

Worlds Apart Historical Works of Pakistani Historians on Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Critical Exploration

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ABSTRACT

The main aim of the article is to critically evaluate the point of the view of the Pakistani about Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, his personality and politics. Pakistani historical work is reactionary from the beginning to some extent because most of the early work is a kind of replay to the Indian work and has tried to answer many questions put on by the Indian authors and also has tried to present the remaining facts of history which was kept hiding by the Indians to prove their hypothesis. Historical work on Jinnah and the freedom movement started in Pakistan relatively late as compared to India due to the hardships faced by the local researchers in Pakistan. Bureaucratic hurdles are the one of biggest obstacles in the way of research in Pakistan for local researcher to attain official document for research purposes. The bureaucracy in Pakistan is a stereotype as inherited the loyalty to the British raj and white skin and aloofness from the locals, right from the British time period. Their mindset and behavior did not change with the change of power and has been continued till today. They could present every possible official record to any white man and deliberately create hurdle in the way of the local researchers. The Writing of the Congress, Hindu and non-Hindu leaders from the Congress and other parties provided the ground for the Indian historical work to build argument and develop hypothesis on that foundation. In that field Pakistani authors also faced great difficulty because their main leader Jinnah, being a hard core honest and strict constitutionalist and above all very conscious of the importance of truth and freedom of thinking in history did not like to influence historical work of Pakistani authors by writing history and biography. He let the Pakistani authors to explore the truth and facts without any obligation like a real man. Other leaders and their heirs present the opinion of the League later thus; the Pakistani authors started their work on Jinnah late as compared to the Indian.

KEYWORDS: Historians, Muslim-League, Congress, Jinnah, Pakistani, Historical-Works

1- INTRODUCTION

Mainstream of the Pakistani historians' have admired Jinnah's personal qualities and his service for his nation. On the other hand Indian historians have illustrated Jinnah as a contentious political leader. They generally have rejected his fundamental argument and his verdict to divide India for the safety of the Muslim of India. Jinnah was born on 25 December 1876 and died on 11 September 1948. Karachi was not only his birth place but also the last resting place. [1] He started his political journey from the platform of Congress, [2] as a young Indian Muslims, inspired by the ideas of liberalism and nationalism [3] after some time he became the member of League as well. [4] He was one of the zealous opponent of British rule in India thus to liberate India from British clutches, he adopted the strategy of a joint front of Muslim and Hindu being the two main nation of India. He was one of the architects of Luknow Pact [5] the only successful effort to bring Muslim and Hindu close together under the platform Congress and League.

Soon after Gandhi returned to India with his emotional and non practical approach towards political problem, Khilafat movement provided Gandhi a significant role in political arena of India. During the late second, third and early fourth decade, Jinnah ceaselessly work for building joint front of Hindu-Muslim to attain freedom from British however, failed due to the unrealistic manner of Congress under the guidance of Gandhi. Thus finally he was the one who have solution of deadlock created by Congress and British in the way of Hindu Muslim problems and freedom as well. In 1940 he set his destiny and his follower a new homeland for Muslim in India namely Pakistan.. [6] Only after the furious struggle of seven years he was victorious in attaining Pakistan despite the tooth to nail opposition of Hindus and British.

Pakistani and Indian historians have cultivated various from of historical work on the personality and politics of Jinnah like application of theory from social science over Jinnah to understand his personality and politics to topic base argument, from a reply study to inventive type. These writers also cultivated the historical work on uncommon aspect of Jinnah politics like early years of his political career and the last decade of freedom struggle, from series

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of study on the politics and persona of Jinnah to distinct study, from a general study to specific study. Their investigation also expanded from praised to severe criticism.

2- HISTORICAL LOCALE

Sikandar Hayat has adopted the methodology of theoretical framework to study Jinnah. [7] He has applied a theory of political science on Jinnah to understand the personality and politics of Jinnah during the last decade of freedom struggle. He also highlighted his previous years in politics in a brief manner to understand the behavior and strategy of Jinnah for his most remarkable battle. He also highlighted various factors which paved the way for that battle. Study exposed the leadership qualities of Jinnah and the trust he had obtained from his followers. Waheed-uz-Zaman has adopted subject base approach to study Jinnah. [8] He has explained the characteristic of Jinnah personality and his political career in order to answer many issues fabricated by mainly Indian and western historians. He has exposed the biasness and prejudices of Indian and western historians who rely mostly on Indian sources. He has highlighted with the facts and data those historians built false myth to undermine the personality of Jinnah and his achievement.

Riaz Ahmad has been very dedicated, committed historian and produced a series of study on Jinnah from different perspective. [9] The study under examination has been picked from his lot of work on Jinnah due to the uniqueness of her area of study. Historian has picked the forgotten era of Jinnah political life. With the help of historical record and data he also bring back into limelight the early years of Jinnah political life. Study has provided help to understand the reasoning of mainstream Indian historians for their insistence on considering Jinnah as popular leader only in the last decade of freedom movement. Sharif-ul-Mujahid has adopted a topic base approach to explore the personality of Jinnah. [10] It seems like collection of articles on different aspect of Jinnah political life and also considered as a response to answer many questions put on by Indian historians on Jinnah. M. M. Saleem Qureshi has adopted same approach but he compares the personality of Jinnah with Iqbal which makes the study unique. [11]

Ayesha Jalal has also adopted theoretical framework to explore the personality and politics of Jinnah however her findings are totally pole-apart from mainstream historians of Pakistani school. [12] K.B. Sayeed has adopted a general approach to explore the personality and politics of Jinnah and his finding is also not similar with majority of Pakistani historian. [13]

Indian Historians have also created a varied form of historical works on the personality and politics of Jinnah. The Historians generally have conducted the methodical study with thematic approach. They have twisted biographical study with special intention to prove their assumed conclusion. They have worked on social-political history with the short biographical history of Jinnah. Their analysis about Jinnah also varied from work to work and from appreciation to severe criticism. The common feature of this section is that the Indian historians have produced work with pre concluded mind and did not care about the factual data. General trend of historical work on Jinnah by Indian historians is that their investigation is not for the exploration of reality but for twisting, turning and molding historical data to prove their hypothesis.

Ajeet Jawed has adopted a coherent, methodical and relative examination of the person and politics of Jinnah. [14] The historian has applied the theme to explore the role of Jinnah during freedom movement. S.R. Sharma has inclusively examined the politics and persona of Jinnah. [15] The work has been chosen for evaluation due to the unique analysis presented by historian. J.J. Pal has adopted subject base approach to study Jinnah. [16] Main focus of the study is Jinnah's role in the creation of Pakistan. B.R. Nanda has adopted a thematic approach for study. [17] Rafiq Zakria adopted biographical approach to present Jinnah according to his hypothesis. [18] His language is too harsh about Jinnah.

3- SIKANDAR HAYAT'S THEMATIC APPROACH

The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan by Sikandar Hayat is an orderly and composed inspection of Jinnah. [19] The study is a comprehensive and methodical scrutiny of the magnetic leadership of Jinnah, who led the Muslims of Indian sub-continent throughout the earth-shattering era of 1937-47. The work has been founded on the theory of charisma created by Max Weber and built up by his successors. The work has focused two main aspects of Jinnah's life; one is the explanation of the circumstances which contributed to the appearance of Jinnah as the charismatic leader for the Muslims, and the other is the study of the factors responsible for the persistent charisma of Jinnah even after the establishment of Pakistan. The study has fully examined the crisis of leadership faced by the Indian Muslims while elucidating and illuminating Jinnah's charisma. The latter part of the study contains a decisive evaluation of Jinnah's dream of Pakistan, his tactics for political recruitment of the Muslims under the flag of the League and his matchless talents and capacities in negotiating the combined opposition of the British and the Congress to Pakistan. The Muslim masses motivated by Pakistan demand, distinguished him as their charismatic leader. His charisma was really at its peak at the time of the birth of Pakistan in August 1947.

Jinnah began his career as a young Muslim Indian who had great belief in Indian nationalism by joining Congress in 1906. [20] He strongly believed that Muslims' interest and national interest are same. [21] Jinnah remained persistent to his fundamental doctrine although trauma and tensions of the next two decades along with the coldness, selfishness and unconcerned attitude of Congress towards the Muslims' interests, compelled him to modify his plan with the passage of time. Besides most of the historians, historical documents also supported the narrative of the

author. [22] Jinnah, according to the author, sought independence for Indian sub-continent and independence for the Muslims too. Jinnah believed that Muslims in independent India would need safeguard and protection as a minority. [23] Jinnah's speeches clearly showed his understanding of the situation of that time. [24]

Being the champion of Muslim rights, Jinnah came to the driving seat of the Muslim politics as a charismatic leader because the customary political leadership of the Muslims was not ready for the approaching crisis. They were very shortsighted and were protecting their present privileges and position. They fell short to produce any way out to the circumstances being faced by the Muslims. [25] According to author, Jinnah was a very confident person and his faith in his cause was a very important tool of success for himself. [26] He was a very well-organized and a disciplined person in both his private and public life. [27] Jinnah being a constitutionalist, gifted with extraordinary legal mind was perfectly matched to carry out negotiations with the Congress and the British to protect the interests of the Muslims in the upcoming constitution of India. [28]

According to author Jinnah was a great strategist who planned systematic tact and moved to muster up and put in order Muslims beneath the standard of League. He opened the gate of League to new diehard members who were motivated by the idea of Pakistan, and were ready to work for the cause of the League. [29]

Jinnah got the support of several wholehearted devotees who considered the demand for Pakistan as their first and foremost concern that was why; they were all set to throw-in momentarily to its realization. Most of these devotees were students, women and Ulema. These new members were comparatively more enthusiastic and zealous than older ones about Jinnah and his demand of Pakistan. So, they all worked with commitment, courage and passion. Their efforts were very important for the triumph of League's campaign of mass mobilization. [30] The Muslims were revitalized, got optimism and probability due to the efforts of Jinnah for Pakistan. It brought almost all the sections of Muslim society together in a combined effort for establishment of Pakistan. [31] There are so many authors who have praised Jinnah's strategies and skills to organize the League. [32]

Jinnah possesses the unique qualities of clutching the actuality of any state of affairs and to respond logically, that was why, he made the wise decision to accept Cabinet Mission Plan. When Congress leadership with the open support of British government, misunderstood the Plan then Jinnah's demand for separate homeland for the Muslims became the only workable substitute to the British-Congress perception of the upcoming constitution of India. "Jinnah's extraordinary ability to grasp the realities of a given situation, and acting rationally ensured that he made the right decision by accepting the Cabinet Mission Plan rather than rejecting it offhand.... The result was that Jinnah's demand for Pakistan emerged as only viable alternative to the British-congress concept of the future constitution of India." [33]

According to author, Jinnah was a man with far-sighted rational approach. One of the best examples of Jinnah's right and on time judgment was his decision to cooperate with British authorities with some condition during the WWII. He knew the value of war for the British and her position in war. He also knew the value of victory for British in that war. Due to the Congress non-cooperation movement, the League cooperation was very important for the British because the League was not only the larger party but also the representative of Muslims, who were the major fighting force of Indian army for the British during war. [34]

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

4- WAHEED-UZ -ZAMAN'S THEMATIC APPROACH

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Myth and Reality by Waheed-uz -Zaman is also a thematic study. [35] Author has tried to address the accusations of critics on the personality of Jinnah. The study has investigated a wide range of traditions that encircled the life and the work of Jinnah and has disclosed him as a practical, pragmatic and down-to-earth person. Jinnah was categorically an uncompromising political pragmatist. Being an honest lawyer, he used to organize his brief only after he was confident of his data. One aspect of his personality was the political optimism however it was constantly founded on the harsh realities of the state of affairs. He was a man of his words and he never ever get back from his words. [36]

Jinnah was man who possessed the great qualities of leadership like optimistic approach, a man who honoured his words, highly cultured and civilized, well manner, and a master political strategist who had perfect sense of timing. [37] He was a man of such a strong character that no one even his worst enemies ever blamed him with two-facedness and treacherous hypocrisy or double dealing. [38]

According to the author, Jinnah was an organized, highly disciplined and composed person who never liked to take law and order in his own hands. He always discouraged lawlessness and violation of law and order. He was a unique freedom fighter who fought all his fights with legal weapons and within the legal frame work. However this legal approach to solve the political troubles was misinterpreted as a work of political bargaining with the British Government. In the words of writer, "He fought all his battles with constitutional weapons and within the constitutional frame work his whole public life was a continuous struggle against alien domination." [39]

The author explained that there was no doubt about his high caliber and the leadership qualities of Jinnah. As a matter of the fact, he was a leader of rare and unique qualities. Despite all the popularity, power and authority, he was a very humble and down to earth leader who never tried to dictate his colleague on any issue. [40] He was a

powerful leader due to the massive support of Muslim masses. He was a hero of masses due to everlasting beliefs in his bravery, valor, dare, audacity and the commitment to the ground rules. [41] According to the author, Jinnah was followed by his follower with the tremendous faithfulness, trustworthiness, reliability commitment and zeal. His followers offered him absolute and total obedience. "It was this attitude of understanding and compassion that earned him the solid and fervent loyalty of his people. He led them as no one had led them before and they in turn offered him unconditional obedience as they had not offered to any one of the earlier leaders." [42]

The author portrayed Jinnah as truly democratic and hard core constitutionalist leader who never ever bypassed the Muslim league's constitution. He never ever tried to use his authority beyond the Muslim league constitution. [43] Jinnah was a democratic and legal minded person. He chooses to present himself as a candidate for the president of the League every year instead of becoming president for the life time. [44] He was unbiased man who did not believe in sections, divisions and blocks. He had totally impartial and unbiased personality. [45] Another example of his democratic and constitutionalist behavior was that he not only endured opponents' opinion but also accepted divergence of views and not at all deprived any league member from free expression of point of views. "The Quaid-i-Azam not only tolerated but at times encouraged difference of opinion and never denied any member of the league the right to free expression of opinion"[46]The study is very composed and well knitted. The author in very organized manner tore off the false fabrication of many authors against Jinnah and tried his best to present the personality and politics of Jinnah in its true tint. The study is not only useful for scholar but also for the general readers.

5- RIAZ AHMAD'S ANALYTICAL APPROACH

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: the formative years, 1882-1920 by Riaz Ahmad is the study of the early years of Jinnah's political career. [47]The study is a PhD research of the author. Author has explained that Jinnah had bestowed by Allah with great traits such as courage, bold style of speeches, rational, lawful, [48] unyielding and single-minded, [49] blunt, forthright with his command over the use of legal terms in a debate. [50] According to author from the beginning of 20th century Jinnah was a reputed and popular lawyer whom people wanted to listen, and to learn the art of arguing. People tried to copy him, young lawyer idealized him. [51]

From the start of his career Jinnah confirmed himself as a courageous advocate of Muslims rights. He wanted to become the guardian of the Muslims right and interests in sub-continent. At the same time, being a member of the Congress, he did not harm the Muslims interests instead he was there to project them through that platform. In writer's words, "Instead he proved himself at the largest Muslim platform of Bombay not only a staunch believer in the Muslim cause but also one who wanted to become a spokesman of the Muslim communities at national level. At the same time, he was also proving that his remaining in the Congress did not mean that he could act against the overwhelming majority of Muslim interests. He instead wanted to project them." [52]

Jinnah was recognized as a popular leader in administrative and public circles both. He was suspicious in the eyes of British government because of his refusal to the offer of judgeship of high court to become an ally of them. He was recognized as a popular leader in both the political parties of the sub-continent. In these parties and as well as in his whole political career, he remained independent in his opinion and views. [53] He was the political icon and idol of that time whom the youth idealized and followed. [54]

Jinnah became one of the most popular leaders of Hindus and Muslims in 1916. He established this position by bringing congress and League on the common goal of self-government suitable to India and by developing a legitimate method by general consent. . The only barrier now remained in the way of achievement of the target was the British authority, whose readiness to distribute power and the sincerity of dealing was yet to be experienced. [55]

According to the author, Jinnah was a unique opposition to foreign rule in India who resisted British rule till the last stages. However, with all temptations, he never became a victim to street and outlawed politics. He always chose peaceful processes and constitutional methods. He had zero tolerance for administrative misbehavior of bureaucracy. He showed his anger over this type of bureaucratic misbehavior of and on. [56]

The spoliation of Willingdon farewell party by the people of Bombay beneath the guidance of Jinnah was the finest example of mass politics long before Gandhi's noncooperation movement. The outgoing governor of Bombay lord Willingdon was dishonored in a people protest on 11th December 1918. The credit of this successful protest went to Jinnah's energetic and vigorous leadership. Not any of his furious supporters attempted to demolish the order. Such a peaceful, organized and non-violent struggle against the system and the colonial master could not be found before this. In the words of writer, "The anti-Willingdon demonstration by the people of Bombay under Jinnah's dynamic leadership was the best example of a popular movement conducted on peaceful lines. The retiring governor, lord Willingdon was humiliated in public demonstration on 11 december 1918." [57]

According to author, Jinnah being a rational and realist had unique qualities of judging situations with hard core logic and reasoning while brushing aside the emotions. Although Jinnah had predicted in the beginning that Gandhi's program would be a massive failure, However Gandhi became a popular leader of both the communities during Khilafat movement. And in the end, ever thing went wrong and antagonism between Hindu and Muslim increased tremendously. Days of Unity between Hindu and Muslim had gone forever. At that moment of time, Jinnah went ahead and reorganized Muslims under the league flag and also charged them with the new flame of freedom. [58]

The study is a fine and lucid account of early political life of Jinnah and shed light on the rarely discussed area of Jinnah political life. The study has proved with the fact that Jinnah was a very well-liked leader among people of

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

6- SHARIF-AL-MUJAHID'S ANALYTICAL APPROACH

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation by Sharif-al-Mujahid [59] is an analytical and thematic study of Jinnah's persona, politics and behavior. The writer has explained that Jinnah was a liberal and dedicated person. His finer proficiency and tactics in outclassing his antagonists in politics resembled the game of chess. [60] His faith in constitutional approach to solve any problem was beyond any doubt. [61] Forethought, optimism, rationality, logic, confidence and resolution were the traits Jinnah had in a copious quantity. With the passage of time these traits got more and more prominence in Jinnah's personality and reached at the highest level during the last ten years of his life. [62]

According to the author, Hindu-Muslim Unity was the basic requirement of Indian freedom from British, was Jinnah logic. Thus Jinnah really attempted hard for Hindu-Muslim Unity, not for the Indian nationalism, by accepting the fact that Muslims were a nation in Indian sub-continent along with the other nations. Jinnah was recognized as the alive symbol of Hindu-Muslim Unity within a decade of his entrance in politics that showed his commitment and devotion. [63]

According to the author, Jinnah was very conscious about the problems and the sufferings of the Indian Muslims from the beginning of his political career. Jinnah was approached by the League to sponsor the bill showed that League acknowledged his powerful political position and his abilities since the very beginning of his political career. [64] According to the author, his personality and politics were influence by 19th century British liberalism. Primarily, he was influenced during his stay in England and flock his close association with liberal Indian politicians like Sir Dadabhai Dordi, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Mehta and Sir Surendranath Banerjee and Bombay's commercial environment where he had become a great lawyer. [65]

According to the author, Jinnah's insight and observation towards Muslims' political problem was transformed step by step. He admitted and accepted that Muslims had some particular concerns and some individual requirements which must be guarded to save them from backwardness. [66]

In 1915 Jinnah identified league as the only political organization of the Indian Muslims. In the upcoming years, he convinced congress to recognize League as a Muslim representative organization. He had done it through the congress league, Lucknow Pact. He was one of those who crafted this pact. [67]

As a matter of the fact, the recognition of the right of separate electorate for the Muslim by congress was the first step towards Pakistan. Without separate electorate there would be no Pakistan. [68] According to author Jinnah was not against the Khilafat movement but disagreed with its methodology. Jinnah being a hard core constitutionalist refused to join Khilafat movement, not because of Khilafat cause but because of methodology of movement which was non-constitutional. [69]

After the Nehru report, the rejection to incorporate the reasonable amendments proposed by Jinnah to meet the requirements of the Indian Muslims, by National Convention was the turning point in the political life of Jinnah and Indian Muslims as well. It was shaking for him; he staked his position among Muslim by offering to give up separate electorate with some reservation. The Hindus under the leadership of Gandhi, Nehru and Jayakar could not meet the aspirations of Jinnah. He never took such bold step again and did not trust his ex-friends. After this event Jinnah always kept his cards closed and never articulated a word before the right time came. He learnt the hard lesson from the event not to trust Hindu leadership because they used to bypass their words when they desired. From then onwards he adopted the policy of forcing congress leadership to make move first then he moved on. In the words of writer, "In any case, the blank refusal by the National convention to accept these "reasonable" proposals proved the last straw for the Muslim and "the parting of way" for Jinnah.... Never again was Jinnah to make such a mistake: never again was he to trust his erstwhile congress colleagues and put faith in their words." [70]

In 1916 he worked hard to save the right of separate electorate for the Muslims and after ten years he was working for the authority of Muslims in their majority areas. Jinnah's fourteen points was the key to unite India where at the center Muslims would enjoy involvement and be in the right place. [71] Still in 1937 Jinnah believed, like many other Muslim leaders, that Muslim right and interest would be saved in a strictly federal constitution that was why, he strove hard for a federation and for Hindu-Muslim Unity. But in later years of thirties, mainly due to the strategy and attitude adopted by congress ministries, he swayed that even in strictly federal constitution Muslims along with other minorities could not be saved with Hindu dominated regime of congress. Thus by 1937-38 he started bitter opposition to one federation for whole India. He intensively utilized all his energies to unite Muslims under the banner of one political organization namely All India Muslim League and made a uniformed policy to be followed by devotedly Muslims in whole India. Consequently, he had to recognize himself, with the passage of time, as an undisputed leader of Indian Muslims. [72] From 1937 he changed his policy and strategy; he filled the hearts of Indian Muslims with new strength, vigor and sensation. He also started to wear popular common Muslim dress Sherwani and cap in public gatherings. He used to address mass gatherings, platforms and waysides in his

spontaneous, wrecked, anglicized and inflection Urdu. That was totally a revolutionary transformation of Jinnah's personality. [73]

The author has explained Jinnah's objectives and methodology in politics. Jinnah was committed from the start of his political career to make his reputation by hard work and public service not by playing with the emotions and fears of the masses. [74] The author has praised the approach of Jinnah which was clear-headed, well-argued, impartial, noninterventionist, positive and vigilant in its spirit. During the time when political intimidation was the order of day, he showed defiance and disliked it from the core of his heart. He rightly felt that was not the path of national freedom but lead to the catastrophe and devastation. He never crossed the line of constitution and did not play with the law and order. [75] The author has praised the methodology of Jinnah's politics and believed that Jinnah's bitter and legitimate opposition in legislature was more damaging for the British, who had deep down democratic roots, than the Disobedience movements of Gandhi. "To the British, with their overriding passion for parliamentarianism, Jinnah's dignified and constitutional protest was perhaps a great blow to their democratic conscience than all the angry demonstrations indulged in by the young "hot heads" in the country under the inspiration of Gandhi." [76]

The author praised the leadership qualities of Jinnah and considered him hardhearted logician who had faith in rationale and logical approach not in absolute confrontation and misinformation; not in spellbinding the masses but persuaded them through pure logic. [77] The amazing thing about author is that he considers Jinnah with all his unique qualities a normal common man not a demigod. The writer has explained that Jinnah was mortal like common man and never believed to be immortal. He also did not take advantage from expedient inner voice like Gandhi. He dealt every problem with professional and logical approach. [78]

According to the author, Jinnah strongly believed that main encounters of India's freedom would be taken place at Assembly floor but not in the streets. [79] He also had a unique quality of judging people's desires and to reform his plans and agendas according to the wishes of the people. [80] According to the author, it is reality that not only Jinnah's concept was democratic in nature but also the movement was democratic in nature to realize that concept. [81] Author praises Jinnah's personality and his leadership qualities with open heart. He considers him charismatic leader, who with the logic and reason strove hard to save Indian Muslim rights in India. However when Hindu-dominated Congress failed to give due share of power to the Muslims in India, Jinnah along with his weapons of logic and reasoning fought with both the British and the congress and succeeded in creating a new homeland for Indian Muslims.

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

7- SALEEM M. M. QURESHI'S ANALYTICAL APPROACH

The Politics of Jinnah by Saleem M. M. Qureshi is a significant work on Jinnah. [82] The study under review is a collection of paper presented by the author on various conferences at home and abroad. The study covers various aspects of Jinnah and his politics. The author compares Jinnah's personality with that of Iqbal and found commonalities between them from origin to study and profession. [83] According to the author's views, Iqbal was the one who conceived the idea of Pakistan and Jinnah was the one who created Pakistan. In the beginning of their political career they believed in Indian nationalism. But after the realization of the ground situation both turned to Muslim nationalism in India. Iqbal was transformed very soon while Jinnah being a practical person was transformed after practically facing the narrow mentality and unreasonable behavior of Hindu majority toward minorities especially towards Muslims in India. In the words of writer, "Both ultimately became convinced that the object worth striving for was the self-determination of Muslims in India as a separate and distinct nation, not one Indian nation which Iqbal considered undesirable and Jinnah unpractical. They both arrived at the same conclusion: Iqbal deriving the reasons through his dialectics and Jinnah learning his lesson through political apprenticeship." [84]

According to the author, Jinnah was an Indian Muslim and he never wanted be an Indian or a Muslim alone. However, he was misunderstood by the most of his evaluators due to the evaluation of his statements without pretext and context. [85] Although Jinnah was fighting for the safety of the Muslims in India and finally won the safe home for the Muslims in India but his politics remained multi-communal and anti-sectarian. [85] Because of unpleasant incidents faced by as a Muslim with Hindus and British, Jinnah developed his concept of Muslim self-determination. All his speeches and writings depicted his political ideology. He has explained that Indian Muslims followed a unique code of life which was totally different from other communities of India. That unique code of life made Muslims a different nation. That code could also be applied on political arena. Only Muslims could prove the interpretation of that code to western concept of nationalism. The first compulsion was the authority and the capacity to compose the private and public lives of the Muslims according to that code. This was the crux of Muslim nationalism. Jinnah had complete faith in that ideology and never ever deviated from that. [86] The author believes that it would be blunder if someone misunderstood Jinnah's initial phase of political career. However, due

to the illogical behavior of the Congress he turned-out to be a communalist in the end. Jinnah never wanted a setup where every community mashes up in one creed. He always wanted a pleasant and reciprocally acceptable life for every community along with Muslims. [87]

The author has commented on the strategy of Jinnah in a comparative manner. According to him, Jinnah was neither an apologist like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and nor critical like Iqbal. Instead he supported Muslims, gave confidence to them, led them, and guarded their interests very well. [88] It seems that the author tried to present both Indian and Pakistani narratives. The author has used very rich language and expression to convey his arguments. The author in a very logical manner has clarified the misunderstandings of many writers about the politics of Jinnah. The study is worthy for the historians and the general readers alike.

8- K. B. SAYEED'S ANALYTICAL APPROACH

Pakistan: the Formative Phase 1857-1948 by K.B. Sayeed [89] is an analytical study of those factors which lead to the creation of Pakistan. Author starts from the dismantling of Mogul empire in India in 1857 and brought all those various dynamics which throughout the ages heat up and low the enmity and antagonism between the Hindus and Muslims of subcontinent. He also discusses the personality, politics and political strategy of Jinnah. According to the analysis of the author, Muslim politics in India has been equipped with methodology and objective only after the appearance of Jinnah as a prominent leader in politics. Jinnah performed both roles with exceptional skill. He had the ability to emerge as a charismatic leader before masses and at the same time, he worked as a strong, wise and insightful negotiator with the British and the Congress. [90]

The author identifies in Jinnah the amazing quality of learning from mistakes and failure and not repeating mistake. According to the author, Jinnah learnt hard lesson for the rest of life from the failures in 1928. Lesson was that no matter how much he was reasonable and logical no one was ready to listen to him until he had the power of the people at his back. From there onwards, Jinnah concentrated on reorganizing the Muslim under the banner of the League. When he revitalized and reorganized the Muslim under the League flag, he got the power to challenge the congress and the British. Thus, he got the admiration and fright by his rivals because of his power to veto any proposal that was not acceptable to Muslim League. [91]

According to the author, pre and post elections campaigns of 1937, Jinnah was in touch with Muslim masses and he was impressed by the passion and zeal of Muslim response to his request to them to pursue the agenda and the plan of the League. At the same time, he was rational logician inspired by enthusiasm and spiritual dedication of Muslim masses. [92] According to the author, meanwhile Jinnah developed a systematic support among Muslim masses and became their great leader. Now he was connected with his follower so well that it was very difficult for even the chief minister of Punjab and Bengal to go against the will of Jinnah. Every time they acted against him, he rotated brutally in opposition to them with the massive support of Muslim masses. [93] Gradually the League transferred absolute power to Jinnah to do whatever step he seems needed to safeguard Muslim. [94]

According to the author, Gandhi, commenting on Jinnah talks and admits that Jinnah was the master of strategic competition. Jinnah could not be pleased by a wish of Gandhi to meet him and conclude an agreement. Total surrender from Gandhi on basic principles was the only condition of Jinnah for further development. That indicated that he was in no rush to reach at a conciliation accord with the congress regarding the basic issues. He could wait until he become stronger enough to conclude an agreement on his own terms and conditions. [95]

According to author Jinnah had excellent quality of antagonizing his rival with fierceness and freezing mockery. [96] Jinnah was competent diplomat, constitutional specialist, [97] energetic celebrity [98] and blunt near to brutality. [99] According to the author, Jinnah holds an exceptional place as the creator of the new country, Pakistan. He was the foremost and the solitary head of state that attained his ultimate authority from the people who gave him in copious quantity. [100]

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

9- AYESHA JALAL'S THEMATIC APPROACH

The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan by Ayesha Jalal, is also a thematic, conceptual and critical study of Jinnah's politics. [101] The author presents entirely different concept and analysis about Jinnah's persona and politics. She is of the view that Jinnah wanted supremacy and authority. He was such a kind of person who wanted power and authority at any cost. However, the author also pointed out some remarkable qualities of Jinnah's personality like nationalist, constitutionalist, modernist, strategist, fighter, "master of a long slow game and an expert at seeing chances in the worst reverses." [102]

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

ready to give concession over principles and had slim soft spot for British with whom he in no way felt completely at relief. [103] According to the author, after 1937 election political atmosphere of subcontinent was very dangerous for the League and for the Muslims as well. League was facing the problem of its existence on political map of subcontinent. If League wanted to survive, she had to develop a new strategy and policy. She badly needed support from Muslim majority areas which was the primary condition for League to gain importance at center. Likewise Muslim majority required a voice in Delhi to defend them because from there congress was posing great threat to them and their interests. Logically, it was better to be one strong voice than so many weak voices. [104] After the breakout of WWII congress adopted the policy of noncooperation with the British. Due to the non-cooperation by the Congress, the situation in subcontinent became very difficult for the British, so they badly needed the support of Jinnah and the League. They were ready to admit his point of view. Although, the Hindu leaders desired to restrain Jinnah from the affair of the Muslim majority areas, yet he instead of being an independent negotiator became a spokesperson of Muslim majority areas and a suitable tool for the British. So it was not possible for Jinnah to put forward a demand which could create an embarrassment for the British. He also did not want to create difficulties in Muslim majority areas. [105]

According to the author, when Congress started its quit-India movement, British needed a political body which could counter the claims of Congress at national level in Indian sub-continent. The League was following the most calculated resolution which demanded no further constitutional advancement without the consultation of the league, the representative organization of Indian Muslims. The League's resolution eased the pressure on viceroy built by Congress. [106]

The author totally ignores the historical facts to label Jinnah as a tool for the British and mere spokesman for Muslim majority areas. As a matter of the fact, the demand of Pakistan by the League was the result of Muslims' desire to live with dignity and honor in the subcontinent. The author neglected the long history of freedom struggle of the Muslims in India. From Shah Waliullah Dehlawi and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to Sir Allama Dr. Muhammad Iqbal-Eastern Poet Philosopher, all came to the same conclusion that division of India and the creation of a separate state for the Muslims was the only way to live with dignity and honor in India. The writer has explained, Jinnah wanted to be recognized as the sole spokesman for the Muslims from British, congress and his followers. Without being particular about his demand for Pakistan, accuracy and harmony were unable to coexist. "At this juncture his most urgent priority was to persuade every one- the British, the Congress High Command and his own uncertain followers-to accept his claim to be the sole spokesman for Muslims without being too precise about the demand – precision and unanimity was incompatible." [107]

The writer criticized Jinnah for not protesting over the decision of partition of the two provinces namely the Punjab and Bengal. In the words of writer, "As it was, he had to sit quietly while Mountbatten proceeded to give him instructions on how he was to behave the next day in the headmaster's study. The following morning, when the Indian leaders came together for their fateful meeting, the Quaid-i-Azam was meekly to accept the partition of Pakistan's two main provinces." [108] The writer's language has shown her biased attitude towards Jinnah. It is known fact that no one could dictate Jinnah even his worst enemies openly admitted that.

Historical record reveals that Jinnah was not in favor of division of two provinces of Pakistan but minorities under the influence of Congress camp were unwilling to live in Pakistan that why their representative voted for the partition of the provinces. They paid no heed to Jinnah advice. On the other hand British were the master at that time. They were also strongly against the creation of Pakistan and also had a friendly relation with Congress thus they decided in favour of partition of two provinces of Pakistan in order to put pressure on Jinnah on one end and on other end they did it to appease Congress camp to maintain friendly relation with them for the safeguard of British interest after partition. [109]

According to the author, Jinnah wanted to be the only one voice of Muslims in India. He always considered himself a leader at the national level. Since mid-thirties his foremost objective was to create a setup in which control would be shared at the center after the departure of the British from Indian sub-continent. Jinnah and the league should have had consent from the Muslims in the provinces to play their role at the center. It was important for Jinnah and league to set up command in Muslim areas to control the Muslim provinces from central high command of League. [110]

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

However, Pakistani authors worked on various aspect of Jinnah and tried their best to present the League and the official narrative of Pakistan. Similarly some historians, mainly who have been influenced by some other schools have presented a totally different narrative. It is not that Jinnah had had a lack of sense of history. He was well aware of the fact that he was making history so that he deliberately did not waste any document instead preserved even a little note for the evidence. On the other hand, he especially appointed a person to preserve the record of AIML and safely brought to Pakistan as a treasure of history for the future generations. He was very caring about preserving facts. He did not write his biography so that he could not influence the historical work of the Pakistani authors. He let them free to seek truth without any manipulation or deliberate influence.

Other leaders of Pakistan movement also did not deliberately hide or forge any fact to present or influence of anything. They honestly narrate the event with full detail as it was happened before their eyes. They did not try to

present any rose picture or build any image. They narrate the event without any hesitation. They tried their best to fulfill the responsibility of eye witness honestly.

10- CONCLUSION

It could be concluded that the Pakistani authors have adopted various methods to discuss the personality and the politics of Jinnah. Some of them have adopted theoretical approach to define the persona and politics of Jinnah. Sikander Hayat has applied the theory of charismatic leader on the personality of Jinnah and has proved with facts and figures that Jinnah was a great charismatic leader. He has consulted a variety of sources from Pakistan, India, US and UK. He has utilized the published and unpublished sources like documents, letters, speeches and statements, biographies, books, chapters and articles, dissertations, newspapers and journals. His bibliography is very rich. Such an academic work is not only useful for the study of Jinnah's persona and politics but also helpful for common historian to know how to use sources and how to build argument. Organization of the study is very thoughtful. Although main focus of the study is the last decade of Jinnah's political life however the author, before stating his main topic has briefly discussed the early three decades of Jinnah's political life. The author's approach is very fair and unbiased. This kind of studies is considered classical to learn history writing. Wheed-uz- Zaman's objective of the study is clearly shown in the title of the book. The author has tried to answer the charges leveled by many authors against Jinnah. The author has adopted thematic approach to deal with the facts and has skillfully torn-out the false fabrications built by those authors. The author's approach is reactionary. He also has utilized the historical sources in order to build his arguments. The study is a fine example of academically unbiased research. Riaz Ahmed's study is unique of its kind due to the area chosen by the author. The author has picked the area of his study which has been the neglected by the majority of the authors while studying the persona and the politics of Jinnah. The study has revealed the early years of Jinnah in politics and the role he played to build the joint front of the Hindu and the Muslim to attain freedom from the British. Sharif-al- Mujahid has adopted a topic-based approach to explore the personality of Jinnah. It seems like a collection of articles on different aspects of Jinnah's political life and it can also be considered as a response to answer many question put by the Indian authors on the politics and the personality of Jinnah. On the other hand, K. B. Sayeed's study has covered the ninety years of freedom struggle. The author has failed to show the reasons and factors which led to the change in the behavior and manners of Jinnah. The author has not discussed the utopian and unrealistic behavior of the Congress and Gandhi towards the Muslim and Jinnah which left them with only one solution, Pakistan. The author although has acknowledged Jinnah's unique qualities but has failed to depict the full persona of Jinnah. His language is harsh and telling the half truth. It seems that he was under the deep spell of Gandhi that was why he could not do justice with this study. Thus the study cannot be called worthy for scholarly world. Ayesha Jalal's study is also based on theoretical frame work and from the title it reveals that the study is pre-defined and biased from the beginning. It seems that author's research is based on some false assumptions which have no match with the facts. The author has relied heavily on the British and the Indian sources. The author's whole research is based on pre-concluded hypothesis. The author is under the deep influence of her supervisor. The author has neglected many facts or perhaps deliberately has tried to hide many facts and twisted them because of which she has failed to produce any fair contribution to the existing body of knowledge. Saleem M. M. Qureshi is a significant work on Jinnah. He has commented on the strategies of Jinnah in a comparative manner. According to him, Jinnah was neither an apologetic like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and nor critical like Iqbal, instead he supported the Muslims, gave them the confidence, led them and guard their interests very well. It seems that the author has tried to present both the Indian and the Pakistani narrative. The author has used very rich language and in a logical manner has clarified the misunderstandings of many writers about the politics of Jinnah.

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