.e., the demands for the redress of the Khilafat wrong, the Punjab wrong and the demand for the establishment of Swaraj. The resolution ran as follows:

The Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of two aforementioned wrongs (Khilafat and Punjab) and the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent repetition of similar wrongs in future is establishment of Swaraj. This
Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-cooperation until the said wrongs are righted and Swaraj is established.\textsuperscript{23}

For the fulfilment of the non-violent non-cooperation, the Indian people were asked to:

(i) Surrender titles, honorary offices and nominated seats.
(ii) Refuse to attend official functions, ceremonies and Darbars.
(iii) Withdraw gradually from Government Colleges and School; and to establish national institutions to replace them.
(iv) Boycott British Courts and to establish private arbitration courts.
(v) Refuse to offer as recruits for service in Mesopotamia.
(vi) Withdraw candidates from elections to the reformed councils and abstain from voting.
(vii) Boycott foreign goods and to adopt Swadeshi.\textsuperscript{24}

However many Stalwarts vehemently opposed Gandhiji’s arbitrary move. Poet Rabindranath Tagore expressed his anxiety in the following words:

\begin{quote}
We need all the moral forces which Mahatma Gandhi represents and which he alone in the world can represent.

But it is criminal to transpose moral forces into force. My prayer is that India may represent the co-operation of all the people of the world. For India, unity is truth, and division
\end{quote}
evil. Unity is that which embraces and understands everything; consequently, it cannot be attained through negation. The present attempts to separate our spirit from that of the Occident is tantamount to spiritual suicide. The present age has been dominated by the Occident, because the Occident has a mission to fulfill. We of the Orient should learn from the Occident. No nation can find its own salvation by breaking away from others.  

M.A. Jinnah too got repulsive and opposed the resolution. Despite the clear cut majority support for Gandhiji, M.A.Jinnah could not budge an inch and warned the Congress not to go for it as it would throw the unprepared largely ignorant mass into a serious kind of disaster but no one could dare to stop Gandhiji as his magic had cast his spell. Gandhiji rejected Jinnah’s advice and his tone was full of aggression and threatening:

An analysis of the votes shows that the country wants non-cooperation. The majority has taken upon its shoulders a tremendous responsibility. Every individual voter in favour of my proposal has certainly bound himself, if he is a parent, to withdraw his children form schools or colleges subject in any way to Government control. Every voter being lawyer is bound at the earliest opportunity to suspend his practice and promote the cause of settlement of disputes by private arbitration. Every delegate voting with the
majority has bound himself to stimulate hand–spinning and 
hand–weaving and in his own person to use hand–spun and 
hand-woven cloth.\textsuperscript{26}

Later on, Gandhiji said, “I do not rely merely upon the lawyer class or highly 
educated men to carry out all the stages of non-cooperation. My hope is more 
with the masses, so far as the later stages of non-cooperation are concerned.”\textsuperscript{27}

The tone of Gandhiji now completely changed. He was clearing looking 
at the bright prospects of the leadership of Indian mass unfolding. He did not 
require any one to support him because now he had fingers on the pulse of his 
countrymen. He got tremendous support from the Muslims for his great 
dedication towards the Khilafat cause. It did not matter for him now that a poet 
like Rabindranath Tagore or lawyer like M.A. Jinnah disapproves him. His 
methods were considered no less than saintly. His saintly stature made him 
revered both by majority and minority. The Government of the day also now 
recognized his formidable strength although reluctantly. Everyone who dared 
to speak against the Mahatma faced the curse of being ostracized and so was 
the fate of M.A. Jinnah. Gandhiji with his meteoric success became the sole 
leader of the India and the movement which was otherwise soaked with the 
sweat and blood of many Indians.

The Congress session, in 1920, endorsing Gandhiji’s proposal made him 
the supreme political and spiritual leader. It was the real turning point an 
spectacular accent of Gandhiji to the centre stage of Indian politics. At the
Ramgarh session of the Indian National Congress in 1940 his speech is the hard
evidence of his huge influence he had and with this he swayed his power:

We are not only a democratic organization but we are also a
fighting organization. When we march as an army we are no
longer a democracy as soldiers we have got to take orders
from the General and obey them implicitly. His word must
be law. I am your General. When you appoint me as your
general you must obey my command. There will be no
argument about it. They are not to reason why. My mind is
wholly concentrated on trying this experiment with your
help and support, because it will help not only India but the
whole world. Every Congress Committee must, therefore,
become a unit of Satyagraha. To that extent democracy
comes to an end. To that extent a democratic organization
like ours will have to follow explicitly my instructions.
Every Congress Committee should become Satyagraha
Committee and register such Congressmen. Who would
spin regularly and who habitually use khaddar to the
exclusion of all other cloth. These Satyagraha Committees
would become busy spinning-depots. They will work in
conjunction with and under the guidance of All India
Congress Committee branches in a business like manner so
that there remain in the jurisdiction of the committees no
Congressmen who have not adopted khaddar for exclusive
use.\textsuperscript{28}

His ambition and desire now started getting vent through the articles he started
writing. One of his articles published in \textit{Young India}:

My ambition is much higher than independence. Through
the delivery of India, I seek to deliver the so called subject
races of the earth from the crushing heels of Western
exploitation in which England is the greatest partner. If
India converts, as it can, Englishmen, it can become the
predominant partner in a world – Commonwealth of which
England can have the privilege of becoming a partner, if she
chooses. India has the right, if she only knew, of becoming
the predominant partner, by reason of her numbers,
geographical position and culture inherited for ages. This is
a big talk, I know. For a fallen India to aspire to move the
world and protect the weaker races is seemingly
animpertinence. But, I can no longer hide the light under a
bushel. Mine is an ambition worth living for and wroth
dying for.\textsuperscript{29}

In the spectacular rise of Gandhiji to the acme of the Indian political movement
which bestowed upon him unprecedented love, devotion and respect and all
these which could make him a direct and singular giant representative of the
popular sentiment, at the same time deprived M.A. Jinnah of his credentials, his
self confidence, his aspirations and his long held beliefs.

The methods through which M.A. Jinnah wished to conquer his people
and nation seems to fast losing its ground. The man who stood for his people
seemed utter loneliness particularly after the 1920 Congress session, which not
only endorsed Gandhiji’s methods but at the same time refused to acknowledge
any voice of dissent. Jinnah although had the same bitterness as Gandhiji
against the British but his methods and styles seemed to exercise cautions and
restraint and avoided to throw his people into the abyss of civil war:

These are the enormities crying aloud, and we have met
today face to face with a dangerous and most unprecedented
situation. The solution is not easy and the difficulties are
great. But I cannot ask the people to submit to wrong after
wrong. Yet I would still ask the Government not to drive
the people of India to desperation or else there is no other
course left open to the people except to inaugurate the
policy of non-cooperation, though not necessarily the
programme of Mr. Gandhi.30

What is interesting to note that despite the anguishness and despite being aware
of the excesses and atrocities of the British he delayed in his actions probably
for his faith in the British justice. He could not take that final stride into the
vale of total rejection, however, as Gandhiji and tens of millions who followed
him would do, for that would have been a repudiation of himself, of all he
stood for and had become. Jinnah was no more of a maulana than a mahatma, and could no sooner have relinquished his elegant legal chambers and clubs for village or prison life than Gandhiji could have abandoned spinning to start a probate practice.  

M.A. Jinnah for his style and function, had not so far succeeded in widening his support base as he was limited to the circle of intellectuals. He was not aware of the art of mingling with the common man nor did he believethat common man could bring anything worthwhile to salvage the pride of the nation. A fine comparison between M.K. Gandhi and M.A. Jinnah made by Stanley Wolpert reflects in this way:

Each became the perfect prototype of a style of leadership suited to different constituencies, attuned to different languages and goals fashioned by different worlds. Jinnah was the model of urban westernized India at its cleanest and sharpest. Gandhiji reflected India’s ocean of peasant wisdom and village life with its infinite capacity to endure poverty and patiently suffer any hardship.

The attempt of M.K. Gandhi to exterminate any opposition and to stamp his methods and philosophy alienated every one. Tilak himself refused to accept Gandhiji’s lead and was too orthodox a Brahman to embrace the Khilafat cause. Annie Besant, who never trusted Gandhiji openly denounced his movement as a ‘channel of hatred, while Gokhale’s moderate successor at the head of the Servants of India Society, V.S.Srinivasa Sastri considered the
Mahatma ‘fanciful’. Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, a leader of the National Liberal Federation, called Gandhi a madman, mad and arrogant. But M.A. Jinnah who considered himself the architect in particular suffered the brunt more because of his undithered service to nation and its course had made him to feel and aspire for the national leadership. He is known for his efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity in 1916 and also afterwards. The Congress session in the Royal Garden of Lucknow witnessed its President Ambica Charan Mazumdar announced:

The Hindu-Muslim matter has been settled and the Hindus and Mussalmans have agreed to make a united demand for self Government. The All India Congress Committee and the representatives of the Moslem League who recently met in conference at Calcutta have, after two days’ deliberations, in one voice resolved to make a joint demand for a Representative Government in India.

M.A. Jinnah by his intellectual ability and by his desire to keep constitutional method in the forefront had already won the intelligentsia of the country to his side but above all he had praised from even the high profile people of British administration. Of all the political leaders Montagu talked within India, Jinnah impressed him most:

Young, perfectly mannered, impressive looking, armed to the teeth with dialectics and insistent upon the whole of his scheme. Viceroy Chelmsford tried to argue with him, and
was tied up into knots. Jinnah is a very clever man, and it is, of course, an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his own country.\(^{35}\)

Montagu later wrote in his diary:

> My visit to India means that we are going to do something and something big. I cannot go home and produce a little thing or nothing; it must be epoch-making, or it is a failure; it must be the keystone of the future history of India. Nothing is waiting in comfort. I am not the stuff to carry this sort of thing off. For the first time in my life I wish I looked like Curzon. I wish Lloyd George were here; I wish the whole British Cabinet had come; I wish Asquith were here, it is one of India’s misfortunes that I am alone, alone, alone the person that has got to carry this thing through.\(^{36}\)

Towards Hindu-Muslim unity, his efforts are unquestionable although he did not evoke any religious sentiments like Gandhi, he like a perfect secular leader chose to strengthen the bond between Hindi-Muslim unity and never indulged to slow down or cripple the Indian National Movement. The Congress-League plan, called the Lucknow Pact of 1916, provided a blue print for independent India’s constitution. The pact set quotas for Muslim and Hindu representation in the various provinces although it was never fully implemented. Jinnah had moreover, worked out every step for translating his scheme into legislative reality:
After you have adopted the scheme of reforms you should see that the Congress and the League take concerted measures to have a Bill drafted by constitutional lawyers as an amending Bill to the Government of India Act which embodies the present constitution of our country. This Bill when ready, should be adopted by the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League and a deputation of leading representative men for both the bodies should be appointed to see that the Bill is introduced in the British parliament and adopted. For that purpose we should raise as Large a fund as possible to supply the sinews of war until our aim and object are fulfilled.  

In the Nagpur session of the Congress what happened was the turning point for M.A. Jinnah. He was “howled down with cries of shame, shame and political imposter.”  

Overseeing the pathetic situation the Central Provinces commissioner Frank Sly reported to the Viceroy, “Jinnah carried no influence.”  

The Nagpur Congress session of 1920 when Jinnah was literally booed out. At the session, Jinnah was shouted down by the delegates, who passed Gandhi's proposal, pledging Satyagraha until India was free. He did not attend the subsequent League meeting, held in the same city, which passed a similar resolution. Owing to the action of the Congress in endorsing Gandhi's campaign, Jinnah resigned from it, leaving all positions except in the Muslim League.

It was the most bitterly humiliating experience of his public life. He left central India by the next train, the searing memory of his defeat at Nagpur.
permanently emblazoned on his brain. Whatever hopes he had of national leadership were buried that day. Gandhiji had scaled the heights of political popularity; Jinnah plummeted over the precipice to a new low, reviled by fellow Muslim Khilafat leaders even more than by the Mahatma’s devoutest Hindu disciples. Shaukat Ali hated him and made no secret of his sentiments wherever he went. There was no court of appeals left for the moment, so Jinnah went silently home. His career in politics a shambles, though hardly at an end.\textsuperscript{40} Jinnah got himself separated from the political stage. His aloofness and also the hurt he had received at Nagpur made him to age faster.

He then reappeared in February 1921 at the Poona Servants of India Society where he was invited to speak on the occasion of Gopal Krishna Gokhale’s death anniversary. He again retorted his stance and said, “a Government which had persistently and deliberately followed a policy that had wounded the self respect of the country, and Gandhi’s non-cooperation movement, which was taking them to a wrong channel.”\textsuperscript{41} But fortunately or unfortunately that Satyagraha of Gandhiji resulted in Chauri Chaura and Gandhiji had to call off with the lamentation:

He (God) has warned me the third time that there is not as yet in India that truthful and non violent atmosphere which and which alone can justify mass disobedience which can be at all described as civil, which means gentle, truthful, humble, knowing, willful yet loving never criminal and hateful. God spoke clearly through Chauri Chaura.\textsuperscript{42}
Jinnah now became more aggressive. The failure of Satyagraha gave him solid opportunity to bounce back. By mid-1922, Jinnah was trying to organize a new moderate party from which he would have excluded Gandhiji entirely, speaking out more strongly against the Mahatma. Jinnah’s pessimism was now gone. He saw a new hope in the failure of Gandhiji’s methods:

Boycott of Councils, as desired by Mahatma Gandhi, was far from being effective or useful, the Khilafat Organization, which was carried on, could not claim any better position. The result of the struggle of the last three years has this to our credit that there is an open movement for the achievement of Swaraj for India. There is a fearless and persistent demand that steps must be taken for the immediate establishment of Dominion Responsible Government in India.

The tone and tenor of M.A. Jinnah got completely changed. He became now more vociferous. He now in his wisdom tended to explore what M.K. Gandhi has been doing all the time, although by constitutional means:

That one essential requisite condition to achieve Swaraj is political unity between the Hindus and the Mohammedans; I am almost inclined to say that India will get Dominion Responsible Government the day the Hindus and Mohammedans are united.
Swaraj is an almost interchangeable term with Hindu-Muslim Unity.\textsuperscript{45} In January 1922 the Malviya Conference was called in Bombay where he became a Signatory to the calling of Round Table Conference. The resolution he presented demanded reversal of the Government current policy of repression and for the constitution of a committee, “to investigate the cases of persons and for the cessation of all hartals, picketings and civil disobedience.”\textsuperscript{46} He contested Central Legislative Assembly in 1923 as independent. In his public address at Bombay he said:

As soon as they went into the council, they would put forward considered scheme demanding certain things from the Government. If Government did not grant their demands, then they would be perfectly right in creating a constitutional deadlock and it would be perfectly legitimate for them to make all Government impossible.\textsuperscript{47}

After Jinnah parted from the Congress, his formidable yet genuine leadership was still not without acknowledgment, when he contested 1923 Central Legislative Election and Swarajits had put up their candidate against him. The Bombay Chronicle wrote:

If Mr. Jinnah is not today a Congressman, he is not like many others, either betrayed the cause of his country or exploited his disagreement with the Congress for the purposes of his personal aggrandizement. He remain,
therefore, as a true servant of the country as any congressman and it would be a lasting shame if a leader like him were to be deprived of the opportunity of serving his country in a fight in an atmosphere admirably suited to his temperament and training, on petty party considerations.48

In the new Legislative Assembly Jinnah sought and won the new friends in Swarajists led by Pandit Motilal Nehru. Here his constitutional methods worked magic. He is known for his contribution in the development of representative institutions, Indianization of the army, economic independence. He always spoke in the face and defended individuals and rights. In September 1924 when H.S. Gaur introduced a bill to repeal certain provisions of the Indian Criminal Law Amendent Act, Jinnah chose to support and spoke:

If you donot respond to the wishes of the people, if you donot respond to the public opinion of the people, inspite of any number of statues you cannot destroy these revolutionary movement.49

He further argued:

Why do these youngmen take to bombs? Have you ever thought? Because they feel that this Government donot respond to their aspirations, and to their ideals and to their ambitions to secure complete political freedom for their country. I want this act to be repealed and I donot want to see this act again on the statute – book.50
His popularity grew enormously at home among the intellectuals. B.R. Nanda in his book *Motilal Nehru*, writes in 1924, “Jinnah was still a Muslim Mazzini whose nationalism was not swallowed either by conceit or communalism.”\(^5\) M.A. Jinnah meanwhile continued to advise the Congress and appealed to them:

> In my opinion, the Congress should take Birkenhead and the Viceroy at their word and offer to use reforms for what they worth. The policy will have the advantage of consolidating the national forces, and if not responded to, of proving the Government in the wrong.\(^6\)

While Jinnah was gradually but certainly succeeding in carving his niche, the country was slowly slipping into the horrible nightmares of Hindu-Muslim riots. Gandhiji’s attempt to salvage the unity by Khilafat seemed swept way in the bloodshed. This was growing distrust between the communities that must have paved the way for M.A. Jinnah in consolidating his position. His extraordinary performances in the Assembly and his intellectual ability was not only recognized by Indians but also by the Viceroy:

> The Viceroy valued Jinnah’s Assembly work highly enough to offer to include his name that December on the coveted list he was recommending for Khilafathood, if only Jinnah would agree to accept that honor. I prefer to be plain Mr. Jinnah, he replied, I have lived as plain Mr. Jinnah and I hope to die as plain Mr. Jinnah.\(^7\)
He was even appointed as Member to the Assembly’s sand hurt committee in 1925 to study the possibility of establishing a military college. But huge mistake in 1927 by Tory cabinet in appointing the commission called the Simon Commission which not only reunited the whole of India but also brought all the Indian leaders back onto the centre-stage. Jinnah meanwhile got re-elected as the League’s President and here his vibrant words showed the spark and energy:

A constitutional war has been declared on Great Britain.
Negotiations for a settlement are not to come from our side.
Let the Government sue for peace. We are denied equal partnership. We will resist the new doctrine to the best of our power. Jallianwalla Bagh was a physical butchery, the Simon Commission is a butchery of our souls. By appointing an exclusively White commission, Lord Birkenhead has declared our unfitness for self government.
I welcome Pandit Malaviya and I welcome the hand of fellowship extended to us by Hindu leaders from the platform of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. For, to me, this offer is more valuable than any concession which the British Government can make. Let us then grasp the hand of fellowship. This is indeed a bright day; and for achieving this unity, thanks are due to Lord Birkenhead.\textsuperscript{54}
At Calcutta Session, Jinnah could convince the majority of All India Muslim League that the Simon Commission is an insult to the Indians and should not accepted unless invited on absolutely equal terms with equal rights. Jinnah with his remarkable leadership quality now spewed venom against the British and at the same time approached all the powerful leaders of the country, Indian National Congress, the All India Muslim League, the All India Liberal Federations, the Federation of Indian Chambers and the Mill Owners Association and interestingly got their support. Jinnah’s efforts made the Muslim League to resolve that Musalman throughout the country should have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form. The Government, on the other hand, tried hard to wean away Jinnah and applied the policy of divide and rule. Jinnah advocated the participation of ‘nationalists’ at the Round Table Conference on the floor of the Legislative Assembly on July 10, 1930 in the following words:

I know that there is a certain body of my countrymen who do not see eye to eye with me on this point. I am prepared to grant that the London Conference may even shatter our hopes and expectations. But I cannot get over this argument that, if I do not go there and if I do not fight my case, in the justice and righteousness of which I am convinced, I shall not be doing my duty to my country and before the bar of the world opinion.

Jinnah further argued:
If my hopes are not realized and if my expectation are not fulfilled, it is open to me to adopt such course as I may think proper in those circumstances. Therefore, I do not wish to lose this opportunity. If I succeed in winning my case, I shall have rendered not only the greatest service to my own people, but I think to Great Britain also, because you will have them a contended, happy and friendly India.  

He participated in the First Round Table Conference as the leader of independent party and firmly spoke his mind rejecting and condemning the British administration for the failure in the transfer of responsibility:

The cardinal principle is that India wants to be a mistress in her own house, and I cannot conceive any constitution that you may frame, which will not transfer responsibility in the Central Government to a Cabinet Responsible to the Legislature.

Interestingly despite the pressure from Conservative leaders whoever trying to tell Jinnah that Muslims in India would lose the support of British Conservative party for special privileges for Muslims in India. But Jinnah till then was an Indian first and thus chose not to play out their cards. He boldly admitted this addressing the United Province Muslim Conference at Allahabad on August 9, 1931 as:

One thing more I want to tell you that I have done. During the time of Round Table Conference, it is now an open
book and anybody who cares to read it can learn for himself. I observed the one and the only principle and it was that when I left the shores of Bombay I said to the people that I would hold the interest of India sacred, and believe me, if you care to read the proceedings of the conferences, I am not bragging because I have done my duty that I have loyally and faithfully fulfilled my promise to the fullest extent and I venture to say that if the Congress or Mr. Gandhi can get anything more than I fought for I would congratulate them.  

Jinnah was dropped from the Third Round Table Conference due to his anti-British attitude which Jinnah himself revealed in the Legislative Assembly in 1935, “because I was the strongest opponent of the scheme that was being constructed from the commencement, and not that I have become an opponent because I was not invited to the third Round Table Conference.” Till 1935 Jinnah remained a hard core nationalist and tried to patch up with the Congress but again he was confronted by Muslim hardliners and Hindu communalists. This was again shocking for Jinnah and he decided to settle in England and never to comeback. Jinnah was again persuaded by Liyaqat Ali Khan and he had to comeback, Jinnah re-entered the Assembly in 1934. It was in 1935 that he vehemently criticised the Government of India Act 1935 and spoke candidly and boldly in the following words:
I will give a short summary to the House in two sentences. Reserve Bank, Currency, Exchange--Nothing doing. Railway Board nothing doing, mortgage to the hilt. What is left? Fiscal autonomy convention. Next what is left? Defense, External Affairs reserved, Finance it is already mortgaged to the hilt, our Budget, and the little that may be there, what do we find? Special responsibility of the Governor-General! His power as to the Budget and the estimates, his powers as to the interference in legislation, his extraordinary powers, his special responsibility, Sir, what do they leave us? I do not like this constitution, it is humiliating, it is intolerable.64

In 1937, the All India Muslim League held its session at Lucknow. It was presided by Jinnah and it once again appealed to the Congress for a united front with the League. Speaking at the Session Jinnah said:

What India requires is a completely united front and honesty of purpose, and then by whatever name you may call your Government is a matter of no consequence so long as it is a government of the people, by the people, for the people.65

It was, however, unfortunate that the tone of the Congress after the success in the election was full of arrogance. The Congress claimed that there are only two parties in colonial India--the British and the Congress and asked
the Leaguers to join the Congress party. This was the culminating point or rather a turning point for Mr. M.A. Jinnah who thereafter not only became anti Congress but always referred to as a communal Hindu organization. This attitude of the Congress infuriated Jinnah and he reacted sharply:

The Congress have not the monopoly; nor are they the sole custodians of Indian nationalism. As I have always maintained, the Muslim League is prepared to join hands with any progressive party in the fight for country’s freedom, but to achieve this, the question of minorities must be settled satisfactorily. Here I am not talking of only Muslims but all minorities. Further, we are not prepared to merge ourselves into any organization, however great it may be, and however advanced its programme and policy may be unless it is determined by common consent.66

In 1940, he again reached out to the Congress to accept sole spokesman of the Muslim community but the Congress refused and elected Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as President of the Congress to show the world that Jinnah was not the sole spokesman of the Muslims.67 Jinnah now became a changed person in his article in *Time and Tide* in 1940 he propounded ‘two-nation’ theory for the first time:

A plan must be evolved that recognizes that there are in India two nations, but both must share the governance of their common motherland. In evolving such a constitution,
the Muslims are ready to cooperate with the British Government, the Congress or any other party so that the present enmities may cease and India may take its place among the great countries of the world.\textsuperscript{68}

Thus we observed that M.A. Jinnah now under the changed circumstances, after his strenuous efforts failed him to extract anything from the Congress or infact Gandhiji, took an otherwise obnoxious, loathful and painful decision which no one could have imagined or expected from a nationalist Jinnah. His trusts were betrayed. His worth was undermined. His honesty was suspected. His words were not heard. His aspiration to lead one nation that is India got trampled. In 1945 when M.A. Jinnah addressed a Muslim League Conference in Peshawar, his desperation surfaced in the following words:

\begin{quote}
We have no friends. Neither the British nor the Hindus are our friends. We are clear in our own minds that we have to fight against both of them. If both (being Banias) are combined against us, we shall not be afraid of them. We shall fight their united might and, Insha-Allah, win in the end.\textsuperscript{69}
\end{quote}

Jinnah was ready to take on with anyone. His dreams seemed to have been an utter illusion and when he woke up, he realized he must rebuild it and it did not matter to him now for whom because now he got himself in the attire of Muslim and was readily looking forward to form his own nation at the playground of Indian nationalism. Undoubtedly his only trump card was to play
out the emotions of communal divide which he did with sarcasm and unprecedented care. He spoke in the same conference in Peshawar:

They (Hindu) ask: What are the sacrifices of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League? It is true that I have not been to Jail. Never mind. I am a bad person. But I ask you, who made sacrifices in 1920-21? Mr. Gandhi ascends the gaddi (throne) of leadership on our skulls. 70

This was the final shot he took at Gandhiji and everyone who confronted him. His rise to the power and glory was now at sight. His nailing of the Congress and Gandhiji was a clear indicator that how he intended to snap all ties with the majority community with whom he used to swear to coexist in harmony. And consequently he too ascended the throne for the sake of fulfillment of his own political aspirations.
Endnotes


8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., p.183.

10. Ibid., p.184.


17. Ibid., pp.50-55.


24. Ibid.


27. Ibid.


32. Ibid., pp.68-69.


36. Ibid.


40. Ibid.

42. Mahatma Gandhi, *Young India*, 16 February 1922.


45. Ibid.


47. Ibid., p.51.

48. Ibid., pp. 50-51.

49. Ibid., p.59.

50. Ibid.


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58. Ibid., p.65.

59. Ibid.


70. Ibid., pp.440-43.