



## The Two Nation Theory and the Creation of Pakistan

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### Abstract

Creation of Pakistan and its historical importance is not very well known to the world particularly the West. We see very limited role of religion in state affairs in the West and this is the reason we call it a "Secular State". This example depicts that how religion can change our perspectives. The main motive of this research article would highlight the role of the Two Nation Theory in creating Pakistan. This research writing picks from the present literature, scholarships on the narrative on Two Nation Theory and the creation of Pakistan while finding the importance of the role "identity" played in the Indo-Subcontinent partition. There is not enough research and writings done on the role of identity in case particular to the Indo-Subcontinent divide. This is the reason I made a very small effort that might add to the existing partition of 1947 scholarship. The article would be bringing two variables namely the Two Nation Theory and identity aligned to find out the reasons for the birth of Pakistan and India. The term "Identity" has been defined, redefined and interpreted by different scholars in their case of study and domain. They have defined and questioned identity in various perspectives of study but what was lacking was a future interpretation of identity in case particular to the creation of Pakistan.

**Keywords:** British, Hindus, Identity, Muslims, Nation, Pakistan, Two nation theory.

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### **Contribution of this paper to the literature**

The main objective of this research article would highlight the role of the Two Nation Theory in creating Pakistan.

## **1. Introduction**

In this article, question on; if Pakistan was created on the Two Nation Theory would be answered. The article will shed light on the hideous Indian Subcontinent history followed by role of key personalities; Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah in creation of Pakistan and then will be concluded with remarks that who or what events actually led to the creation of Pakistan.

Significant importance has been given to Pakistan lately by the world but unfortunately not on historical event like the partition but on the ongoing "War on Terrorism". Any terrorist attack in the world and Pakistan is accused of it before even investigating the case to the fullest. This habit of accusing Pakistan of terrorism came right after the self-proclaimed "Taliban"; one who made the world shook was Osama bin laden who was responsible for the 9/11 terrorist attack in the United States. Osama Bin Laden had a house in a small town called Abbottabad in Pakistan and therefore it has become a norm to charge Pakistan of any terrorist attack in the world. It is observed that Pakistan has been accepted as a Muslim Country and Muslim neighbor Country to Arab world for all the terrorist blames ([Wynbrandt & Gerges, 2009](#)).

Pakistan is also fighting politics war between democracy and dictatorship. This juggling act has not enabled Pakistan to have a stable political regime as well as be economically secure. This ongoing war: has not let Pakistan progress but has slowed down the growth in terms of politics, economy and social structure. One could also accuse the state structure of Pakistan which to date is in state of confusion and has not been able to establish itself as a secular state ([Wynbrandt & Gerges, 2009](#)).

To carefully think on Pakistan's future, there are a lot of questions to start with which start from the history of creation to Pakistan's existence. The questions seem easy but when one tries to find out answers; there are no easy answers but different narratives to pick and choose from. No solid historical narrative can fully convince you on the reasons for the creation of Pakistan ([Qasmi, 2018](#)).

For the historians and academic scholars study of 1947 partition is very colorful in nature. 1947 signifies to be an important year in the history of South Asia as well as the world as it depicts the end of the British rule in the Indian subcontinent which also created Pakistan. Partition of 1947 was the territorial divide where Muslims got their separate homeland. The divide is set to be because both the communities did not reach on any compromise on sharing the power in India after British leaving. Muslims in India feared the Hindu domination. Why the study of 1947 partition is important is because this partition made a history by securing first position in the world for a very short time struggle where they threw the colonial power (the British in India). This event of 1947 partition somewhere is also defining identities particularly the Muslim and the Hindu identity. The Indian subcontinent history itself is questioning its history which is widely told by the textbooks which are taught in Pakistan. There history textbooks in a way are also contributing in our Pakistani identity and how we perceive it to be ([Qasmi, 2018](#)).

Before the Indo-Pakistan partition the Muslims and the Hindus were one nation being called as Indians. To explore the reasons which was the Two Nation Theory for the creation of Pakistan it is quintessential to look at the Muslim and Hindus history and past where they lived as one nation in the Indian subcontinent. If we go back to the undivided India; there were three major communities residing in the Indian subcontinent (Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. It is unfortunate that Pakistanis are still fighting for their identity as there are just too many interpretations of identity within Pakistan may be because in Pakistan there are multi languages spoken as well as many ethnic groups. One cannot actually blame one factor for it ([Snellinger, 2019](#)).

The British colonial rule over the Indian subcontinent was for almost 200 years. All this time the Indians thought it was all right for British to rule over India. The realization of imperialism came much later that it was not a blessing rather a curse as the British were using Indian material resources as well using Indians for their own political motives. The meaning of colonialism was understood later by the Indians when they had lost control of their material resources and territory in the hands of British white men. The struggle for Pakistan was one example for the freedom movement which meant enlightenment about colonialism and how it is controlling everything making people body and mind slaves ([Keen, 2018](#)).

One cannot miss mentioning the work and contributions of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah when talking about the Indian subcontinent partition history. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the pioneer of the "Two Nation Theory" and Allama Iqbal imagined a Muslim homeland which Muhammad Ali Jinnah achieved. If we read the historical accounts on the Indian subcontinent history we would get to know all of these above mentioned political figures were never in favor of a separate homeland for the Muslims rather were for a united India and were actually contesting for the minority rights and separate electorates for Muslims but there were some historical events like the "Hindu Urdu Controversy" and "Congress Ministries" that they had to change their mind and had to make a very important decision to secure the future of Muslims who were accounting on them ([Ikram, 2005](#)).

## **2. Background to the Study**

Pakistan appeared on the world map on 14th of August 1947 making a history of being the very first state created on the religion Islam. Pakistan posed itself to be an ideological state which was created on the idea of a free and secure homeland for the Muslims who were under threat in undivided India.

The tragedy to date is the partition of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971; it was a crack down when the East wing of Pakistan separated from the West wing of Pakistan. East wing is now independent Bangladesh. Critic of the Two Nation Theory and the partition of 1947 Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi called the Bangladesh independence as the death of the Two Nation Theory. She thinks that there was no point of diving India, to her it

made no sense and since then the narrative of Indo Pakistan history is chased to find out what was it that the partition of 1947 became so inevitable ([Rumi, 2011](#)).

The case of Bangladesh independence apparently raised a lot of questions among which one was of the national identity of Pakistan. That Bangladeshi was Muslims too but why then they asked for independence from Pakistan when they shared same religion Islam. This notion chased the Two Nation Theory and what it depicted. This was the time when sub ideologies started to appear within the Islamic ideology making another intriguing subject for scholars to explore respectively ([Rumi, 2011](#)).

The basic question boils down that if Pakistan was really required and its existence. There is an ongoing debate on these subjects within academic scholars and historians. The most talked about argument is that if Pakistan was created for Muslims who were under threat of Hindu domination, why a population of Muslims decided to stay back in India? This has raised eyebrows to which no convincing answer has been given.

### **2.1. The Historical Narrative**

The narrated history of Pakistan suggests that the Two Nation Theory put the foundation for Pakistan. The Two Nation Theory proposed the idea for a separate homeland for Muslims. This theory stands on the notion that Muslims and Hindus are two distinctive nations having separate religion, culture and tradition from each other which causes the conflict between them living peacefully together in the Indian subcontinent ([Qasmi, 2018](#)).

Pakistan was created because their religious, cultural and social practices unmatched with the Hindus. The British was of the view that among two majority political parties namely the Muslim League and the Congress, the successful political party which wins the government would rule India but what happened was that after the British left, India got partitioned and Pakistan came into being claiming to be a separate homeland for the Muslims and the minorities to protect their rights ([Shahid, 1999](#)).

To Muslims their religion Islam and their Muslim identity was number one for which they were fighting their case in the undivided India. They wanted to preserve their Muslim identity and wanted to have a secure future in India ([Ikram, 2005](#)).

The historical narrative that Pakistanis are acquainted with is that Pakistan got into existence so that the Muslims could feel secure and spend their lives according to the Islamic teachings without any threat or fear.

### **2.2. The Reasons for the Partition of Indian Subcontinent**

The central argument for the demand for Pakistan was that it was created so that Muslims would be free from any threat from the Hindu domination. Hindu domination meant Hindus trying to impose their religion/faith, culture, traditions on Muslims as well as ruling over them. The “Congress Ministries” in 1937-1939 showed exactly what Hindu rule would mean to Muslims. This argument is more like a political argument than what critics of Pakistan creation narrate or question ([Ikram, 2005](#)).

Pakistan was created to establish a new nation state that protected the religious identity and political interests of Muslims in South Asia. The master narrative also says that the “Two Nation Theory” was the funding principle of Pakistan movement. This was also interpreted as Pakistan being an Islamic ideology where religion was defining nationality of Indian Muslims.

The Muslims All India Muslim League political party was created in 1906. The party claimed to be representing the Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. The main reason for its creation was to create good relationship with the British who were ruling over the Indian subcontinent. Muslims also wanted to improve their relationship with the British and prove their loyalty to them. All India Muslim League gave a platform to Muslims to get united under one umbrella to put forward their demands (religious, political and social). This political party was later joined by Muhammad Ali Jinnah who then also led it as a leader till Pakistan was created. The goal of this party was to fight for the right of separate electorates for the Muslims which later changed into the demand for a separate homeland. The demand of separate homeland was completely based on the Two Nation Theory. This demand for separate Homeland was preaching Sir Syed Ahmed Khans ideas and poet Allama Iqbal philosophy which was precisely that Muslims and Hindus could not live together peacefully in the future. This made the demand for separate homeland politically correct. Muhammad Ali Jinnah played a role of a spokesman for the Indian Muslims representing them at all Indian level and was the one who forwarded the demand for separate homeland which he also later achieved ([Ikram, 2005](#)).

The elections of 1937 have said to changed views and thoughts of many Muslims in the sub-continent. Before these elections the Muslims of India still hope to be together with the Hindus compromising on their interests to live in a peaceful manner like they did in the past. Coalition government of the Congress and the All India Muslim, League was an opportunity before these 1937 elections. But when the elections were won by the Congress they became so egoistic and proud that they were not willing to compromise with the Muslims. The Congress started their nationalist movements to the extent where they started torturing Muslims and challenging their belief. This attitude of Congress even made the moderate Muslims upset who were with the Congress but after seeing Congress cruel doing they changed the sides to be with the All India Muslim League ([Ikram, 2005](#)).

The period of Congress ministries in the Indian subcontinent which were formed in 1937-1939 proved the true intention of the Congress and the Hindus. They were not behaving in a secular manner the way they were enforcing their religion Hinduism on Muslims. At this point of time they only wanted to put Muslim down on their knees and wanted them to obey them like a slave. This period showed the utmost hostility Congress had for the Muslims. The Congress nationalist activities included the “Wardha Scheme” which became part of educational curriculum in which Hindu teachers were teaching in Hindi language and bowing down in front of Gandhi’s photo to impose Hindu power and control over Muslims ([Ikram, 2005](#)).

It also included hoisting the Congress flag over all official buildings in India and Muslims were forced to sing “Bande Mataram” which hurt Muslim sentiments the most. Muslims were treated in a cruel manner by the Congress showing that since what Hindu raj or rule would mean. The Congress ministries did nothing good to the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent but they united all Muslims together under the platform of All India Muslim

League where they were clear that there was only one road to follow and that was of independence from the Hindu domination and getting rid of the British from Indian subcontinent ([Ikram, 2005](#)).

The cabinet mission plan which was a plan brought by the British in 1946 was of united India comprising of three provinces and Hindu Congress leader asked All India Muslim League to reject this plan and saying that once British would leave they would change the plan according to their wish which made Muslim disturbed and insecure about their future for which reason they started to fight for Pakistan ([Wynbrandt & Gerges, 2009](#)).

The historical narrative on creation of Pakistan can be divided into two parts. One group states that the Two Nation Theory was the reason for the partition of the Indian subcontinent whilst the other group rejects this notion and states other reason for the creation of Pakistan. First group have names like Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Muhammad Ikram Rabbani and Stephen Wolpert. The second group is a critique of the Two Nation Theory and the creation of Pakistan like the Ayesha Jalal and Yasmin Khan.

One of the most prominent and accepted historians is Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi. He sees the Two Nation Theory as an ideology defined by the All India Muslim League. His writing is majorly drawn by the Islamic ideology which comes from Islam. He is given the title of being a "Nationalist Historian"; the reason why he is given this title is because he firmly holds belief in the Two Nation Theory and that it was the reason for the creation of Pakistan in 1947. The historical narrative claims that differences in religion is what Muslims got united to fight for a separate homeland which was also guided by the Two Nation Theory comes from Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi. The central argument of his is that Islamic identity is the identity of Muslims and became the sole reason for which Muslims adapted the Two Nation Theory proposition for a separate homeland for Muslims and later achieved it through Muhammad Ali Jinnah's leadership and determination. His argument can be seen as a triangle which connects Islam, Muslim identity and partition with each other. He sees everything from the religious perspective. In all his writings, one can see religion Islam being the major concern to him it means Muslim existence or call it identity and all of the struggle movement for Pakistan was made to secure the Muslim identity ([Qasmi, 2018](#)).

He has further elaborated on Islam that Islam is not only one religion but is a social system and social order because it influences human beings in all manner. He writes on the Muslim feeling of insecurity which had two forms one was being a minority in India and second learning about the Hindu societies. He clearly blames the Mughal emperor Akbar for the decline of the Mughal dynasty and calls Emperor Aurangzeb a good ruler because he made Islam way of life and this actually stopped the Mughal Empire from declining. On the idea of a separate homeland Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi says that it was always present in the minds of the Muslims. He believed the Congress to be a political party for the Hindus only which was only promoting the Hindu religion and culture and Hindu nationalist movements who only aimed to rule India unilaterally. He saw Congress friends of the British as the British were biased and unfair with the Muslims as compared to the Hindus. On struggle for Pakistan he is quoted to say "Pakistan came into existence as the result of the successful struggle of the Muslims of the Sub-continent against two imperialisms, British, and Hindu" and that "the Pakistanis did not receive Pakistan on a silver platter". As previously mentioned to him Muslim identity was at danger and of course precious for Muslims became the central reason for struggling for a separate homeland which would commit the protection of Muslim identity to the Muslims. He opposes the British in his writings because for him British exploited the Muslims and had sided with the Hindus. In summary his argument can be articulated as that the Pakistan movement and the All India Muslim League the political party of Muslims who got united and determined for a separate homeland led to the creation of Pakistan. He writes good words for all the Muslims who fought against the British rule and the opposing Hindu party. To him Pakistan did not come easy but was a fruit for all the good and the hard work Muslims had done to achieve it under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Pakistan is a result of Indian Muslims sweat. I.H. Qureshi is acknowledged for creating the basic historical narrative of Pakistan in which All India Muslim League role and Two Nation Theory has a huge contribution in making Pakistan ([Qasmi, 2018](#)).

Ayesha Jalal a South Asian historian wrote on Indo Pakistan history saying that Pakistan needs to progress and in order to do that Pakistanis must unlearn, learn and relearn some new facts on the creation of Pakistan. She completely rejects the argument that creation of Pakistan had become inevitable and was not something one could avoid and argues in her book struggle for Pakistan that it was not the partition that was inevitable but was a political decision taken by the Key leaders of AIML and Muhammad Ali Jinnah was leading them. She calls it a conscious decision of choice. She also insists that a lot more scholarship on this topic must be done also its quintessential that we study what the key leading figures of Pakistan did in Pakistan's creation in order to have an opinion. Ayesha Jalal looks at the partition of 1947 as a tragedy as well as challenges the national narrative of Pakistan. She blames the scholars who do not look at partition from different angles other than religion, she explains that they are blind folded and must explore the real facts and stories. She says that Pakistanis have settled easily for the told truth (national narrative) and that they do not bother themselves to come out of the comfort zone and find logical conclusion to their intuitive questioning. She also states that the academic scholars must not ignore the external factors which were also contributing to the creation of Pakistan for instance America, Russia and Afghanistan. For her critical reasoning is important to reach a solid argument for the creation of Pakistan ([Jalal, 2017](#)).

Ayesha Jalal has widely contested against the curriculum taught in Pakistan which is teaching the same nationalistic narrative. The nationalistic narrative of Pakistan starts from the Two Nation Theory and ends at the creation of Pakistan. She also adds that the textbooks which are being taught in Pakistan is producing robots who have stopped thinking and analyzing but it is more like the information downloading only. The history textbooks are all about the Islamic ideology, each and every topic of history taught in textbook revolves around the Islamic ideology and it causes discomfort to Ayesha Jalal. She also writes that the confusion in which Pakistan is in today and the problems it is facing is primarily because of the basic wrong decisions taken when Pakistan was created. She has all her respect for religion but draws a line between religion and state/political affairs. To her religion is personal faith. She observes that Pakistan is still confused which political system to choose between the authoritative and the democratic system. She recommends the democratic political system though ([Jalal, 2017](#)).

Another scholar who has a book to her credit is Yasmin Khan; she does acknowledge the significance of the Two Nation Theory in the Indo Pakistan divide called the partition. She explains her argument saying that there was huge responsibility on the shoulders of Muslim political leaders at that particular time and this decision of partition was sure not an easy one but had to be taken which came with a lot of compromise and sacrifice unfortunately. Furthermore, she also claims that it is true that at that time no one could guess what would come out of this decision until partition really happened which was mostly violence and conflict. Like Ayesha Jalal she does not call partition inevitable but says that partition was dependent on how things turned out to be. She adds that oral stories of eye witnesses shall not be taken for granted as those were the people who saw and felt what it actually was, to her while exploring truth on 1947 partition, opinion of such eye witnesses should be a must and should be taken into account. Concluding she sums up her argument by saying that after partition results both the side the Muslims and the Hindus were guilty of it, hence calls it a double-sided story. She also notes that it was the British Empire who fought the world war two not the Britain in essence ([Ram, 2017](#)).

Ayesha Jalal wrote Mantos biography very confidently. She questions and counterattacks the previous scholarship on partition of the Indian subcontinent on basis of religious difference and develops a case in which we are exposed to stories and narratives of individuals, families and communities who survived this partition and makes us pity partition and not make it a success story and celebrate it ([Jalal, 2013](#)).

What scholars negate in the Two Nation Theory is the historical fact when two different nations were living when Muslims were ruling India. Second, if the Two Nation Theory was to be mobilized, Muslims who left behind in India is a big question mark.

The foundation on which Pakistan was created is the Two Nation Theory. This theory has played its part in making Muslims identity although still it's in liquid form. Scholars argue that what was meant by the Two Nation Theory and how meanings have been added to it later is different ([Ahmed, 2017](#)).

### **2.3. The Two Nation Theory**

The Two Nation Theory dates to when Islam was introduced in the Indian subcontinent; it was the time when Muslims and Hindus were two nations who were trying to match their religious, political and social interest. This Two Nation Theory as a theory came into the picture after the war of independence of 1857. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan is the Pioneer of this concept which he argued after experiencing the event of "Hindi Urdu controversy". To Sir Syed Ahmed Khan theory, Allama Iqbal gave it a further philosophical interpretation which was put in practice by Muhammad Ali Jinnah to achieve Pakistan ([Chattha, 2019](#)).

The Two Nation Theory was preaching that both the two major communities in India namely the Muslims and the Hindus wanted their own territorial boundaries which they could rule. The reason it was proposed was because both the communities had unmatched religion, social, political and cultural beliefs. The core belief on which Pakistan was created is said to be on the Two Nation Theory. It is widely accepted historical narrative that Pakistan was created because Muslims and Hindus were two different nations and could not be united peacefully.

The Two nation Theory primarily means two different nations and to protect the right of both the nations. In the Indian subcontinent there were two nations namely the Muslims and the Hindus. Both of these two nations had different religion and culture. The difference of these two religiously, politically and socially different minds gave attestation to the Two Nation Theory which later gave push to start the Pakistan movement resulting in Pakistan. The definition of the Two Nation Theory seems easy, but it has been subject to misunderstanding of it. Muhammad Ali Jinnah had always stood for Hindu Muslim unity despite their differences and find a solution to cooperate with each other so they could govern the mother India together. However, his thought and belief changed when in the Lahore resolution of 1940 he claimed that Muslims and Hindus could not be united as singular nation or mutually govern the India on compromises ([Ali, 2001](#)).

The prime definition of Two Nation theory can be told as a concept where the differences particularly the religious deserved to have a geographical boundary of its own. It can be described as a right of birth of differences. Pakistan was first country to build on religion basis.

The event of 1971 when East and West Pakistan was divided questioned the Two Nation Theory and was explained as that the Two Nation Theory created more differences then uniting the Muslims. The Two Nation Theory said to promote religious differences only which was in real creating hatred and intolerance in Muslims which made Muslims weak and became pitiful. The Two Nation Theory is also said to be providing shelter to Muslim elite as they did not want to lose the perks that they were getting from the British. This Two Nation theory made life vulnerable for billions of Muslims who were trying to survive basic food and shelter ([Ali, 2001](#)).

The Two Nation Theory was basically to protect and safeguard Muslims identity in the Indian subcontinent where they feared Hindu domination and wanted to follow their religion freely without any hindrance. So, the demand for Pakistan was put forward.

Ayesha Jalal also negated the Two Nation Theory created Pakistan narrative by giving example of East and West Pakistan divide, she argues that religion could be one reason but was not the only reason for the partition of 1947 to happen ([Jalal, 2017](#)).

According to Manto, both the Muslims and the Hindus suffered the most from this partition event because they both experienced in real the sufferings and called them slaves of partition. He went on explaining what he meant by slaves was that Muslims and Hindus had become slave of religious passions and slaves of animal instincts and cruelty ([Jalal, 2013](#)).

### **2.4. Identity**

The simple definition to understand identity is individuals and communities being recognized by the ethnicity, religion and gender. Identity is something to celebrate the culture religion and gender that they belong to. It can be also explained as the minority being different from the majority community. The minorities hold their own history, literature, language, race, ethnicity, religion and gender to create identity. The definition of identity is very basic but very difficult to comprehend in the Indian subcontinent history and in creation of Pakistan. Identity is an accumulation of ethnicity, religion and gender in any community or society. Identity gives a right to be different

from the majority community. The minority community is buying their identity from their history, literature, language, race, ethnicity, religion and gender ([Kamran, 2018](#)).

Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar on identity says that it is not possible for a man to forget his roots and identity in the society where he learns in. Ian Talbot writes that Pakistan has been in search of its identity since long now and still able to define it clearly as one ([Kamran, 2018](#)).

### **2.5. The Two Nation Theory and Identity Analysis**

History cannot be changed however the future can likely be changed for good. The Two Nation Theory called Pakistan a religious state and its identity based on religion Islam. However, Muslims political leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah emphasized in many occasions that he did not want to have a non secular state or an Islamist state. The reason for him to create Pakistan was to lift the position of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent but he never preached Muslims growing hostility towards the Hindus.

The Two Nation Theory has said to define the identity of the Muslims. There are some academic scholars who accuse this Two Nation Theory because they think that this idea generates from the top class aristocrats who were representing poor Muslim community in India. Further, after Pakistan being made this very notion was again followed by the Military Elites, Civil, Bureaucrats to attain their selfish political interests of gaining power and authority ([Ahmed, 2017](#)).

Pakistan is said to have taken a road to religious extremism willingly or unwillingly. What scholars have to say on this is that unfortunately to date Pakistan has not been successful in defining national identity in Pakistan. There is no government policy to date which defines or dictates it. The most common reason that scholars accuse the government is that, Pakistani government has still not drawn a line between where religion ends, and state affairs start. Religion has been made the center spectrum and everything is seen from a religious lens ([Ahmed, 2017](#)).

### **2.6. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan**

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was a nineteenth century educationist and a reformer. He was the personality who summed up the idea that there were two distinctive communities in India who unmatched in aspects of religion and culture. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the first person who saw Hindu domination when the Hindi Urdu Controversy came in India. This particular event made Sir Syed Ahmed Khan guess easily that how Hindus had become closer to the British and how easily they convinced the governor of United Provinces Mr. Anthony MacDonnel to replace Urdu language to Hindi as the new official language of British India. This event shook him to the point where he put forward his clear ideas as now we call it the Two Nation Theory .Sir Syed Ahmed Khan intelligent thinking and wisdom is what took this Two Nation Theory forward. After the Hindi Urdu Controversy he was convinced that if the British were to quit India the Hindus would definitely rule over the Muslims and he did not want that considering how glorious Muslim past has been ([Chattha, 2019](#)).

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan therefore is called the father of the Two Nation Theory. His idea of Muslims having a state with their own identity contained became the foundation for the struggle for Pakistan and through this idea as a goal for All India Muslim League to achieve Pakistan became a reality ([Ikram, 2005](#)).

### **2.7. Allama Iqbal**

Allama Iqbal was a Muslim poet, philosopher and a politician. The time when Allama Iqbal was born was the time when the Mughal period was declining and the British through the East India Company had made its way to the Indian subcontinent and was establishing a colony. Allama Iqbal's interpretation of Muslims as one different nation was "Nations are based with religion: not with territories. So, we are separate nation because we have our own ideology" which meant that religion defined nation not the geographical boundary and that Muslims were a separate nation because they had their own religion and an ideology which was defining the Muslim identity which was precious to them more than anything ([Khurshid, 2017](#)).

Allama Iqbal is called the intellectual marrow of Pakistan as his thought that religion could only unite nations. To Allama Iqbal clearly Muslim identity was Islam. The slogan which got famous during the Pakistan movement was "Pakistan ka matlab kya la Illaha illallah" which translated his idea of Muslims and them being different from The Hindus. This slogan meant that that there was no God except for Allah and his last prophet who was Muhammad (peace be upon him).What Allama Iqbal wanted was that Muslims should have Muslim nationalism based on Islam without any intolerance and discrimination on history, culture, traditions and ethnicity. Common religion Islam to him was the gelling agent for Muslims to protect their distinctive identity. He wanted Muslims to rise and be at power again just like in the past he wanted Muslims to gain political power as to regain uniqueness of Muslims. What motivation Allama Iqbal wanted to give to Muslims was of Pakistan, a separate homeland. He did not stop motivating Muslims to be aware of their rights and interests in the Indian subcontinent. His educational reforms will be long remembered as this Muslim awakening became the beginning of an Islamic ideology which was defining the Muslim identity ([Khurshid, 2017](#)).

Allama Iqbal was acknowledged as a politician in his Allahabad address in 1930 which is also famously known as the presidential address which put forward the idea of Pakistan in which he highlighted the reasons of Muslim identity which contrasted with the Hindus which could be summarized majorly as religious and cultural differences ([Khurshid, 2017](#)).

### **2.8. Muhammad Ali Jinnah**

Muhammad Ali Jinnah is a well known personality in context of Indian subcontinent history. He was an important personality as he led the Pakistan movement and achieved Pakistan in August 1947 giving Muslims a land where they were free to practice their own religion without any fear as well as it gave them sense of pride and security. He was first a party member in the Congress but left it after he understood that it was not recognizing Muslims as part of India but not even an important subject in politics as well as was more focused in Hindu nationalist activities.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his politics were considered as a very just one. The reason why his politics was called a very fair one was because he truly did not believe in any kind of prejudice in contrast to Hindu leader Gandhi who was one of leading leaders of Congress political party. Gandhi was a staunch Hindu nationalist and just because of his proposed Hindu policies Muhammad Ali Jinnah quit the Congress in 1921 because he thought that his policies were making two communities namely the Muslims and Hindus away from each other and Muhammad Ali Jinnah did not want that but wanted both the communities to unite. Muhammad Ali Jinnah has said to dislike Gandhi's civil disobedience policies and his support for the Khilafat movement which turned off Muhammad Ali Jinnah and made him convince to join the All India Muslim League ([Jalal, 2010](#)).

The one quarter of population in the Indian subcontinent was of Muslims and Hindu population being a majority was a threat for Muslims as they feared Hindu domination. Hindu domination clearly meant Hindu enforcing their religion, culture, Hindi language, traditions and social aspects on Muslims. Muslims knew that if Hindus were to rule they would treat Muslims in a bad way. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a sincere and a very honest advocate for Hindu Muslim unity but after he witnessed events like the Congress ministries, he had to rethink about his ideas and thoughts. Later, when Mohammad Ali Jinnah was convinced about the fact that Hindus and Muslims cannot be united peacefully, Mohammad Ali Jinnah made the Two Nation Theory an agenda for the All India Muslim League to achieve which he did ([Ikram, 2005](#)).

Even when Muhammad Ali Jinnah was in the All India Muslim League he did not leave the idea of Hindu Muslim unity. He believed that the cooperation between Hindu and Muslims was a possibility in a peaceful manner. His political dreams were shaken when Nehru a leading Congress political party member proposed a report which happened to be called the Nehru Report I which rejected Muslims and minority rights as if Muslims did not exist in the Indian subcontinent ([Ikram, 2005](#)).

In response to the Nehru report Muhammad Ali Jinnah did not sit quietly but put forward his fourteen points which is seen as an important document in light of partition of 1947. His fourteen points had no mention about Pakistan or a separate homeland for Muslims but displaced hope for Hindu Muslim unity living peacefully. But, his fourteen points are still acknowledged as it marked a strong case for the Indian Muslims which led to important future concerns and decisions ([Ikram, 2005](#)).

Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his role in partition is mostly written by two books namely "The Sole Spokesman" and "Jinnah of Pakistan" which helps reach to the origins of Muslim identity in British India.

What Muhammad Ali Jinnah has reported to say about the newly born state Pakistan that Pakistanis could choose themselves how they would want Pakistan to become? If we analyze this from what Ayesha Jalal wrote in her book the sole spokesperson we can see that in Indian subcontinent history there is a lot which Muhammad Ali Jinnah made but there is not much context that made Muhammad Ali Jinnah. She also adds that it operated within the context of Muslims in British India while Muslims were not very organized and united. Muhammad Ali Jinnah prime goal was to only give protection to the minority from the authority of Muslim majority province ([Jalal, 2010](#)).

Ayesha Jalal also clarifies that Muhammad Ali Jinnah did not want Pakistan to be an Islamic state however it is true that Pakistan was created for Indian Muslims. On Two Nation Theory she says that this theory was misused by the Islamists as an ideological weapon to show that Pakistan was an Islamic state. Another critique of this Two Nation Theory was Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who declared the Two Nation Theory dead when East and West Pakistan parted in 1971 ([Jalal, 2010](#)).

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was recognized as an undisputed leader by the All India Muslim League and the Congress in 1939, throughout his political career he has been against Muslim separate state because he thought living under one federation would be more advantageous for the Muslims but his speech on 1940 depicted his change of mind in which he promised to himself and the Muslims for a separate Muslim homeland. This idea of making of Pakistan was then discussed with Gandhi in the famous Gandhi Jinnah talks ([Wynbrandt & Gerges, 2009](#)).

What Muhammad Ali Jinnah had imagined was not India and Pakistan being enemy state of each other; he achieved Pakistan so that he can give Indian Muslims political and economic independence from Hindu domination which was growing day by day before the partition in 1947. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was fair and just to an extent because the Muslims who chose to stay back in India during the partitioned; he advised them to be loyal to their state where they would be living as a Muslim community.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah in Stanley Wolpert words "Few individuals significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation-state. Mohammad Ali Jinnah did all three. Hailed as "Great Leader" (Quaid-i-Azam) of Pakistan and its first Governor-General, Muhammad Ali Jinnah virtually conjured that country into state hood by force of his indomitable will." In his book he describes Muhammad Ali Jinnah by calling him the champion of Hindu Muslim unity as by using best of his abilities and energy he was able to get Pakistan. The greatest achievement is being recognized not by Muslims but the Hindus and earned the title of "Ambassador of Hindu Muslim Unity" but this was the time when the circumstances started changing in India where Muhammad Ali Jinnah had to rethink about his politics which was essentially to protect and give security to the rights of the minorities. He in the beginning wanted United Bengal which shows that he never wanted partition ([Wolpert, 2017](#)).

### **3. Conclusion**

In this research article the focus is placed looking at various historical narratives on Indo Pakistan partition of 1947. The claimed argument which was explored in the research was that the reason for the creation of Pakistan was the Two Nation Theory. What can be concluded in this article is that that Two Nation Theory did have an important role to play in the creation of Pakistan but it does not deserve all credit nor Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah deserves it but was an accumulation of series of events and decisions that were taken by the Muslim leaders in undivided India. Everything had a part in creating Pakistan; it cannot be linked and connected with one figure or a historical event only. I do acknowledge the role of the Two Nation Theory, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah in the creation of

Pakistan. It is true that all these personalities have been the driving force behind the Two Nation Theory and Pakistan's creation.

Talking about the differences between the two communities the Muslims and the Hindus were of religion, the Muslims followed a monolithic Abrahmic religion of Islam worshipping one God, whereas Hindus worshipped many Deities. The rule of Mughal of India spanning a few centuries, created an undercurrent of Muslim Hindu bias.

However it took stronger roots under the tyranny of British East India Company's rule of the subcontinent, which had an inherent bias towards Hindus favoring them over Muslims based on religious prejudice.

When the British came with their East India Company, they brought the concept of majority and minority in the Indian subcontinent. Decline of the Mughal Empire is also linked with the Two Nation Theory.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan has a huge and a significant role in awakening the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent. He keeps the title of the father of Two Nation Theory because he gave Indian Muslims direction to follow after realizing the Muslim Hindu unity was not possible. The most convincing event that he experienced was the Hindi Urdu controversy which made him decide this and thought that Hindus will only grow their hostility towards the Muslims.

Allama Iqbal 1930 Allahabad address became so famous and significant in the history of Indian subcontinent. He saw clear differences between the Muslims and the Hindus and took ahead Sir Syed Ahmed Khans Two Nation Theory and made it the base for the Pakistan movement which resulted in Pakistan. His Allahabad famous address is also known as the presidential address in which he proposed Punjab, N.W.F.P, Sindh and Baluchistan as one state for Muslims. He saw the future of India without the British and his short term and long-term solutions both were considered in deciding Indian Muslims future. Allama Iqbal detested the fact that how present and future India would be looking like because to him united India (Muslims and Hindus together in India was poetic) ([Ikram, 2005](#)).

Muhammad Ali Jinnah much later accepted the fact that Muslim Hindu unity in future India would not be possible and therefore had to come to terms with the proposed and much debated Two Nation Theory among Muslim literates and leaders alike. He fought this case of winning a separate homeland from the British who were quitting India as well as the Hindus. Mohammad Ali Jinnah claims that Muslims were fundamentally different from Hindus in every aspect of life.

Like many Nation states who got independence from European imperial and colonial powers of the 20th century, Pakistan's struggle is equally mired in various contributing factors, from a unison concept of a Muslim homeland, envisaged by its forefathers, Sir Syed Ahmad and Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah a fervent ardent believer for independence fought the case of Pakistan with its colonial Masters and nemesis alike. It is important to highlight that perhaps, a single major narrative of Two Nation Theory was so potent a factor in uniting the entire Muslim population of Indian subcontinent to demand a separate homeland, of course simultaneously there were many other factors at play, e.g. British exhaustion from World War 2 and post war resurgence of national and ethnic struggles across South and South East Asia.

From the outset it is fair to acknowledge that Muslims of India were truly led by three dynamic leaders Sir Syed, Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who contributed to the struggle of independence within their circle of competence. Sir Syed by giving a stark reminder of social inequality due to lack of education among Muslims and Allama Iqbal by envisaging a separate state for Muslims and Muhammad Ali Jinnah by being an ardent chief architect of arguing, negotiating, and safely navigating a creation of a new state from its old Masters.

Pakistan thrives for national identity is a serious concern. Pakistan needs to unite Pakistanis depicting one identity. Some people say that Pakistan identity was created when Pakistan came into being and some say that Pakistan identity was created before Pakistan came into being. Some scholars have accused Muhammad Ali Jinnah for identity cause because Muhammad Ali Muhammad Ali Jinnah in his speeches always spoke about Pakistan being a secular state. This had divided view amongst people who are living in Pakistan.

Lastly, the article on the Two Nation Theory and creation of Pakistan claims that the contours of Pakistan cannot be credited to one person or event in fact it is much more complexed. The research shows that there was not only Two Nation Theory involved in creation of Pakistan but multiple factors and changing circumstances and political decisions which led to Pakistan's birth.

Identity definition is not conformed because it is constantly changing to time. Identity is always being redefined with changing time and events. To me, the word identity is more like celebration of differences where differences are respected and honored and not made a subject to detest or create hostility for it. Ayesha Jalal quoted to have said "Either you're giving a Pakistani line or you're giving an Indian line, which I think is very problematic in an academic environment" which is so relevant to my context of research study. Then in my last few lines I would quote Jane Elliot who said "We don't need a melting pot in this country, folks. We need a salad bowl. In a salad bowl, you put in the different things. You want the vegetables – the lettuce, the cucumbers, the onions, the green peppers – to maintain their identity. You appreciate differences." This is how I would want to end my article. Different colors make a rainbow not just one color. The beauty of color is enhanced when it is mixed up with different colors; it produces different shades of color.

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