

MAHATMA GANDHI'S IDEOLOGY ON COMMUNALISM IN INDIA

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Introduction

Mahatma Gandhi lovingly remembered as Bapu (Father of the Nation) so completely dominated the Indian scene from 1919 to 1948 that this period is rightly called the Gandhian era in Indian history. Mahatma was a freedom fighter who started his political career path in 1893 in South Africa. He continued his fight in India from 1914 until India achieved its independence on 15th of August, 1947 and had attained his ideology till the following year. Much has been written and spoken about this man, who was well known for his non-violence base of ideology. Satyagraha and Ahimsa were among his philosophies supported as well as opposed at the same time by the Hindus and Muslims. Gandhi maintained that God is Truth and Truth is God and further that God is Love and Love is God¹.

Mahatma inspired the people for following the five fundamental principles through nonviolent means² :

1. To spin the Charkha,
2. To remove untouchability
3. To prohibit taking intoxicating drugs;
4. To maintain the unity among the Hindus and Muslims; and
5. To maintain the principle of equality towards the women.

Hindu — Muslim Unity

He was a very tolerant person³ and tried hard to settle communal disputes amongst the majority Hindus and the minority Muslims. Moreover, he refused to fight for a total independence for India as long as the disputes were not settled among these communities in his fight against the canker of communalism, Gandhi wanted the people to realise that communalism in India was the result of the "recent," "urban" folly of looking upon one religion as better than the other⁴. Due to his undivided effort, some Hindu leaders⁵ accused Gandhi of being more sympathetic towards the Muslims. On the other hand, some Islam leaders assumed Gandhi was inconsistent in his efforts to unite the Hindus and Muslims because he was influenced by some extreme Hindu leaders such as Malaviya and Lajpat Rai⁶. Some Hindu leaders dispersed themselves from Gandhi and his Khilafat Movement fight for freedom. They started a separate movement that aimed at evoking freedom spirit among the Hindus⁷. Never the less, Gandhi dared to strive against the odds despite life threats because he believed in the spirit of unity among the Hindus and Muslims.

After almost a decade, in the early 1915 Gandhi returned to India from South Africa⁸. He returned with a firm mind when he succeeded in his fight through Satyagraha against racial discrimination⁹ and law enforcement by the South African regime. His victory came only after he was imprisoned many times¹⁰. He faced challenges not just from the rulers, but also from some of the Indians in South Africa. For example, Gandhi was attacked and hit by Mir Alam, from a Pathan clan together with his unknown follower when Gandhi was on his way to obtain registration certificates as Asians under the *Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance* after getting into an agreement with the government. This happened because they disagreed with Gandhi's decision and action to accept the regime's law. Due to this attack, Gandhi fell and collapsed even then he managed to utter God's name¹¹.

A week later, Gandhi released a statement to calm the Indian community and not to charge attackers. By then, the government had already charged Mir Alam and his follower. Both were found guilty and were sentenced to three months imprisonment with hard labour.

Gandhi had nurtured his heart to feel and love his race irrelevant to religion or background. Later, this mental practice had helped him much in the political fight in India. During that time, Gandhi's fight through Satyagraha had enhanced curiosity and interest amongst the people in India. He had also been identified as the future political leader of India¹².

Gandhi was loyal to the British Empire, which he proclaimed many times. When Gandhi was in India, his loyalty was acknowledged by the British and was awarded the *Kaiser-I Hind*¹³ gold medal in the 1915. A few years later, Gandhi involved himself in the freedom fight for the release of the Ali brothers¹⁴ who were arrested by the British in the Khilafat Movement¹⁵. In December, 1917, Gandhi assured the *Muslim League* representatives that Hindus would fight with them for the release of the Ali Brothers. In January 1918, Gandhi requested the *Viceroy* to release them but it was ignored. Due to this, in July 1918, Gandhi announced his decision to fight the government based on this issue. The fight to release the Ali Brothers was a great task. Gandhi wrote, "Though I knew, it was impossible not to do it."¹⁶. Besides getting to know the Ali Brothers, Gandhi also got to know The Khilafat Movement fighters at that time such as Abdul Bari, and Ansari¹⁷.

Gandhi was also said to have valued his friendship with the Islamic fighters on the importance of Swaraj [self rule], which was launched by him. "My interest in your release is quite selfish. We have a common goal and I want to utilise your services to the uttermost, in order to reach that goal. In the proper solution of the Mohammedan question, lies the realisation of Swaraj."¹⁸. These were the contents of his letter to Muhammad Ali on 18th of November 1918. Gandhi was confident that independence could only be obtained when Hindus and Muslims fight together. Therefore, he put in his entire effort to sustain 'everlasting unity' among them¹⁹. His mind told him that these two communities will and have to unite one day because there was no other choice for them²⁰.

Gandhi was praised by Ansari as India's main leader who fought for the Muslims as how he fought for the Hindus²¹. Gandhi's non violence fight programme was agreed by Mohamed Ali. He also said that he had never met anyone as great as Gandhi in any community²². Support from the Khilafat Movement leaders gave advantage for Gandhi to concentrate in his fight against The Rowlatt Bills²³. Both Hindu and Muslim communities participated in the strike when Gandhi launched Satyagraha. It was the peak of the communities' unity to the extent that the Hindus attended meetings held at the Nakhoda mosque²⁴. Editorial column for the press *Amrita Bazar Patrika* wrote, "Though the Rowlatt Act sits like a dread nightmare on our breasts, it has united both Hindus and Mussalmans in a way which has never been witnessed."²⁵.

The powerful thought of Gandhi in uniting India's two major communities at the most needed time was excellent. Islamic leaders in Punjab including Mohammad Iqbal supported Gandhi's Satyagraha. Many from the Islamic community participated in the demonstration launched in Lahore. The Hindus were also participating in the activities organised by the Muslims, where Swami Shraddanand was invited to deliver a speech at Juma Mosque after Friday prayers in Delhi²⁶. Besides that, Hindu leaders were invited to give speech at Sonepur Bombay mosque and Nakhoda mosque in Calcutta²⁷. The Hindus and Muslims in Patnakhali Bengal took part in the prayers held at local mosques as well as temples and agreed to work together to achieve *Home Rule*²⁸.

The Hindu-Muslim unity was the utmost important point in Gandhi's agenda. This was very evident after he returned to India. He spoke and wrote extensively on this topic. He also tried to close the gap between him and the influential Islamic leaders in order to understand their worries and aspirations. This initiative was motivated by his genuine sincerity to settle communal disputes. Through helping the Muslims in their need, Gandhi hoped to end the disputes, bring the Hindus and Muslims together to gain their support for a nationalism movement.

He wrote in 1920:

"If I distance myself from the Khilafat matter, I would consider myself had lost self dignity. That is my *par excellence dharma* duty. The truth is, through the Khilafat, I have fulfilled three main duties to be witnessed by the world. The true meaning of *ahimsa* is to unite the Hindus and Muslims and be able to communicate with one another..."²⁹

Gandhi's first opportunity to play a role in the Khilafat Movement came on the All India Muslim League Conference held on 21st September 1920 in Lucknow. He gave his support on the proposal to launch Khilafat Day. He also appealed to the communities of his religion to participate with the Muslims to fast, pray and strike. Therefore, he made a holy bond between the Hindus and Muslims³⁰. Gandhi did so to test the sentiments of the Muslims on Khilafat and to what extent were they prepared for a confrontation with the government³¹. At the same time, he wanted to evaluate the Hindus response on Khilafat fight, which was very important to the victory of the movement as much as the importance of the Hindu-Muslim unity. "You are my neighbours and my countrymen," said Gandhi addressing a crowd in Bombay. "It is my duty to share your sorrows. I cannot talk about Hindu-Muslim unity and fail in giving effect to the idea when the test comes."³² Gandhi addressed a crowd of 15000 to 20000 Muslims in Bombay during Khilafat Day celebration, "You have the whole of India in your just struggle."³³ Based on their respect to Gandhi, who considered cow as a holy animal, the *Muslim League* decided not to sacrifice cow on Id al-Adha celebration³⁴.

Gandhi's influence was not restricted among the religious or western educated Muslims. He was able to influence the Muslim artists, businessman, factory workers and weavers to participate in strike. Gandhi's achievement was due to two main factors. Firstly, he was able to exploit peoples' dissatisfaction against British government's policy on Khaliff Movement in Turkey. Secondly was the economic recession after the First World War. After the war, prices for goods soared high. So, the dissatisfaction against the Rowlatt Act was considered as "a touchstone for a variety of grievances that would have otherwise remained quiescent."³⁵

As mentioned above, Gandhi's contact with the Islamic community leaders enabled him to fully understand the importance of the religious institution, rituals and symbols among the Muslim community in India. Gandhi had always taken these factors into consideration for his future political encounters. Moreover, he had used them wisely whenever needed. There was never a Congress party member who had tried this method and it explains why there was never a Hindu leader so influenced and well respected in the Muslim community as much as him. Other leaders such as Aurobindo Ghose, Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal were only able to introduce the symbols and Hindu rituals. Rather than uniting the Muslims, it distanced them from the Hindus³⁶.

In his effort to unite the Hindu-Muslim community, Gandhi had to choose to go against the British, though there were issues such as Khilafat Movement; it was not completely relevant to India's benefit. The well experienced and smart politician as Gandhi knew that, by fitting himself into the Khilafat Movement would definitely draw the Muslims support for his fight, especially towards Satyagraha Movement. In discussing on actions to be taken if the British were not able to settle Khilafat matter, Gandhi suggested *non-cooperation* idea. Since the use of weapons and violence was totally unwanted, the only efficient way to fight against the British was by not giving cooperation to them. This idea was well accepted by all³⁷.

As the first stage of "*progressive non-violent non-cooperation*," Gandhi suggested that all medals as well as awards given by the British are returned to them. Children and students from government schools and colleges should be withdrawn (they should be sent to the national school, which only exists on paper). The lawyers and litigants should boycott the court (their cases should be referred to the *Congress* board) as well as the selection of new Council Members under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reformation³⁸.

In such situations, Gandhi had much difficulty in influencing the Hindus to accept the 'non-cooperation programme.' This was a difficult task for him. Among the Hindus, there were worries that the Khilafat fight would turn violence. This was an acceptable fear as the speeches by some religious leaders and Ali Brothers were quite harsh. As written by Srinivasa Sastri, "The Khilafat Movement would lead to disaster. I

picture the Mohammedans breaking out here and there in futile demonstrations."³⁹ On top of it, Gandhi's non-cooperating decision had left many Hindu political leaders in serious dilemma. Though they have given their verbal support on rhetoric Khilafat, generally they were not prepared to face the situation where they had to return the honourable awards and quit their jobs. As far as they were concerned, the non-cooperation programme was too difficult to fulfil for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity⁴⁰. This programme was able to proceed due to the strong support of the Islamic community who undoubtedly follow Gandhi's words. This included resignation carried out by the Islamic police force members in UP, Bengal and Bombay⁴¹ and the return of their Honorary Magistracy⁴². Some Islamic leaders returned their honorary medals, too⁴³. The Muslim lawyers boycotted court and stopped their practice⁴⁴ to show their support for Gandhi. Besides, the selection for Council Members in the Muslim areas was boycotted especially in town areas such as Punjab, UP, Bengal and Bombay⁴⁵. Islamic parents withdrew their children from schools and colleges owned or received aids from the British government, including Muslim University Aligarh⁴⁶.

In the early 1921, the Hindus and Muslims had worked together due to Gandhi's support on Khilafat Movement. This had never happened before. Though they had no solid reason for unity, at least they were together against the British regime. The Hindu-Muslim Front that was considered as the worst nightmare to their rule in India by the British was now forming⁴⁷.

During his effort to unite the Hindu-Muslim community, a Moplah community riot: occurred in August, 1921 in Malabar. The riot started off due to the influence of Khilafat Movement, which made them attack the government. Later, it diverted to the Hindu money lenders and Land owners. But, Gandhi said, "The brave God-fearing Moplahs fighting for what they consider as religion, and in a manner which they consider religious."⁴⁸

Gandhi realised the effect of the Moplah riot on the Hindu community. He tried to calm them but he didn't succeed. The Hindus started to ignore the Khilafat Movement and could not wait to break loose from the Non-Cooperation programme⁴⁹.

The Hindu-Muslim unity had always been Gandhi's main concern because a few weeks after he was released from the prison, he continued his editorial duty with his two weeks once edition of *Young India* and *Navajivan*. When he was detained, both of these editions had deteriorated in circulations. Accompanied by his sharp writings, Gandhi communicated with the people through many of his articles. He spoke of his sorrow on India's situation, which turned worse during his two years imprisonment. There had been disunity in the *Congress* as well as the State. Gandhi wrote in *Young India*, "Our non-cooperation, has taken the form of non-cooperation in practice with each other instead of with the Government."⁵⁰ Likewise, the sudden agreement to unite among the Hindu and Muslims during the Khilafat movement had created a way for greater disparity from before among these two communities.

The Moplah Riot was followed by the Hindu-Muslim blood riot in Multan in September 1922 and in 1924. There was no more Hindu-Muslim unity. Gandhi was very concerned with this main problem, more than the disputes in the *Congress*⁵¹. To overcome the Hindu-Muslim unity problem, Gandhi used his writing skill by allocating almost one edition to discuss the tense between the Hindus and Muslims, cause and solution. He realised that he had been accused by some people due to the increase of aggressiveness among the Islamic community⁵².

Gandhi's discussion in the *Young India* on communal tense was at its peak when the Hindu-Muslim riot spread to other parts of India. This time, it happened in Kohat, at the North-West Frontier Territory, where 155 killed or injured and the entire Hindu community left the town. After he was completely briefed, Gandhi announced that he would fast for 21 days to show his regret and to cite his prayers. He said, "It seems God had been dethroned. Let us reinstate Him in our hearts."⁵³ He began his fast at a Khilafat leader, Muhammad Ali's house in Delhi. When he completed his fast, holy scripts from Quran, Upanishad and Bible were heard.⁵⁴

During the peak of the Hindu-Muslim tense in the 1925, a Bombay Council Member, M.R. Jayakar made this observation:

"To speak quiet frankly to you, I regard it [Hindu-Muslim conflict] as the necessary reaction to Gandhi's policy during the last four years, which aimed at a most artificial and unreal unity between Hindus and Muslims awakening sentiments and impulses in the latter community which, like the Frankenstein, it is now very difficult to allay. It makes me very sad to think that so great a patriot should have on this issue bungled so easily."⁵⁵

Communal riots continued to happen. In 1926, not less than 35 riots happened and at the end of the year, an Islamic fanatic killed a famous Hindu man in Delhi. For the time being, Gandhi did not interfere in the Hindu-Muslim disputes as he was certain things would definitely get worse if he had interfered.⁵⁶ However, at the end of 1927, Gandhi became active and continued his tour around India⁵⁷. He also attended Annual Congress Conference in December 1928. This was after the condition of his imprisonment release which prevented him from any political involvement for six years. This gave him a moral freedom to participate when he was most needed by the people. Gandhi took the spit it from Nehru's Report⁵⁸, which was accepted by the *Congress* but rejected by the *League*. He advised the Hindus, as the majority to show their humbleness and offer the Muslims the comfort and security by giving them their concession⁵⁹.

Gandhi's these actions were viewed as being one-sided towards the Islamic community by the Hindu fanatics. These views produced Hindu militant groups and one of them turned out to be Gandhi's murderer⁶⁰.

End Notes:

1. Grover, B.L., and Grover, S. (2000). *A New Look at Modern Indian History (From 1707 to the Present Day)*. New Delhi : S.Chand & Company, pp.476-477.
2. Khurana, K.L. (2001). *Indian History A.D. 1206 – 1947*. Agra: Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Part Two, p.247.
3. Gandhi admitted that Islam has contributed immensely to the advancement of mankind, while Christianity meant unadulterated "Love", the living message of Islam was that of Equality, Tolerance, Brotherhood, Non-Violence and the Oneness of God. See, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (1958-84)*. New Delhi: The Pub. Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, *Supra* n.I, L1, 336; XXII, 256; LV1, 315; LXX, 283; LXXXV1, 380; LXVIII, 31 and XXVIII, 21. and see also, Bhattacharya, Buddhadeva (1969). *Evolution of the Political Philosophy of Gandhi*. New Delhi : Promilla & Co., pp.43-45.
4. Tyagi Ruchi. (2001). *Secularism in Multi-Religious Indian Society*. New Delhi : Deep&Deep Publications Pvt.Ltd., p.116 and; Gandhi said: "Let us understand our limitation. Let Hindus and Muslims have absolute, indissoluble unity. Who is here who can say with confidence: Yes, Hindu-Muslim unity has become an indissoluble factor of Indian Nationalism?" See Mushirul Hasan (1979), *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India 1916 -1928*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications, pp 189.
5. As Malaviya, Lajpat Rai. Moonje and Shradhanand who later launched Sangathan Movement, which aims at gathering and uniting Hindu community. It especially aims at vanishing the image of Hindus as cowards who clad themselves in 'dhotis' and replace it with Hindu militant image who dares to use any way to maintain the dignity of the society. *Ibid.*, pp 192. For the meaning of Sangathan, see G.R. Thursby (1975), *Hindu Muslim Relation; in British India*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 159. It is noteworthy that to Gandhi, Hinduism is an all-embracing and all-sufficing religion. All kinds of faiths find shelter under its wide canvass, see Tiwari, K.N. (1988). *World Religions and Gandhi*. New Delhi: Classical Publishing Company, p.145.
6. As religious leader, Abdul Bari and Khilafat leader, Muhammad Ali. See Mushirul Hasan (1979), Mushirul Hasan, *op.cii*, pp. 198-199.
7. *Ibid.*, pp 256-257. Malaviya return active in Hindu Sabha (which gives organization form to Hindu communalism politics) in March, 1922 as well as Sudhi Sabha. He reestablished Hindu Sabha. A few years later, he was involved in several conferences supporting Hindu Sabha Movement, Shuddhi and Sangathan. During district election in November 1926, Malaviya used the communal slogan to oppose Motilal Nehru (Jawaharlal Nehru's father). It caused communal disputes, especially in Allahabad and badly deteriorated the relationship between the Hindu-Muslim communities. By this way, he revived the tradition of Hindu militant nationalism. This way was later adapted by Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (R SS) and Jana Sangh after the independence.
8. Sir Penderel Moon (1968), *Gandhi and Modern India*. London: The English Universities Press Ltd., pp. 64.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 51 -52. South African regime under the leadership of General Botha discriminates Asians (the coloured)

- through law and order such as Asiatic Act and Immigration Act. These laws are used to strengthen the Europeans administration on the non-Europeans on the basis of Racial Discrimination.
10. *Ibid.*, pp 51. Gandhi was imprisoned for the second term after he launched second stage of Satyagraha. Later, for the four consecutive years, he concentrated his effort in establishing himself in his movement. Perseverance, will power, ability to organize as well as faith in what he believes saved him from being defeated in his quest.
 11. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
 12. *Ibid.*, pp. 63..
 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 67.
 14. *Ibid.*, pp. 98. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali known as "The Ali Brothers" lead the Khilafat Movement to fight the British.
 15. This movement evoked Muslim community's fight against the dissolution threat on Turkish Empire as well as disposal of Turkish Khaliffs' that are considered as the rulers for the entire Islam community. The movement which fights the British is characterised as 'Islam traitor'. Gandhi supported the Khilafat movement because he assumed that 'this opportunity to unite two communities of Hindu-Islam would never come in a hundred years.' *Ibid.* The dissolution or Turkish Empire by The United Force evoked sentiments and religious emotions among the Islam community because they consider the Turkey Sultan as *Amir al-Mu' minin* [Ruler of the religious people]. See Khurana, K.L.(2001). *Indian History A. D. 1206 – 1947*. Agra: Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Part Two, p.274-276; and see also, Mushirul Hasan (1979), *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India*. New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 132.
 16. Mushirul Hasn, *Ibid.*, pp. 113.
 17. *Ibid.* After my arrival [from South Africa], Gandhi addressed the Khilafat meeting, "I began to find out good Mohammedan leaders. My desire was satisfied when I reached Delhi, and found the Brothers Ali, whom I had the privilege of knowing before. It was a question of love at first sight between us. When I met Dr. Ansari, the circle of Mohammedan friends widened and at last it even included Maulana Abdul Bari." Gandhi's speech on Khilafat, Bombay, 9th May, 1919, CWG 9 (t.t.).
 18. *Ibid.*, pp. 114.
 19. *Ibid.*
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. *Ibid.* Ansari's speech during Muslim League session, December 1918, based on Ansari's paper.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 115.
 23. *Ibid.* Rowlatt Committee acknowledges that government must have the power restrain and pass initial punishments against revolution type of activities in certain states. Along with this, a law was introduced in Imperial Legislative Council in February 1919 and was approved though strongly opposed by all Indian members in the Council. On 24th February, Gandhi announced to Viceroy on his decision to launch Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act. Two days later, he urged the entire Indian community to join Satyagraha. On 6th April, strike (*hartal*) was carried out all over the places in the country.
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. *Ibid.*
 26. *Ibid.*, pp. 116.
 27. *Ibid.* pp. 131.
 28. *Ibid.*
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. *Ibid.* (Letters to press, 10th October, 1919).
 31. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159. (This reflects from Gandhi's speech on 18th September 1920, where he said that the British who are smart and always ready to defend their rule would quickly know whether "we are serious or fooling around." Therefore, he appealed to the Islam listeners to "ask themselves whether they are really serious on the important matter ...Is it just? Are you sincere? A simple test. A sincere and true man is ready to sacrifice himself for a cause. Are you ready to sacrifice your ease, comfort, commerce and even your life?" *Young India*, 20th September, 1919).
 32. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159. Gandhi's speech on Khilafat, 9th May, 1919.
 33. *Ibid.*, pp. 153.
 34. *Ibid.*, pp. 160. 35. *Ibid.*, pp. 117
 36. *Ibid.*
 37. Sir Penderel Moon (1968), *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.
 38. *Ibid.*, pp. 101

39. Mushirul Hasan (1979), *op. cit.*, pp. 167.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.* pp. 176. Number of Muslim police department personnel who resigned, 31, 40, and 17 in UP, Bengal, and Bombay respectively.
42. *Ibid.* From 46 medals, 22 from the Muslims.
43. *Ibid.* Ajmal Khan returned the First Class Medal, *Kaiser-i-Hind*; religious leader Badruddin from Phulwari and Syed Ali Nabi returned their title called Khan Bahadur.
41. *Ibid.* pp. 177. 22 from the 44 advocates are Muslims.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.* pp. 178.
47. Sir Penderel Moon (1963), *op. cit.*, pp. 105.
48. *Ibid.* pp. 193.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 193
50. Sir Penderel Moon (1968), *op. cit.*, pp. 117.
51. *Ibid.* , pp. 118.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 120.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 121.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*, (Jayakar's letters to Lajpat Rai, 8th September 1925 is in the collection known as *Jayakar Papers*).
56. Sir Penderel Moon (1968), *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 1 25
58. Among others, Nehru's Report suggested the solution for the Hindu-Muslim problem by dividing territories that is placed under the Muslim administration such as Sind, North West Frontier Province and prepares a separate election area for the Muslims. Gandhi was neither involved in the formation of the law nor attended the meetings, but he agreed by saying, "I venture to suggest that the report satisfies all reasonable aspirations and is quite capable of standing on its own merit. All that is needed to put the finishing touch to the work of the Nehru Committee is the little forbearance, a little mutual respect, a little mutual trust, a little give and take, and confidence not in out little selves but in the great nation of which each one of us is a humble member." *Ibid.*, pp. 1 29.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 132.
60. It is difficult to say with categorical certainty as to whom was to be blamed for the breakdown of Indian nationalism in so far as the question of Hindu-Muslim unity was concern. But the fact remains that nothing but a miracle could have changed the course of history in 1946-47. Indeed, it is pointless and irrational to blame Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel for not offering the premiership to Jinnah and for having accepted Partition. See, Tyagi Ruchi.(2001). *Secularism in Multi-Religious Indian Society*. New Delhi : Deep & Deep Publications Pvt.Ltd., p,88.