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Partition of India a Brief Discussion on Mahatma Gandhi Vs Muhammud Ali Jinnah, The Debate Over Partition

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ABSTRACT:

The aim of the researcher is to deal with "Partition of India: Mahatma Gandhi vs Muhammad Ali Jinnah the debate over partition". It also emphasis from where the idea of a partition emerged. As well as who is responsible for the partition of India. Further it provide the information about the important leaders who play a vital role during the time of partition. As well as I also deals with the party whose existence play a important role. It also deals with acts they are as 'Regulating Act', Independence Act and Partition of Bengal from where the first partition of India started. As a researcher I try to find the circumstances which made the condition possible for partition. Moreover I also deals with the causes which play a crucial role during the time of partition. After these how Muslim League Party emerged, and how Mohmmad Ali Jinha started to arise his demand for separate states. The Gandhi-Jinnah debate involved a clash between two important personalities of the twentieth century. But it also personified the tensions between two major ideological systems, Hinduism and Islam. It is my conviction that anyone concerned with the issues of world peace and intercultural communication can profit from studying the developments within India in the 1940s. In combining the methods of the historian and rhetorical critic, I have sought to interpret the Partition debate as fairly and objectively as possible. One should not minimize the deep-seated misgivings of Indian Muslims faced with the threat of permanent discrimination by a frequently insensitive and occasionally hostile Hindu majority. At the same time, one must recognize that ultimately Partition was motivated more by politics than theology, and that it not only failed to resolve, but in many ways intensified, the problems of religious and cultural pluralism on the subcontinent.

KEYWORDS: India, Pakistan, Muhammad ali jinnah, Gandhi, partition, muslim league, national congress, cabinet mission, Bangladesh

INTRODUCTION:

How East India Company come into existence in India and how it establish its dominions in India and how it play a dynamic role in partition. East India company came into the existence in the year of 1660s and the mid -19th century , it leads its establishment and expansion international trade to Asia and subcontinent and subsequently leading to the economics and political domination of the entire Indian subcontinent. It started when the governor and company of merchants of London trading with the East

[&]quot;So long as I am alive, I will never agree to the partition of India" — Gandhi,1947

[&]quot;No power on earth can prevent Pakistan" — Jinnah,1940



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Indies . As it was originally named obtained a Royal Charter from Queen Elizabeth I, by granting "monopoly at the trade with East". One thing which must be taken into consideration that the East India Company was not directly connected to the British government . On the mid of 1700s and early 1800s the company comes account half of the world trade . They mostly used the commodities for trade to Europe and Britain . The commodities that they are mostly use for trade are as follows;

- Cotton
- ♣ Indigo
- ♣ Salt
- Saltpetre
- A Opium and tea

Behind these all things the main purpose of the East India Company of trade is to gain the maximum profit and their single mindset focus on the establishing the trading monopoly throughout Asia pacific made them the heralding agents of British Colonial Imperialism. The first 150 year the East India Company presences was largely confined to coastal area. After this it began to transformation of british company into ruling and they started to try to achieve their goal following their victory of Battle of Plassey against the ruler of Siraj -Ud - Daullah in the 1757. On that era first time the term General Governor was introduced in India. Warren Hasting was the first General Governor laid down the administrative foundation for the subsequent british reinforce. As a result all the administrative of Bengal as well as of other states of India was also comes under the control of Governor General. The revenue of Bengal was used for economic and military enrichment of the company. In 1857 Indian raised their voice against the company and its tyrannical rule by breaking out into the armed rebillions which is known as Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. Hence the company lost his power also because of his more corruptness. Moreover the East India Company lost his power following the Government Act 1857. Hence the East India Company dissolved by the act of Parliament Act 1874. Which mark the announcement of the British Raj. As East India company is succed to established the company in India easily by taking the permission of Jahangir who was the most powerful mughal emperor on that age. Although they get the success to take him in their favour by making aside the Portuguese traders. Hence these are the some main loop holes in which British government play a important role in partition.

THE EMERGENCE of India and Pakistan as separate, independent nations in August, 1947 represented the culmination of two major crusades in modern Asian history: India's attempt to rid itself of British colonialism and, simultaneously, Muslim India's desire to create an Islamic state free from Hindu domination. This growth of a religious nationalism produced conflicts and contradictions, which not only confused Western observers but heightened communal tensions in Asia.1 Factional violence at the time of Indian Partition resulted in as many as 600,000 deaths, and subsequent outbreaks of war between India and Pakistan in 1965 and 1971 painfully underscored the crucial importance of Hindu-Muslim interaction. In the late 1930's and early 1940's when Indian independence from Britain appeared imminent, some Muslim leaders began despairing of the fate of the Muslim minority in a free, Hindu-dominated India. One apparent solution was the creation of a separate Islamic state. The proposition that India should be divided into two nations, one Hindu and one Muslim, sparked controversy involving many Indian leaders. They included Mohammad Iqbal, Liaquat Ali Khan, Jawaharlal Nehru, Morarji Desai, Vallabhbhai Patel, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari and Subhas Chandra Bose. But the debate over the partition of India perhaps reached its greatest dramatization in the clashes between Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869-1948) and Mohammed Ali Jinnah (1876-1948). "These two leaders were to change ... the entire course of history of



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this sub-continent"2 The British historian, H. V. Hodson, has asserted that in the events surrounding Indian Independence all personalities except Gandhi and Jinnah could have been replaced "without there being any radical change in the final denouement.

The Gandhi-Jinnah debate, which essentially spanned the decade 1937-47, represented one of the significant rhetorical confrontations of the twentieth century. Not only did it bring into opposition the ideas and feelings of two world figures, but it also personified much of the underlying hatred and mistrust prevailing between the Hindu and Muslim communities. This debate is thus important both as a forensic activity in itself, and as a symbol of the deeper issues of inter cultural communication.

Now let's talk about to our main leaders of our country who emerged as a sun when the British Government established and they force them to leave India free from their rule as well as play significant role in partition of India one of them are as follows:

♣ Mahatma Gandhi: andhi ji was born on 2 October 1869 and his birth place was a Porbandar which is now in Gujarat. His mother and father name was a Putlibai and Karamchand Gandhi. His wife name was Kausturba Gandhi. Gandhi ji was a eminent freedom activist and influential leader who paly a dominant role in the independence of india. As he is most commonly reffered to was instrumental liberating in India from the clutches of British. Gandhi ji by profession was a lawyer. He pursue his law study in London in the year 1891. After completing his education he returned to India but he faces difficulty there. In 1893 Dada Abdullah a merchant who owned a shipping business in south Africa offered him to serve his work in South Africa and he gladly accepted the offer which become a big turning point for his political carrer. There he saw discrimination against colour and he succed to abolished it after spending a 21 years after he returned to India by calling of Gopal Krishna Gokhle. Gandhi ji took so many movement for the freedom of India one of them was Champaran, Kheda and so on. Also Gandhi ji was also become a member of a congress party in the year of 1921 which play a important role in a partition of India. Gandhi ji died in the 30 janauary 1948.

He was one of the most outstanding political figures of the twentieth century. As a political leader, he adopted a novel technique of passive resistance, non-violence and launched Satyagraha (force of truth). He did shake the very foundations of skillfully crafted British colonial structure and emerged as an architect of Indian independence. He struggled hard to achieve his two objectives: independence from British imperialism and attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity. He achieved the independence for India but at the cost of the partition of it. Communal strife during 1946-47 had already threatened Gandhi about the possibility of partition of India. However, he struggled hard to pacify this communal hatred at the level of masses and pleaded with Congress leaders for League"s accommodation. But nobody was ready to listen to him. He believed in the unity of Hindus and Muslims of India and rejected the two-nation theory. He claimed that "The Hindus and Muslims of India are not two nations. Those whom God has made one, man will never be able to divide." At another occasion he emphasized that "the Allah of Islam is the same as the God of Christians and the Ishwara of Hindus He also challenged the League's two nation theory on the grounds that "The two nation theory is untruth. The vast majority of Muslims of India are converts to Islam or descendants of converts. They did not become a separate nation as soon as they become converts." He challenged the credentials of the claims of a body of converts into a separate nationality. Gandhi was advocate of geographical unity of India and opposed the division of his motherland into India and Pakistan. His strong opposition is reflected from his statement that "to divide it into two is worse than anarchy. It is vivisection which cannot be tolerated....Vivisect me before you vivisect India?" The Muslim League



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demand for Pakistan gradually got popular support from Muslim masses. He still believed and hoped that the League does not want to vivisect India, "I do not believe that Muslims, when it comes to a matter of actual decision, will ever want vivisection. Their good sense will prevent them. Their self-interest will deter them. Their religion will forbid the obvious suicide which the partition would mean." His opposition was emotional and rhetorical in nature under religious idioms. He failed to eliminate the fear of domination of majority community from the hearts of Muslim leaders and masses. Gandhi failed to offer an alternative constitutional formula with effective safeguards and constitutional guarantees for minority communities; his appeal was moral, not practical, in nature. Resultantly the Muslims of India, as other minority communities, could not be satisfied about their future either by the British Government or Indian National Congress.

Hegel once suggested that the trouble with famous people is that scholars never cease studying them. Such is the case with Mohandas Gandhi. Between 1933 and 1976, more than thirty doctoral dissertations in the United States alone were devoted to his thought and influence. An Indian historian in 1954 counted 3,671 books on Gandhiana. The unending fascination with Gandhi testifies to his unique fusion of ethical principles and political tactics, and his unusual ability to, influence large numbers of followers.

♣ Mohmmad Ali Jinnha: He was born on December 25, 1856 in Karachi. He studied his law at Lincoln's Inn London. After completing his law he returned to India he enrolled himself as an advocate at Bombay High Court. His political career began with Indian National Congress and he was greatly influenced by the moderate leader Gopal Krishna Gokhle. At these time he did not have any feeling as a muslim as distinct from those of other Indians. In fact, in 1906 Jinha signed a memorandum against separate electorates from muslim in 1909, Jinha got elected to imperial Legislative counciling as the representative of the muslim of Bombay. After joining the All - India muslim league in 1913 he didn't break his contacts with the congress.

In may 1914 he was sent to Londan as a member of Congress deputation. In 1915 he worked for the coming together of Congress and Muslim league and ensuing Lucknow Pact , under which these two parties agreed to present joint constitional demands to the government. He was elected to the presidenceship of the muslim league in 1916. In 1917 he joined Annie Besant's Home rule movement and was elected President of its Bombay branch . In 1919 he resigned from the imperial Legislative Council in his protest against the Rowlatt Act. His realtions with sour after the entery Gandhi in the congress. He was strongly disapproved Non Cooperation Movement. Because of these it creates the diffennces among the Muslim and Hindu . He resigned both from the congress and Home Rule League and hereafter he completely associated himself with the politics of Muslim League. In 1928 he proposed amendments to the Nehru Report and sought major concessions for the muslims. After that in 1929 he further demand for the things but it was not accepted . Due to these reason he returned to England in 1930 to practice at Privy Council and did not return until 1935 . Furthermore he was offered the leadership of Muslim League which he accepted. But in 1940 the league stuck to its demand of a separate state throughout the negotiation under the August Offer, Cripps Proposal ,Simla Conference and the Cabinet Mission Plan. Hence the Jinha also play a vital role in a partition of India.



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NOW WE ARE BEGINNING WITH OUR MAIN TOPIC THE PARTITION OF INDIA:

The emergence of partition of India began during the partition of Bengal in 1905. The main reason behind the partition of Bengal was a Lord Curzon who was the viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905. The partition of the Bengal of Bengal provinces came into effect during his viceroyalty in October 1905.

- 1. Since 1765 the provinces of Bengal which included present day of west Bengal, Odisha, Bihar, Bangladesh and Assam was under the British.
- 2. On that scenario Bengal was a very large area and populated was around almost 80 million by the first few year of a 20th Century. Culcutta was capital of provinces and also of British India.
- 3. There was a difficulty in administering such a large area .The eastern part mainly neglected. As these region was lacking in the education, employment and so on.
- 4. Initially Lord Curzon, proposed the partitioning of the provinces as an administrative measure solely. In 1904 he undertook the tour of eastern Bengal.
- 5. The idea of partitioning the Bengal as a political tool to undermine the growing of nationalism in Bengal and other parts of India occurred later.
- 6. Bengal would consist of a Hindu majority while the Eastern Bengal and the Assam was consist of a Muslim majority.
- 7. By the partition its reaction was widespread the political unrest in the provinces after the Curzon announced the partition .
- 8. Many people in Bengal regarded this partition as an insult to their motherland. There was a huge cry of unity in Bengal .That time Rabindranath tagore composed a song 'Amar Sonar Bangla' which later became the national anthem of a Bangladesh.
- 9. The Indian National Congress was protested against this move to separate the province in a communal lines. Most of the Bengali in western part protest against this step which would also make a linguistic minority in their own province, as there was more odia and hindi speaking people more than a Bengali . Many muslims welcomed these move since they thought that most muslims who were backward in education and economic status in Bengal compared to Hindu ,would benefit if they were in majority
- 10. As well as Curzon promised to muslims that he start the university in Dhaka . These was also an opportunity for them to improve their standard of living .
- 11. The main motive of partition was only to create a rift between the two communities and hampering the unity and nationalism in the country.
- 12. The agitation had started much before the date of partition itself. On the date of partition, people observed the a day of mourning. Tagore asked Hindu and Muslim to tie a rakhi to each other as a mark of protest. A few muslims was also opposed to these.
- 13. These partition did succeed in creating a communal rift in the country and it even contributed to the Birth to the Muslim League. Despite of these the partition did create a communal divide among the Hindu and Muslim of Bengal.
- 14. On the October 1906 a 35 member delegation of the muslim noble, aristocracies, legal professional and the other elite section of the community mostly associated with Aligarh movement gathered at Simla under the leadership of Agha Khan to present an address to Lord Minto.
- 15. They demanded proportionate representation of muslims in government jobs , appointment of muslim judges in High Court and members in viceroy council .

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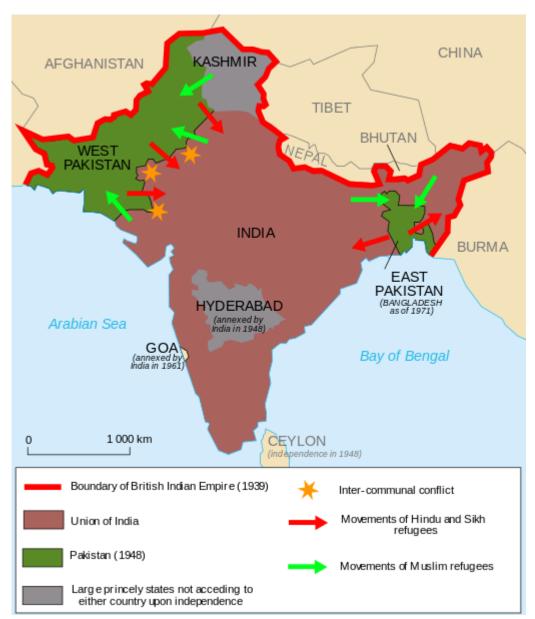


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- 16. The ideology of political exclusiveness in the name of religion birth to All –India Muslim League in the session of All India Mohammadan Educational Confernce held in Decca on December 1906.All India Muslim League was finally set up on dated December 30, 1906.
- 17. Nawab Salimullah, Chairman of the reception committee and also a chairperson of the political meeting proposed the creation of AIML.
- 18. A 56 member provisional Committee was consist of a prominent muslim leaders from different parts of the country. Also there was some muslims leaders within National Congress Party like Ali Imam , Hasan Imam and so on were included in the committee .
- 19. Mohsin –ul Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk were combinely made the secretaries .After the death of Mohsinul-Mulk , Viqar-ul-Mulk was in full control of the league.First session of league was held at Karachi on December 29 and 30
- 20. Mohmmad Ali Jinha was a prominent leader of Muslim League party as we alredy see that the jingha remain as a member of congress for a long time upto 1913.
- 21. But he always support the League movement for the separate electorate for muslim. As he always bargain for the reservation of a muslims.
- 22. In such way the Muslim League party emerged but before these there was only a one party which was known as a National Indian Congress Party and later on both these parties play a very significant role in a partition of India.
- 23. Hence we can easily able to understand that Muslim party was came into existence to save their communities because in that time the muslims were came in minority as on the other side Hindu came under the majority.



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Now the question will arise in our mind that from where the idea of partition was arised:

- 1. In 1947 it was decided that India would have independence from Britain .In july 1947 the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act that made independence from Britain final.
- 2. The Movement for Independence in India began in 1857 Mahatma Gandhi led the movement from the 1920 inspiring the masses with his belief in civil rights and non-violence .In 1942 as Britain was fighting a war with Nazi Germany the Indian National Congress launched the 'Quit India 'movement , and British promised to grant India independence after the war.
- 3. Due to the weakened state of British economy post war it was unable to resist the demand for the independence of India. Hence it was decided with the independence by the Lord Mountbatten planed out the terms and details of the partition between Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan.
- 4. As the power of a British Government lose their rule over the India .The British government said that we can frame a constitution for India .As it gave rise to Cabinet Mission Plan 1946
- 5. In which there was so many recommendation and provision were introduced by the British. In which it was mentioned that the power must be given to the Indian Leaders to run their nation in their own



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way and apart from that they wanted their interference in India Politics. Also in provision they specifically mentioned that their must be a two dominion nation developed.

- 6. They also mentioned that the India must be in a form of a small province which we now called as a states .As it make the central government weak . Simultaneously it gave rise the formation of a Constituent Assembly which formed representative of Provincial Assemblies and Princely State each provinces allotted a total number of seats in proportition to its population.
- 7. Assembly consist of a 293 Members from the British Provinces and 93 Members from a princely states . As Cabinet Mission restricted the Communal Representation .
- 8. Thus we can see that though the Cabinet Mission Plan was rejected the idea of Pakistan, yet it grouped the provinces in such a way that it gave a weightage to the idea of a Pakistan.
- 9. As our leaders decided that if we are going to free then why we gave them a right to interference in our matter and why we run our country administration according to their way.
- 10. As it reactions lead that Congress accepted the proposals related to the constituent assembly .But since the Muslim League had been given disproportionate it rejected the idea of a Interim Government .Congress was also rejected the idea of a weak center and division of India in small states. Muslim League firstly approved the Plan. But Congress declared their must be a change in the schemes through its majority in the constituent assembly.

On July 27, Muslim League Council met at Bombay where Jinha reiterated the demand for Pakistan only course left open to the Muslim League, and on 29 july it rejected the plan and called the Muslims to resort to 'Direct Action' to achieve the land of their dream Pakistan.

- 1. Furthermore it emphasis that there was a hold among the Mohmmad Ali Jinha and the Jawaharlal Nehru for being a First Pime minister of India .
- 2. Gandhi ji first choice was Sardar Vallahbhai Patel as a Prime Minister of India. But due to some reason he denied for the post and gave a advice to Gandhi ji that Jawaharlal Nehru was more suitable for these post, and he accepted the post of Home Minister.
- 3. When Jinha knows about that Congress Party thinking for a Prime minister he showed his willingness to the Congress party that he would like to become a Prime minister.
- 4. Congress Party didn't want that the Jinha become a Prime minister. As we already see that Jinha show his interest to make a separate state for muslims in India but the Congress Party reject his view. Because of these he arise his demand if they didn't allow them to make a separate state for muslims so gave him a opportunity to became a Prime Minister. But Congress Party also dined his proposal.

The question which is immediately arise in our mind that did Gandhiji wanted to saw a Jinha as aPrime Minister of India?

- 1. The answer of these question is so controversial some say yes and some say no but by referring so many sites ,news, videos I come to know that Gandhi Ji never wanted that Jinha to became a first Prime Minister of India, as I already mentioned his first choice as a Prime Minister was a Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel. The reason behind the thinking of Gandhi ji not to made a Jinha as a Prime Minister was that after formation of muslim league he became so ambitious and started to think only about his community. As he was a ambassador of Hindu Muslim Unity.
- 2. But when Mohmmad Ali Jinha started to demand for partition Gandhi ji agreed to make him a Prime Minister but Indian National Congress didn't support his opinion.



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- 3. Specifically the muslim league also did not accept Indian Independence if it were governed by the Hindu dominated Congress Party .
- 4. As it lead to 'Direct Action' unfortunately reality of partition and and the mass of migration that came with it was nothing like they imagined .Millions of Muslim were
- 5. living in India and millions of Hindu and Sikh found themselves in the land of the newly created Pakistan and they have to move.
- 6. As a result the country was split divided by the religion. It was agreed by the British Prime Minister Clement Attle and the Indian Leaders that two nation should be created one for muslims and another for Hindu.
- 7. The Radcliffe line was marked as a boundary between the two new countries .After the partition there were 330 millions people in India ,30 millions in West Pakistan and 30 millions people in East Pakistan which is now a Bangladesh.
- 8. On both sides there was a 83,000 women and girls abducted or raped during the partition. As it led to the largest mass migration in human history with 15 million people migrating, mainly their foot, to their new religion homeland.
- 9. In 1951 Census of India 2% of the population were refugee.
- 10. The Provinces of Punjab was spilt down the middle by partition ,this area had the most conflict during the partition.
- 11. There were mass roits in places like New Delhi where all sense of law and order broke down.
- 12. During the partition there was a war which arises between Hindu and Muslim as muslims acquire some portion of a Kashmir ,being a Home Minister Vallabh Bhai Patel made treaty with Kashmir Prince that you have to be a part of India and we can say you from these war he agreed . As Vallabh Bhai Patel sent a military and captured the land which was acquired by them . Hence it make a big impact over the India .Still India are facing a problems of Kashmir .
- 13. PM Modi in his speech indicated that if Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel be a prime minister then the 370 would not be applicable or it cannot be come in existence.
- 14. The violence that accompanied the partition of India created an atmosphere of hostility between Pakistan and India still today.

Causes of Partition:

- **a. Activities of Muslim League**: The British Government played a significant role in the formation of a Muslim League .As they wanted to create a dissension among the people in India in order to consolidate their own position. As it spread the poison of communalism and the muslim leaders had their own axe to grind through the medium of this organization. Mohmmad Jinha two nation was a slogan for the separate nation for the Indian Muslim.
- **b.** Congress Policy of Appeasement: There was no doubt ,in the partition of India and making of Pakistan ,the policy of English Government 'Divide and Rule' and the Muslim League were responsible to a great extent but the policy of appeasement of the muslims adopted by the congress also proved helpful in this field .Congress didn't understand the isolationist and aggressive policy of Muslim and it continued to sustain the false miracle by which the communal problem could be averted forever.
- **c.** Communal Reaction : Muslim Communalism and Hindu Communalism also came into being .There was a organization of Hindu. Hindu Maha Sabha only raised a slogan for establishment of nation but it



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was also blamed for the Anti-Hindu organization. While Muslims communalism raised the slogan for the separation of a nation.

- **d.** Congress Policy of strengthening India: Congress try to make their policy so strong. British also lead to the development of transfer of power which create a dispute among the Hindu and Muslim on the basis of religion. As the british government play a significant role in Partition.
- **e. Formation of weak Pakistan:** Various leaders of India opined that from political, economic, geographical and military points of view, Pakistan would prove to be a weak nation instead of being a stable one and owing to its own shortcomings; Pakistan could again be incorporated into India. In fact, the unwanted optimism of the Indian leaders also contributed to the making of Pakistan.
- **f. Development Transfer of power**: The British Prime Minister Attlee declared on 20th Feb. 1947 A.D. that in every condition the English would leave India by June 1948 A.D. This declaration created a fear in the hearts of the Indian leaders in cases, India was not divided by that date, a civil war would breakout and the country divided into various parts. So, the members of the congress accepted the partition proposal because they did not want to annoy Mountbatten nor did they wish to offend the British Government in that any valid reason.
- g. After acceptance of the partition of India by the Muslim League riots broke out in different parts of country. On 20th Feb. 1947 A.D. the British Prime Minister declared that by June 1948 A.D. they would leave Indian by all mean and in the meant time the British drew up the Indian Independence Act of 1947 A.D.
- **h. Provision of the Indian Independence Act**: The following were the main provision of Indian Independence Act of 1947 A.D.
- i. On 15th August 1947 A.D. after the partition of India two Independent kingdoms, such as India and Pakistan would be established.
- ii. In the territory of India all the provinces of British India would be included excepting the territory which would be included in Pakistan.
- iii. Eastern Bengal, Western Punjab, Sindh and North West Frontier province would be included in Pakistan.
- iv. Both the nations would decide of their own accord if they had to accept the membership of the British common wealth of nations or not.
- v. The British crown would appoint separate governor generals in both the states but in case both of them wanted to share one viceroy with their mutual consent, they could be permitted.
- vi. The supremacy of the crown would come to an end and pacts so far made between the crown and the native rulers would be treated as nullified.
- vii. The title of Emperor of India awarded to the British crown would be abolished and the post of the Secretary of state for India would also come to and end.
- viii. The native rulers would have the choice to accede to any state according to their own choice. So the second phase of the constitutional development of India also came to end on the 15th August, 1947 A.D. at midnight and India became free.

M.K GANDHI VS MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH THE DEBATE OVER PARTITION:

Gandhi and Jinnah interaction period to- 1937.

- a) Progress of the debate- (1937-1942)
- b) Progress of the debate -(1943-1944)



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c) Progress of the debate -(1945-1948)

MOHANDAS GANDHI and Mohammed Ali Jinnah were unmistakably two of the most important leaders in modern India. Inspired by his successful campaign for Indian rights in South Africa, Gandhi returned home in 1915 and later led his nation's quest for Independence. His saint-like approach to politics and endless crusades for social reform won him a global admiration bordering on deification. Jinnah, too, attracted a large following. A tireless spokesman for minority rights, he finally became the symbol of Muslim regeneration in India. Through his efforts, the map of Asia was redrawn in 1947, and millions of Muslims continue to revere him as the Father of Pakistan.

The lives of these two figures bore some striking similarities. Both came from Hindu, Gujarati-speaking ancestry. Both were British-trained lawyers who spent long periods outside of India. Both established political power through a political party: Gandhi via the Congress Party and Jinnah through the Muslim League. Both were associated with a major poet: Gandhi with Tagore and Jinnah with Iqbal. Each man was the target of attempted assassination by a fanatic of his own religion. Their respective followers gave to each a laudatory title: "Mahatma" (Great Soul) Gandhi and "Qaid-e-Azam" (Great Leader) Jinnah. Both suffered from poor health, and they died in the same year (1948).

But despite these similarities, Gandhi and Jinnah personified opposite polarities in Indian politics. Their orientations to life stood in vivid contrast. The deeply-spiritual Gandhi viewed the world in terms of universal principles and moral truths. His ascetic habits, simple dress, and prayerful introspection reflected the struggle to purify his own soul. Jinnah, on the other hand, was a worldly, westernized aristocrat, cold and austere, pragmatic and clever. His mind worked not on the basis of ethical idealism, but from the skilled tactics of a shrewd parliamentarian.

As early as 1920, Gandhi and Jinnah came into direct clash over the course of the Indian nationalist movement. Gandhi, supported by the powerful Congress Party, launched a program of non-violent non-cooperation, based on his philosophy of satyagraha (truthforce). Jinnah objected to mass disobedience, preferring reasoned constitutional reforms. For the next fifteen years, Jinnah endured considerable frustration over his inability to persuade the Congress to abandon its militant opposition to British colonialism.

Beginning in 1935, Jinnah dedicated his energies to developing Muslim solidarity behind the Muslim League. Waging a strenuous campaign, he warned India's Muslims of their impending enslavement unless they united in opposition to the headstrong, Hindu-dominated Congress Party. Communal competition became his obsession. After March 23, 1940, when the Muslim League passed the historic "Lahore Resolution" calling for a separate Islamic nation, Jinnah unswervingly pursued the creation of Pakistan. Jinnah's crusade rested on the premise that Muslims represented a nation totally distinct from Hindus and were, therefore, entitled to a sovereign homeland. Gandhi could never agree that differences in religion altered the common nationality of all Indians. Moreover, he was frustrated because the communal conflict within India weakened any united effort to win Independence. During the decade between 1937 and the formation of Pakistan on August 15, 1947, these two antagonists engaged in an extended debate. The face-to-face "Talks" of September 9-27, 1944 highlighted their years of interaction. This study reveals that in their debate over Partition, Gandhi and Jinnah resorted to arguments and assumptions typifying their polarized feelings concerning Hindu Muslim relations. The following chart summarizes some of the major points of disagreement:



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	JINNAH	GANDHI
1	The Congress Party stands for Hindu rule.	The Congress Party is a national body
	-	standing for Indian independence
2	The Muslim League is the sole	The League is only one among many
	representative of Indian Muslims.	Muslim political parties.
3	Gandhi speaks only for Hindus.	Gandhi speaks for all Indians.
4	The communal issue must be settled	Independence must be achieved first and
	before independence or else the Hindu	then any domestic problems can be solved
	Congress would subject Muslims to	by Indians themselves.
	slavery.	
5	Indian unity is a myth resulting from the	. India is a united nation; the British
	imposition of British rule	presence has caused the present
		divisiveness.
6	The myth of a united India can only lead	Muslim communalism is weakening the
	to endless strife, giving the British an	nationalistic efforts of Congress, thus
	excuse to stay.	prolonging British rule
7	Hindus and Muslims are irreconcilably	Indian Muslims are merely converted
	antagonistic	Hindus
8	Hindus and Muslims are two distinct	A person's nationality does not change just
	nations.	because he changes religion.
9	Both groups could progress better if in	Partition would not materially benefit
	charge of their own destiny.	Muslims.
10	The creation of Pakistan would lead to	Two communally-based nations could go
	peace by ending communal competi-tion	to war against each other.
	within a single state.	
11	Ireland-Britain and Burma-India are	There are no historical precedents for a
10	precedents for partition.	religious group to call itself a nation
12	Government and religion cannot be	Secular government is not concerned with
12	separated in India. Gandhi does not under-stand the	matters of faith.
13		Partition is opposed to the spirit of Islam.
14	yearnings of Muslims. Gandhi must first accept the principle of	Various details can be discussed but the
14	partition and then the details will resolve	principle can never be agreed to because it
	themselves.	is an untruth.
15	Pakistan must be a totally independent,	A separate Muslim state can exist as long
13	sovereign nation.	as it remains within the Indian nation.
16	Muslims have an inherent right to a	India is the homeland of all religious
10	homeland.	groups.
17	No non-Muslims can have any say in	Any separation must have the approval of
1	determining the future of the Muslim	all of the people in the affected area
	nation.	and of the people in the different men
	1002311	



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The foregoing chart illustrates the intensity of the Gandhi-Jinnah cleavage. Indeed, one is almost tempted to share the frustration of an observer who, at the height of the partition debate, facetiously remarked that the only thing they had in common was "excessive thinness."491 Jinnah emphasized the differences between the two religions, and capitalized on factors in Indian history, such as the deeply entrenched caste system, which perpetuated Hindu-Muslim provincialism. Gandhi concentrated on what the two groups shared, pointing to various areas of life in which they were barely distinguishable. Thus, one must conclude that the diversity and ambiguities of Indian society provided sufficient evidence to make both positions appear credible.

Jinnah recognized that to achieve the goal of Pakistan, he needed to create a clear dichotomy in Indian politics. Toward this end, he travelled extensively throughout India seeking to consolidate Muslim opinion behind the League. In rallying the masses Jinnah relied heavily on emotional appeals. He emphasized the pride and self-respect of Muslims and recalled the days of Moghul greatness. He frequently spoke of the heritage of Islamic culture, approvingly referring to the Koran. He rarely missed the opportunity to issue a message to Muslims on major Islamic holidays. Although not an especially devout Muslim himself, the League president seemed attuned to the strong sense of group solidarity latent within the Muslim community.

While religious emotion formed the foundation for the Pakistan demand, Jinnah did not advocate partition for any theological objectives. Clearly, his motivation was political. He sought to mobilize Muslims in order to effectively challenge the power of the Congress Party. Jinnah consistently portrayed that body as Islam's great enemy, charging its Hindu leaders with a fascist desire to eternally enslave the Muslim minority. He blatantly claimed that, without Pakistan, India's Muslims were doomed to a fate worse than that of the Jews in Nazi Germany. Thus, Jinnah played heavily upon fear —the fear of Hindu domination—as a major rhetorical weapon. Jinnah also resorted to an endless ridicule of Gandhi as the greatest single threat to Muslims. Due to his own pronounced Hindu character, Gandhi became a perfect scapegoat. Jinnah never tired of recounting his adversary's unrestrained enthusiasm for Hindu beliefs and culture. Much to the consternation of Congress leaders, Jinnah promoted a communally based dichotomy in Indian politics by repeatedly juxtaposing himself as the Muslim counterpart of the Hindu Gandhi.

Much of Jinnah's success in mobilizing the Muslim masses sprang from his organizational activities on behalf of partition. Working through the Muslim League, Jinnah engineered rallies, marches, and celebrations aimed at solidifying Islamic sentiment. The League waged an extensive propaganda campaign on behalf of Pakistan, and published reports of alleged atrocities by Congress provincial governments. While many Hindu leaders languished in British detention during 1942- 45, Jinnah used those years to strengthen his following. Sizable League victories in the 1945-46 elections firmly established his political prominence, providing the base of power he needed to achieve Pakistan.

Gandhi also approached the debate with a high degree of emotional intensity. Like Jinnah, he described his involvement in the partition issue as a matter of life and death. Out of a profound respect for all religions, Gandhi characterized the effort to turn Muslims against Hindus as unmitigated evil. He chose emotionally charged verbs such as "cut, carve," and "vivisect" to describe the act of partition. Several times he pleaded that his own body be cut to pieces before the knife be applied to "mother India." In addition, his non-verbal rhetoric, such as his fasts for communal harmony, represented a largely emotional appeal to the sympathy of the masses.

This study of Gandhi supports the contentions of the Asian scholars discussed in Chapter 1, who characterized Hinduism as an intuitive, synthesizing tradition concerned with discovering universal truths



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and cosmic wholeness. Throughout the partition debate, Gandhi maintained a conciliatory approach to Jinnah, always trying to minimize their cleavage. For example, Gandhi often referred to his Muslim friends in South Africa, in the Khilafat Movement of the 1920's, and within the Congress Party itself. In 1940, he attempted to portray Jinnah as uniting non-Congress elements in a non-sectarian coalition. In 1944, he attributed their talks to a mutual effort at reaching a common solution. During his walking tours of 1946-47, he frequently quoted from Jinnah's peace appeal, noting its universal significance. Even after Partition, Gandhi stoutly rejected the principle of disunity.

In the years immediately preceding Partition, the Gandhi-Jinnah interaction grew increasingly oblique. Jinnah became deeply involved in the political negotiations which formed a new nation whose leadership be assumed. Gandhi moved to the periphery of decision making, remaining close to India's public in an effort to stop communal hatred. By the time of India's Independence and simultaneous creation of Pakistan, both the two antagonists seemed weary and disillusioned. Gandhi's dream of a free, united India was shattered. Jinnah was left with what he earlier described as mutilated, moth-eaten remnants of the Muslim areas, and his new nation was divided by great cultural differences and nearly a thousand miles of alien territory. Weakened by years of poor health, the two septuagenarians appeared incapable of meeting the needs of new nations requiring strong and vigorous leadership. Within thirteen months after Partition, both Gandhi and Jinnah were dead.

AN EVALUATION OF THE DEBATE:

Since the Gandhi-Jinnah confrontation involved a forensic contest between two opponents, the rhetorical critic may justifiably, and perhaps inevitably, seek to determine who won. The assigning of victory and defeat is a difficult task in any interpersonal dispute, but especially so in one involving the fate of nations. Any assessment of the partition debate must take into account not only the arguments and appeals of each protagonist, but also the impact of Partition on the later history of Asia At least three different judgments can be drawn, depending on one's level of interpretation.

First, the results of the debate warrant the conclusion that neither advocate won, in the sense that neither man converted his opponent. Both Gandhi and Jinnah stated several times during the decade of their dispute that each sought to persuade the other. Both men, in fact, publicly expressed disappointment at not having changed their adversary's position.493 Admittedly, Gandhi made statements which, if taken out of context, would appear to condone the creation of Pakistan. However, such statements were always accompanied by hypothetical and conditional terms negating any acceptance of the principle of division. Indeed, even after Partition he spent considerable effort urging Hindus and Muslims to disprove Jinnah's two-nations theory by living together in peace.

The mutual failure in persuasion underscored the fact that the debate constituted an interesting illustration of dogmatic thinking. In their unswerving devotion to a given view, each man demonstrated elements of dogmatism, a trait not uncommon in most debates, particularly in clashes of political or religious belief.494 Motivated by his utter intolerance of a Hindu-dominated government, Jinnah emphatically admitted that he would not compromise the Pakistan demand. And even after most of his Congress associates capitulated to partition, Gandhi remained adamantly opposed to it. By branding India's division an evil and a sin, he essentially removed it from the realm of rational debate. Neither advocate succeeded in weakening his opponent's belief in the rightness of his own position.

At a second level of interpretation, one might justifiably conclude that Jinnah clearly won the debate. Pakistan was created, and that was his goal. He became the ruler of the world's second largest Islamic



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nation (after Indonesia). Even Gandhi's own biographer conceded: "The cold and immaculate Jinnah had triumphed over Gandhi."495 In arguing for a change in India's apparent unity, Jinnah successfully shouldered the burden of proof in the partition debate.496 To win, he had to prove that India's Muslims represented a united political force in opposition to the Hindu-dominated Congress Party. This he accomplished by effectively employing emotional appeals well-adapted to the Muslim population. Uncompromising Congress policies between 1937 and 1942 lent credence to his alarming charges that an independent India would mean a Hindu dictatorship. With the abstract goal of Pakistan, he offered an attractive alternative to alleged Muslim slavery, and the 1945-46 elections confirmed his position. Even when established as a prominent politician, he also had to prove that Hindus and Muslims could not live together in one country. The debacle of the Interim government and widespread communal violence of 1946-47 seemed to confirm that, too.

A number of strategic maneuvers helped Jinnah create a religious dichotomy in Indian politics. For example, by bargaining Muslim support of the war effort, be gained British sympathy for minority safeguards. In keeping Muslims aloof from the 1942 "Quit India" campaign, he demonstrated that the Congress did not represent his followers. His faceto-face meetings and joint peace appeals with Gandhi reinforced the contention that Hindus and Muslims had separate spokesmen. Jinnah was especially clever in turning negotiations with the British to his own advantage. The apparent failures of the Cripps Proposals in 1942, the Simla Conference in 1945, and the Cabinet Mission in 1946 actually represented tactical victories for Jinnah. Each failure further established him as the voice of Muslim opinion while indicating that little constitutional progress could be made without an accommodation of his demands.

In further stating the case for Jinnah's victory, one could argue that Gandhi had been his own worst enemy in his pursuit of communal unity. For he, after all, had injected religion into politics ever since the 1920's. In an effort to mobilize the masses, he had consciously manipulated Hindu symbols and values in campaigning against British colonialism. Noted Penderel Moon: This Hinduising of the national movement, which Gandhi's leadership promoted and symbolized, was injurious and ultimately fatal to Hindu-Muslim unity. But Gandhi failed to see the danger. Conscious only of his own goodwill towards the Muslims he was obstinately blind to the adverse effects on Muslim opinion of his own pronounced Hinduism. His basic concepts, his moral values and ideals, even his fads and foibles, were of Hindu origin; in his writings and speeches he constantly employed language, imagery and symbolism undisguisedly derived from Hindu sources; and he often appeared to evince as much interest in the reform of Hinduism as in the attainment of Independence, and indeed more or less to equate them.

The irony of the Mahatma's inevitably spiritual (and therefore, Hindu) approach to politics was also emphasized by Gunnar Myrdal: "... Gandhi more than anyone else ... helped to transform Jinnah from a keen Indian nationalist into the architect of Pakistan." In his efforts to appeal to Muslim increased his Hindu image. For example, he often claimed to be as much a Muslim or for Jew as a Hindu, because his faith embraced all religions. Such a contention unmistakably reflected the absorptive and transcendent characteristics typical of Hinduism but largely absent in Islam. Thus, the very nature of his attempts to gain Muslim sympathy marked Gandhi as a Hindu.

Perhaps the major cause for Jinnah's victory lay in the nature of political debate itself. In the partition controversy Jinnah was playing at his own game. Schooled in law and a parliamentarian by inclination, he adjusted readily to the demands of intense negotiation. Gandhi, on the other hand, tried to carry a moral crusade into the political arena. Even as communal riots in 1946-47 foredoomed Indian unity, Gandhi



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viewed the chaos as a laboratory for his experiments with ahimsa. His moral idealism seemed hopelessly out of place in a struggle of power politics.

But on a third level of analysis, one could argue that Gandhi won the debate, in the sense that his was the greater wisdom. Partition, after all, did not solve the communal problem, it simply internationalized it. The gross weakness of Jinnah's logic was underscored by Wilfred Smith, who wrote in 1946: If Muslims in the present India, constituting a minority of 23.5 percent, deserve the right to secede, how can one visualize a Pakistan with non-Muslim minorities of 40 percent and more?

If Hindus and Muslims could not live together in India because they were totally antagonistic cultures, as Jinnah argued, how could they then live together in Pakistan, as he said they would? And if differences in culture formed a basis for nationhood, as he maintained, then East and West Pakistan should not logically have been united in one country. Indeed, emergence of Bangla Desh in 1971 confirmed the absurdity of the creation of a bisected Pakistan. The folly of Partition was further illustrated by the severe administrative, economic, and social disruption which it unleashed. As Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs scrambled toward "their" side of the new boundary, massive violence erupted. An estimated 600,000 persons were killed, and the migration involved up to fifteen million people. In his lurid depiction of the slaughter following Partition, Mosley concluded that "there took place, murder, looting, burning, and raping such as the world has not seen since the days of Jenghis Khan." Gandhi had predicted that granting Jinnah's demand would not necessarily bring peace, and two years after Independence Jawaharlal Nehru admitted that had he foreseen the dire consequences of Partition, he would not have agreed to it. The economic hardships of Partition were acute, especially for Pakistan. Short in trained civil servants, the new nation had to arrange the transfer of commercial and trading interests, establish a currency and finance system, and promote new industry. Programs for agricultural development and land reform were largely absent. While producing large amounts of cotton and jute, Pakistan was cut off from the processing mills, most of which were in India.

Blessed with hindsight, numerous historians have vindicated Gandhi by acknowledging the tragedy of Partition. For example, Majumder called it "an unmitigated evil for all concerned." Brown described it as "a subcontinental disaster." D'Cruz labelled it "a monumental folly." But perhaps one of the most significant recognitions of the havoc created by India's division was Jinnah's own assessment, contained in his Id-ul-Fitr Message to the Pakistan nation August 27, 1948, just two weeks before his death: The blood bath of last year and its aftermath—the mass migration of millions— presented a problem of unprecedented magnitude. To provide new moorings for this mass of drifting humanity strained our energies and resources to breaking point. The immensity of the task very nearly overwhelmed us and we could only just keep our heads above water.

Gandhi's instinct rebelled against the irrationality of Partition. He correctly perceived that the establishing of two antagonistic neighbors could endanger the future peace of Asia. He recognized that the strength and progress of any pluralistic society requires the subordination of religious differences to a sense of common purpose and brotherhood; Jinnah immediately acclaimed that truth, too, once he had achieved Pakistan. But communal passions and the prospects of power blunted India's capacity for logical decision making in 1947. Gandhi became a prophet without honor in his own country, a voice of moral conscience in a land gone mad with extremism. And although his own emotionalism sometimes camouflaged Gandhi's demonstration of the illogic of Partition, he nevertheless personified the wiser path of toleration and reason. George Bernard Shaw's witticism aptly summarized the uncompromising Muslim demand: "Pakistan is not rational, it is national."



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While one's assessment of the winner in the Gandhi Jinnah debate depends on the critic's orientation and level of interpretation, several additional observations might warrant general acceptance. For example, both of the antagonists seemed somewhat naive in their respective positions. In pleading that India must first achieve independence and then settle any domestic disputes, Gandhi tended to overlook the depth of the communal cleavage. His own spirituality caused him to underestimate the partisan susceptibilities of the Indian masses, and thus to minimize the internal divisiveness which would have plagued India had it remained united. Similarly, Jinnah portrayed partition as the cure-all for India's problems without offering specific plans for its efficient execution. His references to "independent zones" in the late 1930's and early 1940's were vague at best, and the hasty preparations for division in the summer of 1947 further indicated a lack of realistic planning and foresight.

As the partition debate wore on, it became increasingly apparent that Gandhi's persuasive task was harder than that of his opponent. Jinnah appealed primarily to a Muslim audience, urging unity and solidarity within that group. Gandhi's audience was far more heterogeneous since he sought to unify all Indians. The greater diversity of his audience meant a more difficult task in persuasion, for he had to combat not only the communal message of the Muslim League but also the centrifugal forces of Hindu extremists such as the Mahasabhites. Gandhi was caught between the communal crossfire. Jinnah made good advantage of the situation, frequently quoting Mahasabha propagandists as proof that even Gandhi's fellow Hindu rejected communal harmony.

Still another advantage for Jinnah was the presence of the British. The colonial policy of separate electorates, inaugurated with the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, helped promote communally-based politics in India. And the British refusal to leave India in the early 1940's provided Jinnah the time he needed to consolidate power. Thus while the British officially opposed partition, their continued presence ultimately contributed to its consummation.

Students of the partition debate will also note the dramatic change in Jinnah's approach to politics. As a young lawyer he had opposed Gandhi's methods of mass persuasion. In his campaign for Pakistan, however, Jinnah himself made good use of techniques designed to consolidate the masses in concerted action. Under his leadership the Muslim League sponsored public demonstrations, floated banners picturing Islamic symbols, and promoted the waving of black flags to protest the Congress entry into the Interim government. The adoption of Direct Action Day in 1946 was probably the most dramatic League effort to involve the masses in political action. One might even assert that Gandhi, in a sense, taught his opponent the tactics of mass persuasion. At least he had set the example.

The advocates in this debate operated from two widely contrasting views of human nature. Gandhi appeared to perceive man as essentially good. Motivated by a belief in the potential perfectibility of all people, he consistently appealed to the best instincts of his listeners, hoping that the realization of truth-force in their individual lives might wean the opposition. Jinnah's orientation was far more pessimistic. He viewed men, especially Hindus, as untrustworthy and even evil by design. Somewhat reminiscent of Machiavelli, he believed that leaders should develop power through group identification and collective force rather than by infusing private morality into the body politic. Such a philosophical framework helps explain Jinnah's rhetorical strategy of appealing to partisan pride and fear.

The partition debate unmistakably hinged on two conflicting concepts of nationhood. Gandhi's broad, secular, Indian nationalism challenged Jinnah's more narrow, sectarian, Muslim nationalism. Gandhi exhibited sound logic in rejecting his opponent's assertion that religion alone determined nationality, for



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if that were true, "then there were many nations in India." And if Islam were some great monolithic nation, as Jinnah's position implied, how could one explain the many separate nation-states in the Arab world? While cultural distinctions between Hinduism and Islam were inevitably tied to the Gandhi-Jinnah confrontation, their dispute more closely mirrored the political power struggle between the Muslim League and the Congress Party. Religion seemed merely a convenient method of choosing sides. Ultimately, the test of nationhood is not necessarily based on logic, historical precedents, or even cultural affinities: "... nationalities turn into nations when they acquire power to back up their aspirations."510 And by 1947, Jinnah and the Muslim League had garnered sufficient power—both in popular support and through the threat of civil war—to achieve Pakistan.

While this study has been limited to the Gandhi-Jinnah debate over Indian Partition, such a complex issue easily lends itself to other areas of investigation. The following suggestions might be pursued further by both the student of Asian history and the rhetorical critic. A similar analysis could be made of the clash between Jinnah and Jawaharlal Nehru which ran concurrent with the Gandhi dispute. Their confrontation lacked some of the brotherly feeling provided by Gandhi. Jinnah and Nehru more closely resembled each other in temperament, and their disagreements were at times undisguisedly harsh. Jinnah's relationship to other Congress Party leaders, such as Vallabhbhai Patel, Abul Kalam Azad, and Chakravarti Rajagopalachari might also be studied. Another topic of investigation could be the nature of Muslim League propaganda. Pamphlets, newspapers, and numerous orators assisted Jinnah in spreading charges of Hindu treachery to the Muslim masses. Indeed, India in the 1940's seemed to be a living laboratory of revolutionary propaganda. The rhetoric of the extremist Hindu Mahasabha Party was another element in the partition debate worthy of study. Its vicious tirades about Hindu supremacy significantly aided Jinnah in that they widened the communal gulf by promoting the theory that Hindus and Muslims could not, and should not, coexist. Joining the Mahasabhites in their anti-Muslim crusade was the Rashtriya Sevak Sangha (R.S.S.), a militant paramilitary group openly dedicated to communal violence.

Still another task would be to assess Jinnah's role in the partition movement. Historians differ as to whether or not his leadership was indispensable to the creation of Pakistan. Certainly his role was central, and Mosley contended that "Pakistan was the one-man achievement of Mohammad Ali Jinnah." However, Symonds argued that Muslim nationalism was sufficiently strong that even "if there had been no Jinnah, it still seems probable that there would have been a Pakistan." Perhaps this dispute is one of history's unanswerable.

Another topic meriting additional attention is the extent to which present-day politics in India reflect religious allegiances. Are some of Jinnah's ideas and arguments still evident in the public utterances of Pakistani leaders? To what extent have military and strategic considerations caused Indian leaders to forsake Gandhi's premises? In what ways do centrifugal tendencies, such as language riots and demands for Pathan autonomy, present continuing impediments to the cultural and national unity of the subcontinent?

The emergence of Bangla Desh as a nation in 1971 provides another possibility for fruitful research. The roots of the conflict which led to the secession and war over East Pakistan can be traced directly to the partition movement of the 1930's and 1940's. Undeniably, the rhetoric of partition advocates exhibited a West Pakistan bias. On April 24, 1943, Jinnah declared that "the Punjab is the cornerstone of Pakistan." As late as May, 1947, the Press reported that Jinnah would agree to dropping the Bengal from his plan if the entire Western zone were conceded to him. Even the geographical areas denoted by the acronym, Pakistan,



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all were in western India. There was no "B" for the Bengal, even though that section contained the larger population.

CONCLUSION:

As a researcher I come to conclusion that the partition of India was become possible by the Britisher policy 'Divide and Rule'. As they aware that after passing the Independence act they were loosing the control over the India. So they started to divide the country into two nation on the basis of religions. On that age Muslims were in minority while Hindu were in majority on the basis of religion they decided to separate a nation. Hence we cannot say that the partition of India become possible only because of British but it can be said that the idea of partition has been emerged or arised by them. During Partition of India 'All India Muslim League' and 'National Congress Party' play a very major role. During the partition the formation of Muslim League party emerge to protect the interest of minority which was under the control of Mohmmad Ali Jinha, due to these time certain condition arises which made a Jinha as a protector of a muslims minority. After these he became so ambitious and started to think only about his community. Furthermore he started to demand a separate states which was disapproved by a Congress Party. They didn't want such division of states which was created on the basis of caste. Another major issue which leads the partition speedly that who will became a first Prime-minister of India when Jinha knows that Congress Party thimking about the post for Prime Minister he show his willingness to became a prime minister. But Congress Party did not want that jinha be a prime minister the reason behind of these he was thinking only about his community .As Gandhiji first choice as a prime minister was a Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel . But after his refusal Party decided to made Jawaherlal Nehru as a prime minister . When Jinha knows about it he get angry and started to demand a separate nation which is know called as a Pakistan .Hence for the partition of India not only British responsible but also Muslim League and Congress Party. All are equally responsible for a 'Partition of India'.

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