

Waheed Ullah Khan

Associate Professor, Pakistan Studies: Government College of Management Sciences Thana–Malakand

Muhammad Ali Jinnah: A Congress Nationalist (1906-20)

Abstract

The Indian National Congress was a political organization established in 1885 with the slogan of Indian nationalism. This slogan of Indian nationalism and politics of peaceful co-existence and reconciliation of its leaders fascinated those Muslim leaders of high caliber who too possessed nationalistic attitudes in the Indian politics. Before dominating the politics of the League as a separatist Quaid-i-Azam, the only significant Muslim personality who dominated the politics of the Congress was nationalist Jinnah. He started his political career from the Congress's platform in 1906 as an ardent nationalist and remained its member till 1920. He was in the Congress for about fourteen years and was attached to its policy of peaceful negotiations and constitutional agitation very passionately. But in 1920 he resigned from the Congress. The study answers the questions why did Jinnah join the Congress and why did he leave it? It highlights his participation and role in several Congress meetings from 1906 to 1920. It also evaluates his role in the Congress and the League during the first phase of his political life in a chronological order. The study is historical and qualitative research based on content analysis method and for this purpose data was collected both from primary and secondary sources.

Key Words: Indian National Congress, Muslim League, Jinnah, Indian nationalism, Self-government, non-cooperation.

Introduction

On December 25, 1876, on the soil of Karachi, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was born at the house of Jinnah Poonja and Mithibai. It was the time when the birth of the Indian nationalism had taken place as a result of suppression of the 1857 revolt. In 1858, India came under the absolute authority of the British Crown and Queen Victoria adopted the honour of Empress of India in 1876. This initiated a new journey towards the establishment of representative institutions, Indian nationalism and political organizations in India. Legislative reforms and local authority were introduced during the administrations of the Indian Viceroy Lord Canning (1858-62) and Lord Ripon (1880-84) respectively. The sympathetic and liberal policy of Lord Ripon had induced a universal awakening of interest in public affairs. Therefore it was felt that Indians should organize themselves through a forum to ventilate their grievances (Gense, 1955: 381). In this regard the first effort was made by Mr. Hume (1829-1912), a retired Indian Civil Servant, who addressed an open letter on March 1, 1883, to the students of the Calcutta University and advised them to take initiative in establishing an association in order to promote the political and ethical rejuvenation of the Indians and to arrest the imminent danger of a revolutionary challenge to the rulers and to the wellbeing of India and growing unrest among the masses due to Ilbert Bill Controversy (Majumdar, 1963: 387-90). Accordingly, the INU (Indian National Union) was made which was a social not a political body. Then on the advice of the Viceroy Lord Dufferin (1884-88), Hume convened a meeting of the leading politicians of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and other parts of the country to organize a body of the Indian politicians to meet annually and to identify to the Indian authority in what ways the government was defective and in what manner it could be remedied (Mazumdar, 1917: 50). Thus the Indian National Congress (INC) was brought into existence as an instrument to safeguard the British rule in India (Majumdar, 1963: 391-93). The inaugural meeting of this organization was convened at Bombay on December 28, 1885, under the Presidentship of Mr. W.C. Bonnerjee (1844-1906) with a motto of national

integration by eradicating all kinds of national, racial and ideological prejudices and to determine strategy for encouraging native politicians to endeavour for the public interest (Sitaramayya, 1935: 18).

As The INC was the brainchild of the British; therefore since its inception it was strongly adhered to the policy of loyalty to the British rule and the early leaders of the Congress like, Bonnerjee (1885), Naoriji (1886), Badr-ud-Din Tyebji (1887), Pherozeshah Mehta (1890) and other had ensured loyalty to the Crown. The resolutions it adopted were nothing more than mere submissions from the ruled to the rulers. These leaders of the INC were in favour of Indian nationalism and the Hindu-Muslim unity, which later became a political motto of Jinnah till 1930s. Moreover some prominent British bureaucrats and parliamentarians namely Mr. George Yule (1888), William Wedderburn (1889 & 1910), Mr. Webb M. P. (1894), Sir Henry Cotton (1904) and Mrs. Annie Besant (1917) also presided over the Congress sessions (Satyapal, 1946: 125-33). Wedderburn had also been the President of the British Congress Committee established in London immediately after the establishment of the INC (Mangloori, 1945: 273). Even the influential British men, usually members of the British Parliament used to come from England to participate in the Congress' annual sessions. The INC celebrated Mr. Gladstone's birthday for years and congratulatory resolutions were passed for him in its every annual meeting ((Riaz, 1967: 33-34).

In 1885 the INC had no constitution. At that time it was entirely a platform for communicating public opinion on political matters. In 1887, seventeen tentative rules were proposed in regards to certain matters connected with the INC (Mazumdar, 1917: xvii-xxii). After the promulgation of the Indian Councils Act 1892, the leaders of the INC were anxious to have a voice in the legislative councils for the interest of the Indians. And for this purpose they expedited their efforts to frame the party constitution. It was the year when Jinnah was sent to England and he took part in the election campaign of Naoroji. Thus efforts were made and in 1899 a full-fledged formal constitution of the INC was framed. The objectives of the organization were redefined with object to promote through constitutional means the interest and progress of the Indian subjects (Sitaramayya, 1935: 53-54). A forty-five-member Indian Congress Committee later All-India Congress Committee (AICC) was made to carry on the work of the party. It was that Committee on which Mr. Jinnah was elected several times. The AICC were to be elected from various provinces by their provincial committees. There were subjects and reception committees which were appointed during each session to transact its programme of business. It was also resolved that each preceding Congress meeting would decide the venue and time of the next meeting which according to the constitution was compulsory to be held once in a year in the last week of December. This constitution remained in force till 1907 with minor amendments made in it. After that the constitution was revised several times by making amendments in it in 1908 and 1920 when Jinnah was its member and in 1929 when Jinnah was not its member. There were General Secretaries, Treasurers and a President of the Congress who were elected at the occasion of each annual session. The central organization had provincial, districts and sub divisional units affiliated with it. A twenty-one years old (later in 1929 reduced to 18 years) person could become the party member (Rajkumar, 1949: 60).

The financial status of the INC was never very sound. The Reception Committee collected funds from visitors, delegates, businessmen, landlords and rich individuals. The expenditure largely depended upon the number of participants at each session which varied from year to year. It was 72 in 1885 and 14582 in 1920 (35th Congress Report 1920). Every delegate had to pay a delegate fee of Rs. 10. (Mehrotra, 1995: 84-90). From 1886 to 1914, the fund of the organization ranged between thirty and sixty thousand. With the passage of time the expenses of the sessions raised from two lakhs to three lakhs as in 1919 and 1920 respectively (Mehrotra, 1979: 67-78). The delegates for attending the annual sessions were elected by various provincial Congress committees. Jinnah was elected several times by the Bombay Congress Committee to attend the Congress sessions.

The INC had no regular membership between the years 1885 and 1918. It was more of an annual gathering than an organization (Mehrotra, 1995: 87). When Gandhi started the non-cooperation movement in 1920, the INC emerged as a popular party with the creed of

achievement of 'Swaraj' by all peaceful and constitutional means. The Congress Working Committee (CWC), the most powerful organ of the party, was made. Various resolutions were moved, seconded and passed at every session. Jinnah also moved and seconded various resolutions during various sessions and also spoke on them.

Jinnah and the Congress

Jinnah's relation with the Congress dates back to 1892, when he earnestly took part in the election campaign of its second President Naoroji, thereby won the admiration of this 'Grand Old Man of India' and prospered under his influence. Naoroji was the first Indian ever to attempt this. He was contesting election to the British Parliament from Central Finsbury. (Saiyid, 1970: 3). Jinnah's nationalistic attitude was deeply hurt for the first time when Lord Salisbury, the Conservative Premier of England, remarked about Naoroji that he was uncertain that black man would be elected by a British constituency. Jinnah replied that if Naoroji was black, he was blacker; they could never get a fair deal from the British politicians if they possessed such mentality. From that day onward Jinnah was an unyielding enemy of all forms of colour bar and racial prejudice (Jinnah, 1987: 72).

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne (1888-94), an important step was taken towards constitutional development in India and the 1892 Act was promulgated which provided for the enlargement of the Indian legislative councils. Public opinion was being influenced by the Indians who were residing there at that time. When Jinnah returned India and settled in Bombay, the political opinions of the overall India most particularly that of Bombay were divided into three distinct groups with identical aim but never developed a sense of collaboration amongst them. The first group known as the moderates like Ranade (1842-1901), Badruddin Tyebji (1844-1906), Gokhale, Naoroji, W.C. Bonnerji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Mr. Wacha (1844-1936) were fighting the constitutional war for the advancement of India through constitutional agitation and peaceful negotiations. The second school led by the triad Lal, Pal and Bal (Lala Lajpat Rai, Chandra Pal, Bal Tilak), promoted Hindu social reforms even through militancy. The third school was that of Sir Syed (1817-98) who believed that British parliamentary system of government would subject the Muslims to the numerical majority of the Hindus. He believed that the lot of the Muslims could be improved through education and by remaining loyal to the British rule. Jinnah joined the moderate school of thought (Saiyid, 1970: 7-12).

During this period Jinnah chose the Congress platform for his political career because of several factors. First; the Congress was an old party which was fighting at all India level both at home and at the British Parliament. Second; there were some distinguished political figures in the Congress like Gokhale, Naoroji, C.R. Das (1870-1925) and Surendranath Banerjee (1848-1925), whose political policies, speeches and thoughts influenced and shaped Jinnah's political career which were visible in his future politics. Like his political gurus Jinnah also stressed on national unity, Indian nationalism and self-government in the early stage of his political career when he was member of the INC and all his political mentors were alive. The practical role that Gokhale individually played in the execution of his policy and his advocacy for education and social movements at the expense of his own personal gain, were enough to impel and stir a man like Jinnah and once in a precious moment Jinnah made a self-acknowledgement that it was his aspiration to become the 'Muslim Gokhale.' Jinnah declared his teacher's death in 1915, a great loss for the country and said that he was a great man enjoyed the confidence of both the Hindus and Muslims. But Jinnah never abandoned the glorious path shown by his colleague (Lateef, 1946: 84-85). Like his political hero, Jinnah also followed the constitutional way throughout his political career. He strongly advocated the Hindu-Muslim unity and was awarded the title of an apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity (Naidu, 1989: p. x). Similarly in his tribute in the Legislative Assembly Jinnah declared Surendranath Banerjee as his first mentor in politics and said that he himself and a great number of people of India considered him a respected leader (Ravoof, 1976: 35-36).

The inauguration of Jinnah's politics properly took place when he participated in a meeting of the Congress Reception Committee held on July 28, 1904 (Ahmad, 1996: 70-71). That year it was resolved by the Bombay Congress to dispatch a delegation to London to plead for Indian self-government in the British elections. Gokhale and Jinnah were

recommended from Bombay. These names were proposed by Pherozeshah Mehta. Enough questions were raised on Jinnah's nomination as he was still unfamiliar to most of the Congress delegates (Nanda, 1977: 187-89). Jinnah's nomination was sanctioned by the provincial committee but Tilak objected over his nomination at the central level. The reason was political as Jinnah was identified with the group of Pherozeshah Mehta (Singh, 2009: 75). However in September 1905, Jinnah went to London as member of the delegation, in place of Pherozeshah Mehta along with Gokhale, to entreat for India self-government in the British elections (Mujahid, 1981: 513).

In December 1905, the Liberal Party came to power in England as a result of elections. Mr. Morley was appointed as the new Secretary of State for India. The new administration announced that it was contemplating the necessity of introducing new reforms in India (Rajput, 1948: 18). The principle of enhancing the political importance of India was being conceded increasingly both in India and Britain. Therefore the association of the Indians in their country's administrative activities was needed. Naoroji, an elected member of the British Parliament was effectively voicing Indian sentiments in the House. Ranade also silently worked on the minds of more active workers and young men of his time like Gokhale and others and directed their energies in the right channel (Saiyid: 8-9). This year the Congress politics took a new turn. Till 1905 the Congress strictly adhered to its traditional political creed. There was a politics of submission towards the British throne and it kept aloof from agitational politics. When in July 1905, the Viceroy Lord Curzon (1899-1905) made public that the partition of Bengal was to come into force from October 1905; the provincial leaders unanimously in a meeting inaugurated the Swadeshi Movement in August 1905, to boycott the foreign goods. Funds were collected for it and a Nationalist Party was formed. Surendranath Banerjee spoke against the partition of Bengal and stressed on national integration. Gokhale, who presided over the Banares Congress (December 1905), also spoke against this scheme. He shaped the political future of India when in the same session he declared for the first time that India should be ruled by the Indians themselves. However no formal demand for self-government was made. The same demand was also made by Naoroji in December 1906. Under Naoroji's Presidentship, the INC resolved that the system of self-government analogous to that existed in the self-governing units of the British throne should be extended to India (Satyapal, 1946: 156-65). It was in this background that Jinnah joined the Congress. Jinnah having a nationalist attitude in politics, did not believe in Muslim camp and Hindu camp. He kept himself away from the Muslim League (ML) when it was established in 1906, as according to him it was sectarian in its outlook. The Aga Khan, the first President of the ML, later wrote that Jinnah was the only Muslims at that time who strongly opposed the League's demand of separate electorates (Khan, 1954: 122-23). Jinnah and other eminent Muslims from all parts of India like Tyebji, Humayun Jah Bahadur, Hamid Ali, Nawab Syed Mahomed, Sharfuddin, Mazhar-ul-Haq, and Moharram Ali Chisti joined the INC in its early years in their own capacity and not really representatives of their community (Mehrotra, 1995: 85).

Jinnah was for the first time elected as a Muslim delegate to the Calcutta Congress session (1906) from Bombay on December 11, 1906 (23rd Congress Report: xcvi). He participated as Private Secretary of his political guru Naoroji, the President of the session. Jinnah was given a prestigious seat among the leaders of the INC. Thus from the very inception he was counted among the prominent leaders of the party (Akhtar, p.16). The presidential address of Naoroji revealed an amazing withdrawal from the conventional type of his former speeches. He spoke in favour of national unity and Indian nationalism which was precondition to obtain self-government (Chandra, 1946: 135-37). This was the first political impression on Jinnah which he showed throughout his political career. Jinnah spoke on the two most important matters of the time namely 'Muslim Waqfs' and 'the position of the Muslims in the self-government' to be acquired by the Indians. While supporting the resolution on Wakf-i-alal-aulad moved by Moulvi Muhammad Yusuf, (a Bihari advocate) Jinnah showed his satisfaction and praised the INC to give equal voice to all in this common platform. Commenting on the resolution of achievement of self-government and the position of the Hindus and Muslims in it, Jinnah courageously condemned the class based reservation

in the constitution of self-government. He urged equal treatment with the Hindu and Muslim communities because the Congress was established on the principle of equality for all communities. He rejected class or community based reservation and proposed to erase the word reservation (22nd Congress Report: 1907: 68-70, 113-14, 120).

Nagpur was already decided where the twenty-third session was scheduled to be held in 1907. The Reception Committee suggested the name of Tilak for presiding the session but it was unacceptable to the moderates and the session was shifted to Surat. It was adjourned in commotion on December 27, 1907, when the Congress split into two factions namely the Extremists led by Tilak and the Moderates with Gokhale as their leader over the question of election of the President of the session. The Extremists did not believe in constitutional agitation while the Moderates believed in constitutional methods of agitation to achieve self-government. The Moderates under Gokhale and Surendranath Banerjee convened a convention again at Surat on December 28, 1907, with Rash Bihari Ghosh as the President. They succeeded in passing a resolution regarding amendment in the constitution of the party based on the principle of attainment of self-government by legitimate means, by promoting a steady reform in the current system and by fostering national unity (Chandra, 1946:165-75). Jinnah, who was a constitutionalist, was also present at this session and he joined the Moderates (Haider, 1986: 19). He preferred this group because he himself was a moderate, constitutionalist and nationalist right from the beginning and secondly he was well aware of anti-Muslim activities of the Extremists during the partition of Bengal. Tilak and Lajpat Rai strongly opposed the resolution moved by Pherozeshah Mehta welcoming the Prince and Princess of Wales. The Extremists demanded that boycott should be made the official policy of the Congress. During the meeting the Extremists turned their anti-British and anti-Moderates attitude into violence and one of them took off his shoe and threw it at Pherozeshah Mehta. The Extremist group slowly evolved within the INC, was inimical to its successful working as a constitutional movement. Ambika Charan Mozumdar (1850-1922) declared the boycott Movement as legitimate (Saiyid, 1970: 20-22).

In April 1908, a new constitution for the INC was adopted (Rajkumar, 1949: 11-14). Establishment of self-government was now not only the constitutional creed of the party but also became a part of its practical politics. Jinnah was appointed as legal expert on the committee. He attended this meeting. The strict nationalists were ousted and the Congress approved 'achievement of an independent and self-governing status for India within the legitimate pattern of the British Empire as its aim (Bolitho, 1966: 46). The twenty-third adjourned session was again convened at Madras in December 1908 and Jinnah, who was once again elected as delegate from Bombay, played his due role as one of the supporters of the most important resolutions put forward by Surendranath Banerjee. This resolution was about the upcoming constitution of India as proposed in Lord Morley's Dispatch. He welcomed the Morley Reforms and proposed to express their appreciation unanimously to Morley and Minto regarding the spirit in which the reforms were crafted. Jinnah was member of the AICC and an ex-officio member of the Subjects Committee from Bombay for this session (23rd Congress Report 1908: lxxii, xxxix, 46, 62).

The Lahore Congress session (1909) was not attended by Jinnah, though he was elected as one of the delegates from Bombay to the session, because he was engaged in his election campaign for the Imperial Legislative Council (ILC) (Ahmad, 1996: 252). The Muslims of Bombay Presidency elected him as their representative to the Council on the system of separate electorates. Thus Jinnah was one of the first Muslim who gained under the 1909 Act (Lateef, 1946: 78). It was that Jinnah who strongly opposed the Muslim separate electorates. The Congress showed its dissatisfaction over the creation of separate electorates under the 1909 Act, on the basis of religion as Congress leaders believed that it had made a humiliating and invidious discrimination between the Indian subjects of His Majesty based on franchise, electorates and qualification of candidates (Chandra, 1946: 181-83). Jinnah was absent in this session however he moved a resolution at its next session of Allahabad (December 1910) in which he condemned the communal representation. The resolution was seconded by Mazhar-ul-Haq, a Muslim nationalist from Bihar (Sitaramayya 1935: 111). Jinnah was still the ex-officio member of the Congress Subjects Committee. In this session Jinnah was appointed a

member on the deputation that waited upon His Excellency the new Viceroy Lord Harding, on January 5, 1911. Sir William Wedderburn was the President while Daji Abaji Khare and Mr. Wacha were the General Secretaries of the deputation. The deputation expressed its grateful appreciation for the reforms scheme, expansion of the legislative councils and providing a larger opportunity of association than ever before to the Indian subjects in the country's administration (26th Congress Report 1910: 228-30).

Jinnah could not attend the next two consecutive Congress sessions of 1911 and 1912, though he was elected as a Muslim delegate to every session from Bombay (Ahmad, 1986: 75-76). The withdrawal of partition scheme of Bengal in December 1911, initiated a new era in the political life of Jinnah, the INC and the ML. The annulment was celebrated in all parts of India by the Hindus. On the other hand this decision alienated the Muslims from the British. The Balkan wars followed by the situation in Turk Ottoman Empire provoked the Muslim public excitement. At that critical juncture it was not possible for the ML to stay long on its traditional politics and combat the rising power of the Congress. Therefore in the best interest of the ML it was felt to pull it out of its communal politics and regulate its politics both within and without the Congress. The men of strong ability both within the Hindu and Muslim communities were striving to generate harmony of minds between themselves for a common ideal and common platform in order to secure political freedom for India. Though an unproductive endeavour had been made in this regard at Allahabad Conference in 1910 in which Jinnah also participated, but the Indian leaders had not lost hope of an ultimate union. These men toiled incessantly and had succeeded to a great extent in appeasing the situation. Both the communities had now come nearer to each other and an atmosphere of trust was created between them. The men who played an active role in this regard were Jinnah and Gokhale who were constantly at work with remarkable sincerity of purpose. Jinnah participated several times in the meetings of the ML Council as a guest from 1910 to 1912 and in order to harmonise the ML's constitution with that of the INC, he suggested a significant change in the League's constitution. Therefore, in March 1913, the ML embraced the ideal of the attainment under the tutelage of the British Crown of a system of self-government suitable to India in a legitimate manner as one of its objectives (Saiyid, 1970: 27, 35-36). The new creed of the League was welcomed by the INC in its coming session of December 1913 (28th Congress Report 1914: 10). The ML's resolution regarding mutual and harmonious cooperation among the various Indian communities for future interest of the Indian people passed in its session was also welcomed by the Congress and hope was expressed for a joint action to find a *modus operandi* to obtain their national destiny (Chandra, 1946:195).

The 1913 was a significant year for Jinnah. On one side he was contributing his mite to the cause of India's welfare both as a staunch Congress nationalist and as an influential Leaguer, on the other side he was working as an ardent member of the ILC. This year Jinnah joined the ML. But being a dedicated nationalist, he before officially registering as member of the League, made a condition that attachment to the ML and the Muslim interest would never intervene in his struggle for the larger national cause to which he had dedicated his life (Naidu, 1989: 19). Jinnah, who played an eminent role in bringing intellectual harmony among the leaders of the INC and the ML, won a title of "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" from his model Gokhale (Bolitho, 1966: 58-59). Jinnah's triple role; as member of the ILC, the INC and the ML was now secured. In this year he endeavoured to unite the ML and the INC under the same agenda and his efforts in this direction were productive to a significant extent (Saiyid, 1970: 44-46). The INC and the ML arranged their annual sessions at Karachi and Agra respectively at the end of December 1913. These sessions encouraged Jinnah and proved to be forerunner of the Lucknow Pact. He participated in both these sessions one after another and put forward and spoke on his resolution on the Council of the Secretary of State for India. He proposed that the present Council should be eliminated and put forward the following suggestions for its reformation:

- i. The Secretary of State should be compensated from the British resources.
- ii. The Council should be partly nominated and partly elected and its total strength should be nine members.

- iii. 1/3rd of the total strength should be elected Indians chosen by a constituency consisting of the elected members of the Imperial and provincial legislative councils.
- iv. Fifty percent of the nominated members should consist of public men of recognised caliber but not connected with the Indian administration while half members should be official who have performed duties in India for not less than ten years and have not spent more than two years out of India.
- v. The nature of the Council should be advisory and not authoritative.
- vi. All members should hold their office for five years.

Jinnah in moving the resolution said that the present Council was entirely an official body since its establishment in 1858 and no place had been given to the Indians perspective from the non-official outlook. The Council's present character had honoured the Secretary of State a greater than any Mughal ruler of India (Pirzada, 1984: 102-4). The same resolution was again moved by him at the League's meeting (Pirzada, 1969: 320-21). This was Jinnah's another endeavour to unite the two organizations at the same perspective. The achievement which he got at these coincident sessions of the INC and the ML encouraged him more and accommodated him in the Congress delegation that was scheduled for England regarding the proposed reforms of the Council. Thus in May 1914, he accompanied the Congress delegation to London which was received by Sir William Wedderburn. The delegation was consisting of Mazharul Haq, Mr. Sinha, Babu Bupendranath Basu, Mr. Samarth, Rao Bahadur B.N. Sharma and Lajpat Rai (Mehrotra, 1995: 112). In their meeting on May 10, 1914, with Lord Crewe (India's Secretary of State), the delegation explained the views of the Congress on the Council of India Bill which was ready for its first reading in the House of Lords on May 25, 1914. Jinnah, as chief spokesman, made clear the purpose of the delegation upon the British Parliament and the British Public. In his address to the influential gathering and afterward in his interview given to The Daily Telegraph, London, Jinnah stressed on the resolution which he moved at the sessions of the INC and the ML last year. However the proposals forwarded by the delegation were declined in the House of Lords on July 7, 1914. Jinnah in his press statement exhorted the British authority to grant adequate representation to the people of India in the Indian Council by the process of election and not by nomination. Fortnightly Review London published Jinnah's lengthy article on "Indian Council Reforms Bill" in October 1914 (Pirzada, 1984:109-22). The delegation came back to India at the end of the year and found an echo of its services in the gratitude of the Congress during its Madras session (1914). In this session Jinnah was once again elected as member of the AICC (29th Congress Report, 143).

But with the commencement of the First World War in August 1914, in which India assisted England with, men, money and materials and her people were now determined to have a deserved place among the conquerors; the subsequent result was joint national efforts to obtain self-government and for this the Congress increasingly became vehement in its demand (Gense, 1951). Such circumstances made the mutual co-operation among the two great organizations more inevitable. Therefore Jinnah being a member of both the parties was incessantly engaged in his mission. In 1915, he once again, made an attempt in this regard and it was because of his efforts that both the parties held their sessions at Bombay. In December 1915, Jinnah who as member of the INC and ex-officio member of its Subjects Committee and an elected member of the AICC from December 1915 to December 1916, participated in the sessions of both the parties (30th Congress Report, 1915). He together with other eminent leaders of the League and Congress welcomed L.P. Sinha and Mazharul Haque on their arrival to Bombay for presiding over the INC and the ML sessions respectively (Ahmad, 1997: 460-61). Jinnah's struggle for Hindu-Muslim settlement was acknowledged on the ML's forum and its President Mazharul Haq obliged Jinnah on side of the whole Indian Muslim community for his efforts to meet together at Bombay (Pirzada, 1969: 361). The services of the departed leaders of the INC like Gokhale (1866-1915) and Pherozeshah Mehta (1845-1915) were recognized during the session. Some leaders within the ML misconceived Jinnah's these efforts and suspected that the reason of the combined meeting was to amalgamate the ML into the INC. The situation turned into chaos and turmoil. But they were ensured by Jinnah that the principal idea was to take a common action and not to merge the ML with the INC. However the session was suspended and was reconvened on the

1st of January 1916, at Taj Mahal Hotel. Jinnah constituted a reform committee (Pirzada, 1969: 348). This committee held joint meetings with the Congress reform committee and prepared a combined scheme of reforms which reinforced Jinnah's further efforts.

The 1916 was a magnificent year in the political life of Jinnah. The ML's Council acknowledged his efforts for unity and appointed him the President for the coming League session scheduled to be summoned at Lucknow in the last week of December. The decision was much applauded in the Congress circles (Ahmad, 1985: 146). The leaders of the ML and the INC assembled at Lucknow for their open sessions and adopted a scheme of self-government based on the memorandum of nineteen. The agreement signed is popularly known as Lucknow Pact. The proposals of the agreement were later submitted to the British Government for consideration (Saiyid, 49). Jinnah was the originator of these proposals. This session of the INC was important because both of its wings (Extremists and Moderates) united after a long separation (31st Congress Report, 1916: 15). The combined scheme of reforms based on self-government was adopted not only by ML but also by the INC (31st Congress Report 1916, 77-81). In her speech Mrs. Sarojino Naidu, supported the resolution of self-government and admired the younger Muslim generation for their role in the adoption of this resolution and for the vision of Indian nationality and their determination of cooperation with their Hindu community. She hoped that self-government of their own would be possible very soon with the unity between the two sister communities. She offered public recognition of gratitude to three men and admired them as most brilliant, most devoted and most spirited Muslims namely the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, Mazharul Haque and Jinnah and hinted towards Mr. Gokhale's homage to Jinnah as the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity (31st Congress Report: 96-97). Under the Lucknow Pact, both the parties pledged to share executive and legislative powers. During this session of the Congress Jinnah was once again elected to the AICC from Bombay till December 1917. He was also member on its Subjects Committee for thirty-first session (31st Congress Report: 130 & 133).

In the beginning of 1917, Mrs. Annie Besant (1847-1933) an Anglo-Irish theosophist, organized a Home Rule League (HRL) in Madras. By extremely supporting the cause of India's freedom she along with her supporters was interned during the administration of Lord Chelmsford (1916-21). A violent agitation was started to release her and other internees. This year was one of the great deal of anxiety for Jinnah. He had kept himself busy in his efforts for the realization of his mission. Being a committed nationalist, he in the past had struggled for the achievement of self-government. Therefore he was made the President of the Bombay Branch of the HRL and got prestige of a spokesperson on its several meetings. In his speeches Jinnah supported self-government scheme of reforms made and adopted unanimously by the ML and the INC last year. He supported freedom of speech and press and constitutional agitation and condemned the repressive methods adopted by the government to deprive the Indians from such fundamental rights. On July 28, 1917, the AICC and the Council of the ML met at Bombay to collectively plan for release of the Home Rule internees. The meeting was chaired by Jinnah. During the meeting a four-member deputation was prepared to proceed to England in the month of September in order to explain the Indian political situation and promote the unanimous scheme of reforms assumed by the two organizations. A vigorous protest was also registered in the joint meeting against the repressive policy of the government and against the misinterpretation of the principles of the memorandum of the nineteen members of the ILC (Saiyid: 51-54). Following the Montague's Declaration of August 20, 1917, the ML and the INC met once again at Calcutta in December 1917. The Congress session was presided over by Annie Besant who was released at the end of 1917. Jinnah as a soldier of both the ML and INC came again to play a memorable role in supporting the important resolution on the Lucknow Pact on the forums of both great Indian political parties (Saiyid: 57). Both the ML and the INC in the same resolution greeted the Montague's Declaration of promising a responsible self-government in India and exhorted the authority to promptly initiate a bill of reforms contained in the Lucknow Pact as a prerequisite for constitutional progress (Chandra, 1946: 212 & Pirzada, 1969: 438-39). Jinnah also asserted for getting a deadline for the establishment of such government in India. The major affinity between the resolutions of the INC and the ML exhibits that Jinnah exercised his

personal influence on the deliberations of leaders of both the parties. Everybody appreciated Jinnah's forceful personality and dedicated services for getting an agreement of the communal question. He helped in maintaining union between the two great organizations.

The reunion of the Congress moderates and the extremist was short-lived, because the two groups separated once again after the publication of the Montford Report in July 1918. The proposed reforms were hailed by the Moderates under Surendernath Banerjee as a significant progress towards the establishment of responsible government while they were condemned by the extremists under Chandra Pal. On August 29, 1918, the INC and the ML held their special sessions at Bombay to consider the Report's proposals. The extremists tried to convince the moderates for bringing them in the special Congress, but the moderates summoned a conference of their own at Bombay with Surendernath Bannerji. The special session of the INC was chaired by Hassan Imam. Both the ML and the INC once again stressed on the achievement of self-government for the Indian nation (Chandra: 212-15). The next Delhi Congress was attended by Jinnah and he supported the resolution on election of Madan Mohan Malviya as the President of the session and Jinnah was once again elected as member of the AICC for the year 1919 (33rd Congress Report, 1918: 17 & xiii).

The year 1919 and the years that followed proved to be a period of gradual detachment from politics and finally a short break in Jinnah's political life. Jinnah's services simultaneously on the platforms of the Congress, League, HRL and ILC now gradually dwindled down only to the ML's platform. The first step he took in this regard was his resignation from the ILC in protest against the passage of the Lowlatt Act in March 1919. This was the period when M. K. Gandhi (1869-1848), a strong advocate of Satyagraha and non-violence emerged as a charismatic leader on the Congress's platform. By supporting the Khilafat question he became a popular leader both among the Hindus and the Muslims alike. He used a tactic to drive Jinnah out of the INC by adopting unconstitutional methods for achievement of Swaraj (self-government). His unconstitutional methods led to Jallianwala Bagh tragedy in April 1919. By the end of 1919, the Act of 1919 was passed by the British Parliament which introduced a system of dyarchy in India. Jinnah opposed such dyarchy because he wanted that some provinces were capable to administer the affairs of their own and therefore all subjects should be handed over to the Indian representatives (Singh: 97). In November 1919, a joint conference of the Muslims and Hindus was convened at Delhi which was attended by a large section of Hindu and Muslim leaders and a resolution of non co-operation was adopted in which Gandhi played a substantial role (Saiyid: 85-87). In December the ML and the INC held their sessions at Amritsar. These were attended by Jinnah who had returned from England after having providing his evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. In the Amritsar Congress, Jinnah spoke on C. R. Das' resolution on 1919 Act (34th Congress Report: 124-28). The Congress session was also attended by Gandhi, who suggested co-operation with the Government and functioning of the new Act. However after the session Gandhi was preparing people for his programme of non-cooperation which included withdrawal of titles, resignation from all government services and postponement of payment of taxes. Gandhi hijacked not only the Khilafat movement but also became the President of HRL. He named it Swarajya Sabha and hounded Jinnah out of it (Mujahid: 52). While Jinnah pursued constitutional and communal harmony, Gandhi struggled to surpass in accruing support of the masses (Singh: 105-6). However Jinnah efforts for unity did not exhaust. In September 1920 both the ML and the INC held special sessions at Calcutta with Jinnah and Lajpa Rai as the Presidents respectively. Both the Presidents strongly condemned the Punjab brutalities and showed their sympathies towards the Khilafat cause. Gandhi in the Congress meeting moved a resolution on non-violent, non-cooperation programme to achieve self-government. But Jinnah disapproved such method because he thought it would lead to anarchy, turmoil and blood-shed. He was supporting a peaceful and constitutional method (Saiyid, 88-89 & Chandra, 273-57). It was due to considerable influence of Gandhi's programme that out of a total 14582 delegates, 1050 were Muslims who participated in the Nagpur Congress in December 1920. C.R. Das and Lajpat Rai also joined the Gandhi group. The non-cooperation resolution was endorsed during the session and asked the people to earnestly execute the boycott movement (Chandra: 275-76). The Khilafat

Committee and the newly established Jamiatul Ulama-e-Hind and even most leaders of the ML also supported Gandhi's resolution (Mangloori: 406, 510). This was the last Congress session attended by Jinnah. He was a staunch constitutionalist and was not in favour of amalgamating religious issue with political one. He was the only delegate among some fifty thousand audiences who recorded his disapproval. He was not against the agitation and revolt but was against the methods adopted in this regard. He therefore decided to keep aloof from the movement and resigned from the INC on December 28, 1920. He stood adamant despite strong opposition from the audience and declared the Gandhi's way as an unconstitutional and wrong way (Bolitho: 85). He predicted that this movement could not last long and would have dire consequences. But no one was ready to listen to him. He asserted that Gandhi was leading India in the wrong direction (Saiyid: 94).

Conclusion:

The time when Jinnah was joining the Congress, it was twenty years old organization. Jinnah remained the member of the INC for about fourteen years from December 1906 to December 1920. The driving force for Jinnah to join the INC was its liberal and moderates leaders who possessed nationalist attitudes in politics. But during these years no one could budge him from his constitutional approach. He was a staunch nationalist at this phase of his political life. The period from 1906 to 1909 can be said as his pure Congress period. In this stage Jinnah like his political guru Gokhale, also asserted to be an Indian first rather than a Muslim. Being an unswerving nationalist he was overwhelmingly involved for the interest of the entire India rather than that of Muslims alone. But it did not mean that he totally ignored the Muslim cause. Though a staunch Congressman and an unswerving nationalist in this phase and even like other Congress leaders, opposed to the Muslim demand for separate electorates, Jinnah was yet highly venerated by the Muslims and he was equally devoted to their cause as well.

Jinnah's political phase from 1910 to 1920 can be called as a period of Hindu-Muslim unity, communal settlement and achievement of self-government by peaceful and legitimate means. He believed that Hindu-Muslim cooperation was indispensable for achievement of real progress. He dedicated himself to the cause of Hindu-Muslim rapprochement to such an extent that within a decade of his debut in politics, he was entitled as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity. He remained in the Congress when it was adhered to its policy of Indian nationalism, peaceful negotiations and constitutional agitation but when the believers of such political policy passed away and Gandhi hijacked the Congress politics with his non-cooperation, non-violence and civil disobedience movement, Jinnah felt solitude in accomplishment of his mission. He did not compromise on his political creed and being a man of canons he resigned from the Congress in December 1920 and kept himself away from politics till 1924. His attitude was extremely suspected but he did not take care of public criticism because his conscience was clear. Some national and international events of the time were also responsible for Jinnah's isolation from politics. Jinnah predicted that Gandhi's non-cooperation and boycott movement would lead to disaster. The events showed that he was true in his prediction. The Muslims suffered from several shocks one after another. Khilafat movement failed with drastic consequences. This movement set apart the Hindus and Muslims and led to mutual distrust and communal riots. Gandhi and his supporters were arrested. The Congress further anti-Muslim policy altered nationalist Jinnah to a separatist Quaid-i-Azam and shifted his political dogma from Indian nationalism to Muslim nationalism. However he never disappointed from the Indian politics. He totally devoted his life to the Indian Muslims and determined to establish a separate state for them and his efforts produced successful results in 1947 when Pakistan was established.

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