

---

# Genesis of the Two Nations Theory and the Quaid-e-Azam

\_\_\_\_\_ Abdul Majid

\_\_\_\_\_ Abdul Hamid, ZahidaHabib

\_\_\_\_\_

With the growth of the Muslim nationalism in the Hindu dominated India the "Two Nations Theory" had evolved and persisted throughout the period; both the communities lived together under the same rulers. Their integration was inconceivable and, even the Mughal emperor Akbar's effort to unify both the Hindus and Muslims into a single nation had miserably failed. The Muslims were in a state of agony at the hands of Hindus and the British as well. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah refused to accept the Nehru's notion that there are only two forces in India, British imperialism and Indian nationalism as represented by the Congress. He sharply reminded Nehru that: there was another party. The 'Muslim League' which alone had the right to represent the Muslim's of India. It has always been taken for granted mistakenly that Muslims are a minority. He said, Muslims are a nation by any definition of a nation. Hindu and Muslims belong to two religions, philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine and indeed belong to different civilizations which are based on conflicting ideas and conceptions; their concepts of life are different. As such they must have their homeland, their territory and their state.

Life is a sacred gift of God. Individually and collectively

human beings must submit to certain codes, laws and ideals – the bases of ideology. The ideology may take the form of philosophy, religion or some form of socio-economic creed practiced by the societies. When we talk about Pakistan ideology, we have to go to the root the Islamic ideology that defines both spiritual and material aspects of life. It is the philosophy behind the two-nation theory. Pakistan is a state founded on ideological basis and not on territorial grounds. The Muslims of the subcontinent are a nation. The two nation theory became a reality with distinct ideology called Pakistan ideology. Pakistan is purely an ideological state whose foundations have been laid on Islamic ideology based on the Quranic teachings and Sunnah. The Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religions, philosophies, social customs and literatures ... they belong to two different cultures which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and concepts. Their concepts on life and of life were different. The Hindus and the Muslims derived inspirations from two different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes and different episodes.

The freedom movement in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent can be properly understand in its proper historical perspective. The Muslims entered India as brave conquerors and victors from west and north west. Muhammad Bin Qasim marched with the crecent in 712 A.D over Sind and established Muslim rule stretching up to Multan. Infact the establishment of Muslim rule by Mohammad Bin Qasim was the embryo of Pakistan. <sup>1</sup>

The second inroad on India was made in the 11<sup>th</sup> century by Mahmud of Ghazni who flew the banner of Islam over upper Indus valley and also conquered Multan and Sindh. Thus the lands now constituting Pakistan, were integrated under Muslim rule that also marked the genesis of Pakistan. Islamic culture and learning flourished; and rule of justice, tolerance and prosperity was established wherever the standard of Islam fluttered. <sup>2</sup>

The flag of Islam was kept up by the Muslim sages and saints

who ruled the souls of men. The traditions were followed by Ghoris, Khiljis and the great Mughals. The Muslims of the sub-continent have a history and heritage of their own. The Muslim empire that stretched over the entire land ultimately tottered and tumbled down. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century the crises deepened. The militant Marhattas raised their heads and fanned the fire of Hinduism. Cracks began to appear in the Mughal empire; as it lost its glory and the gleam. The story of rise and fall of the empires is very moving, but the living nations always derive their inspiration from their past and traditions that last long.<sup>3</sup>

The Muslim as the inheritors of the imperial past, could hardly reconcile and submit to the rule and the yoke of the foreign masters, the Britishers who came to India as traders and ultimately became the rulers. The Hindus with their bitter memories of past traditions and jealous past easily came under the sway of the British and joined hands with them. The Muslim were the worst sufferers. Being conscious of history they could not remain passive like dumb driven cattle and soon tried to revive their past glory and recapture their freedom. The 19<sup>th</sup> century was a period of trial and tribulations, backwardness, gloom and distrust for the Muslims. The British and their Hindu compatriots were happy over the scene. "The rainbow smiled on the faded storm" the advent of the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought a new ray of hope and meager of revival for the suffering Muslims. They rose like the phoenix out of the fire.<sup>4</sup>

One is never defeated unless one loses hope. The torch that was lit by the brave freedom fighters was kept burning by the spirited ulamas, mashaiks and the torch bearers of freedom like Shah WaliUllah, Shah Ismail Shaheed, Syed Ahmed Shaheed through jihad movement against the Sikhs equally important had been the contribution of Mujadad-Alf-Sani, Jamal Din Afghani, Syed Ahmad Barilvi, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the great Ali brothers and others including a large number of unknown sons and daughters of Islam.

## Two Nations Theory

With the growth of the Muslim nationalism in the Hindu dominated area, the "Two Nations Theory" had evolved and persisted throughout the period; both the communities lived together under the same ruler. Their integration was inconceivable and, even, the Mughal emperor Akbar's efforts to unify both the Hindus and Muslims into a single nation had miserably failed.<sup>5</sup>

The downfall of the Mughal Empire was, in fact, the end of the Muslims rule over India that had come into existence with Sultan Muhammad Ghauri's invasion of India and defeating a Hindu Raja Prithvi Raj in 1192. With the passage of time the political and economic power of the Muslims began to suffer. The Marhattas, who had gained momentum under the leadership of "Sivaji" were knocking at the door of Delhi. It appeared that they would succeed in establishing a "Hindu Raj" over India. At this stage in 1760 Shah WaliUllah invited Ahmad Shah Abdali to come to the rescue the Muslims from Hindu domination.

"The blow from the unexpected quarter was struck by Ahmad Shah Abadali on the plains of Panipat. It was memorable event that removed the Marhatta peril for ever, but at the same time a way was cleared for growth of the British power as Abdali did not pursue his victory to logical conclusions"<sup>6</sup>

Somehow, in 1758 there existed nominal Muslim rule in India. The British after disposing of their European rivals, the Portugese, French and others embarked on absorbing Indian states one by one. Nevertheless, NawabSiraj-ud-Dawla of Bengal and Haider Ali of Mysore resisted the English, they however, couldn't preserve their independence. Haider Ali and his son Tipu Sultan gave a tough fight to the English. But due to the betrayal of Mir Sadiq at the nick of time, Tipu Sultan suffered a defeat and fell as a martyr at Saringaptam in 1799 at the altar of preserving independence. Siraj-ud-Dawla was martyred in the Battle of

Plassey in 1757 due to treachery of his kinsman Mir Jaffar.<sup>7</sup>

Consequent to the fall of Mysore, Delhi, too, was occupied in 1803 and English became the de facto rulers of almost the entire India. For Hindus, the Britisher's coming to power was mere change of masters. So they accepted and welcomed their rule. However, since the Muslims had lost rule over India, the English saw them as their political rivals and the only community posing a threat to their despotic rule. They were recalling the battles of Plassey and Saringaptam, and to them, every Muslim was Siraj-ud-Dawla and Tipu Sultan. So they began to suppress them in what-so-ever manner they could. The war of independence in 1857 which the British called the "Mutiny", further undermined the situation for the Muslims.

Subsequently the British massacre the Muslims in retaliation. This situation was exploited by the fanatic and cunning Hindus for their own benefits. Being in majority, had also acquired modern education and, as such, occupied key posts in public service and commerce and industry vis-a-vis the Muslims.

Now Hindu began to dream of "Hindu Raj" when, the British would quit it. These sentiments had produced the revivalist movements like "BrahmuSamaj" and "AryaSamaj". Their objective was to incite the religious sentiments of Hindus against the Muslims with a view to reviving a "Sivaji's Cult"<sup>8</sup>

The Muslims were in a state of agony at the hands of Hindus and the British as well. At this critical time Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, emerged as the only ray of hope for the depressed Muslims. He rendered tremendous services for the uplift the Muslims of India.

Similarly Allama Muhammad Iqbal, through his enchanting poetry recalled to the Muslims, the glory of Islam, and urged them to follow the foot prints of their ancestors by virtue of which they could regain the glory they had lost. He raised morale of

Muslims and created in them the spirit of fighting for freedom. The revival movements launched by both these leader brought the Muslims to a position from which they could voice their grievances and fight for their rights. With the passage of time, the Indian Muslims realized that they could not co-exist with the Hindus who were poles apart from them in beliefs cultures, traditions and out-look on life. In the words of Quaid-i-Azam, "Muslims are nation according to any definition of a nation." <sup>9</sup>

It was the poet Iqbal who for the first time put forward the idea of a separate Muslim state, Pakistan constituting the Muslim majority provinces in the west and north west at the historical meeting of All India Muslim League in 1930 at Allahabad. The path shown by the great personalities was followed by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Iqbal, with his great spiritual insight saw the right leader in Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah to lead and guide the Muslims to their cherished goal a free and sovereign state of their own.

### Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah ... A Staunch Believer of the Two Nations Theory

Hindus tried to find out a Muslim for Hindu Muslims unity and at the same time succeed in influencing Muslim leaders like Allama Iqbal and the Quaid-e-Azam. But this situation did no last long and soon under the influence of the Muslim league, majority of the Muslim leaders who had been lured by the Indian Nationalism, became the upholders of the Two Nations Theory. <sup>10</sup>

Muhammad Ali Jinnah refused to accept the Nehru's notion that there are only two forces in India, British imperialism and Indian nationalism as represented by the Congress. Muhammad Ali Jinnah refused to accept this and sharply reminded Nehru that:

"There was another party, the 'Muslim League' which alone had the right to represent the Muslims of India." <sup>11</sup>

In his speech at Lucknow on 15 Oct, 1937 Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah said that:

“The majority community have clearly shown that Hindustan is for the Hindus”<sup>12</sup>

The congress rule according to the 1935 Act proved a great eye-opener for the Muslims, particularly in Muslim minority provinces. The dream of congress leaders to establish ‘Hindu Raj’ had come true. The Muslim all over India had to suffer untold pains and miseries. The fears of the Indian Muslims about Hindu majority rule turned true. The Shuddi campaign, the Vidhya Mandar Scheme and Bande Matram (Hindu Anthem) were the worst examples of Hindu vindicateness.

The Muslim under the dynamic and spirited leadership of Quaid-i-Azam stood like a rock under the Muslim League flag. Urdu our national language proved a bettering ram for rousing the Muslim nationalism and Pakistan’s spirit among the Muslim masses.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah had no confusion about the Hindu tactics. He was finally convinced that the Hindu majority wanted to coerce and dominate the Muslims, and had no desire to give them a fair treatment.<sup>13</sup>

At this, Allama Iqbal’s declared at the historic annual session of the All India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930:

“I would like to see the Punjab, N.W.F.P, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamate into a single state. Self government within or without the British empire, and the formation of consolidated North West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslim at least of North West of India, got his attention.”<sup>14</sup>

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was also influenced by the letter of Allama Muhammad Iqbal written to him June 21, 1937. In which he wrote:

Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nation entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are." <sup>15</sup>

These words gave new meanings to Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He was convinced that the Muslim of India could never live with Hindus. He knew that Hindu would not tolerate the Muslims when the British would leave. Congress reign had amply demonstrated this, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah wrote an article published in the England "Time and Tide" on March 9, 1940 saying that:

"The British people being Christian sometime forget the religious wars of their own history and today consider religion as a private and personal matter between man and God. This can never be the case in Hinduism and Islam. Both these religions have definite social codes and aspect of their social life." <sup>16</sup>

Addressing a historic public meeting at Lahore on March 23, 1940 Quaid-e-Azam said:

"We have our past experience of the last two and half year. We have learnt many lessons. We are now apprehensive and can trust no body ... it has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Muslim are a minority. He said, Muslims are a nation by any definition of a nation. Hindu and Muslims belong to two religion, philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine and indeed belong to different civilizations which are based on conflicting ideas and

conceptions. Their concepts of life are different. They have different epics, different heroes and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is the foe of the other and like wise their victories and defeat, overlap. He also added that, to take together state, one as a numerical majority other as a minority must lead to growing discontent. Muslims are nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state." <sup>17</sup>

The Muslims of the subcontinent responded very well to the Lahore Resolution of 1940. The demand of Pakistan not only meant freedom from the oppressive Hindus, but it presented the concept of a separate and completely independent Islamic state where in the Muslims were absolutely free to live according to the dictate of their religion.

In an interview to the representative of "London News Chronicle" published on Oct 4, 1944 Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah said:

"There is only one practical realistic way of resolving Hindu-Muslim differences. This is to divide India into two sovereign parts of Pakistan and Hindustan .... and for each of us to trust the other to give equitable treatment to Hindu minorities in Pakistan and Muslim minorities in India ... the fact is that the Hindu will not reconcile themselves to our complete independence."<sup>18</sup>

The achievement of Pakistan was undeniably the result of the Quaid-i-Azam's most capable leadership. The way he confronted with the British and the Hindu forces was most admirable. He was the only one who never made a secret of his intentions and not for once resorted to underhand means. His later experience, particularly after the publication of the Nehru report and round

table conferences about Hindu mentality, led him to revise his views.

In the Hindu activities of the Hindu dominated Congress he saw that they were working in the establishment of the Hindu Raj. This realization was further confirmed in 1937 when Congress ministries came to power and started undermining the Muslims' interests.

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the only one who, by the sheer force of determination and singleness of purpose, made a name for himself in the history of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Undoubtedly, his task was more arduous than that of any other freedom fighter. In any part of the world, which had been enslaved by a colonial power for long, and where in the Muslims had lost their fighting spirit, it was nothing short of a miracle that a leader almost single-handedly succeeded in motivating a spiritless mass of people.

The Quaid galvanised a demoralised, dispirited and otherwise scattered mass of people in a well-knit, unified and determined whole within a short span of time. The Muslim nation under the Quaid-i-Azam's leadership had to fight on three fronts—the British, the Congress, and "quisling" Muslims. The parallels of such a remarkable and fruitful struggle are rare in the history of the world. This struggle of the Muslims for independence might well have come to nothing, had they been led by a person of a lesser vision. Quaid-e-Azam fought for the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan, which means freedom for both the Hindus and the Muslims nations, he won" <sup>19</sup>

"Pakistan is a state which has been deliberately created not on an economic, linguistic or racial basis; but on religious unity" <sup>20</sup>

He founded a new country on the basis of an idea, that British India's Muslim needed a country of their own in which they could

not only practise their religion but develop their culture and their society without having to worry about the social and cultural weight of the Hindu majority. For him, the Muslims, inspite of having lived in close proximity with the Hindus, never lost their separate identity. That was possible because most of the time after the arrival of Islam into South Asia, India was ruled by the Muslims.

History is record of all important events that take place anywhere in the world. And the eventful history of South Asia too is replete with eminent events, of which the emergence of Pakistan is of paramount importance. After tremendous sacrifices the quest of hundreds of million Muslims of the Indian sub-continent was realized under the unique and unprecedented leadership of Quaid-e-Azim Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Muslim state of Pakistan had come into being on August 14, 1947.

## Conclusions

Islamic ideology is the philosophy underlying the Two Nations theory. Pakistan is a state founded on ideological basis and not on the territorial grounds. The Two Nations theory became a reality with distinct ideology called Pakistan ideology. Pakistan ideology is the cause of creation of the country, the driving force of her existence and also the destiny of the people.

Those who repudiate two-nation theory and oppose Islamization are not friend and well-wishers of the country. A champion of the Muslim cause, we are greatly indebted to Allama Iqbal?. His interpretation of Islam in its true perspective, his message "back to the Quran" his correct diagnosis of ill of Muslim India and suggestions for their remedy, completed the political revival of Muslim India. The banner of Pakistan ideology handed over by Allama Iqbal was kept up and carried to its destination by Muhammad Ali Jinnah who was not only a staunch believer and supporter of the Two Nations theory, but also the founder of the

ideological state of Pakistan. He fought single handed against the foreign rulers and Indian Congress and stood like a rock with whole hearted support of his co-workers and Indian Muslims. The great Quaid told the world in unequivocal terms: by a separate homeland I mean a country where the Muslims of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent would be able to fashion their lives according to the dictates of the Holy Quran and Sunnah.

If we want to promote Pakistan ideology and wish to make it the real citadel of Islam let us work unitedly and act whole heartedly on the Quaid's clarion call: Faith, unity and discipline. Let us vow to live by deeds and not words. Let us strive seriously for Islamic way of life both in personal and national life. Let us fight against the forces of evil, social injustice, bribery, corruption in public life, poverty and ignorance. If we want to preserve our hard won freedom we must hold fast to Allah's rope. Our only hope of survival lies in implementing Pakistan ideology in true spirit. When the people preserve their ideology, the ideology can save and preserve the people.

## Notes and References

1. Hussain, M. S. (1997). *Hindu Muslim Conflict 1912-1947, A Case Study of the Genesis of Pakistan*. Lahore: University of the Punjab.
2. *Ibid*
3. *Ibid*
4. Ikram, S. M. (1966). *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan*. Lahore.
5. Sethi, R. R. (1958). *India Since 1526*. Delhi.
6. Sharma, S. R. (1940). *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*. Kalkatta.
7. Ali, D. M. (2001). *India and Pakistan: the Costs of Conflict and Benefits of Peace*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

8. Khan, M. B. (2001). *A Dynamic Personality*. Lahore: The Nation.
9. Shehab, P. R. (2001, 09 11). *Origin of Two Nations Theory*.
10. Bolitho, H. (1954). *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*. pp.66.
11. Jamil-ud-Din, A. (1970). *Final Phases of Struggle for Pakistan*.
12. Burki, S. J. (2005, 02 15). *In the Mirror of History*.
13. Afzal, M. R. (1980). *Selected Speeches and Statements of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*. 84.
14. Ibid
15. Ibid
16. Mehmood, S. (1968). *Founder of Pakistan*. (P. U. Ltd, Ed.) 51.
17. Ibid
18. Jamil-ud-Din, A. (1968). *Quaid-eAzam*. 46.
19. Afzal, M.R., *Selected Speeches and Statemtns of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*
20. Jamil-ud-Din, A. (1968). *Speeches and Writing of Mr. Jinnah*. Karachi.