ALLAMA IQBAL AND MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH'S VOYAGE FROM INDIAN NATIONALISM TO MUSLIM SEPARATISM

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Abstract

Pakistan came into being as a sovereign Muslim state in August 1947 on the basis of an ideology i.e. 'Two-nation Theory'. With the advent of British and failure of Indian War of Independence in 1857, Indians (Hindus & Muslims) triggered a political struggle to attain emancipation from the British rule. In the beginning, all political leaders, Muslims and Hindus struggled for independence of United India; however, with the passage of time, and experiencing the Hindu facet, the prolific Muslim leaders transformed their political philosophy from Indian nationalism to Muslim separatism. This voyage proved to be the decisive factor in the attainment of a separate homeland for Muslims of Subcontinent. In less than fifty years (between 1880 to 1930) three loftiest Muslim leaders; Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1917-1898), Allama Dr Muhammad Igbal (1877-1938) and Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), starting their political career as staunch Indian nationalists ended up as the Muslim separatists, thereby paving a way towards the creation of Pakistan. In this study, the political philosophy of Allama Iqbal & Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and

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the said transformation need to be analysed in the political milieu as well as annals of succeeding events / attitudes to determine it a vital factor towards the attainment of an independent state.

Keywords: Allama Iqbal, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Indian nationalism, Muslim Separatism, Freedom Movement.

Introduction

Pakistan came into being as a sovereign Muslim state in August 1947 on the basis of an ideology called as 'Two-nation Theory'. Hindus and Muslims had been living together in Indian subcontinent since eighth century and India had been ruled, for most of the time, by the Muslim rulers who had promulgated justice and introduced religious tolerance towards other communities, thereby successfully ruling over a Hindumajority country. With the advent of British and failure of Indian War of Independence in 1857, all Indians (Hindus and Muslims) collectively triggered a political struggle to attain emancipation from the British rule. In the beginning, all political leaders, Muslims and Hindus struggled for United India but with the passage of time, and experiencing the Hindu facet, the prolific and accomplished political leaders, especially Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Dr Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah transformed their political philosophy from Indian nationalism towards Muslim separatism. This voyage proved to be the decisive factor in the attainment of a separate homeland for the Muslims of Subcontinent and this did not take much time. In less than fifty years, between 1880 to 1930, three loftiest Muslim leaders; Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1917-1898), Allama Dr Muhammad Igbal (1877-1938) and Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), starting their political career as staunch Indian nationalists ended up as the Muslim separatists, thereby paving a way towards the creation of Pakistan. In this study, the political

philosophy of Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and its transformation from nationalist to separatist need to be analysed in the political milieu and annals of succeeding events / attitudes to determine it a vital factor towards the attainment of an independent state. For comprehensive, understanding all variables need to be elaborated in true perspective to truly understand the political ambience and derive desired deductions.

Nationalism

Nationalism is a psychological relationship reflecting unalterable love for one's country / land and even desire to scarify one's own life for its honour, dignity and defence. According to the Penguin Dictionary of Politics "Nationalism is the political belief that some group of people represents a natural community which should live under one political system, be independent of others, and, often, has the right to demand an equal standing in the world order with others". ¹

Merriam-Webster dictionary defines the concept of nationalism as 'a feeling that people have of being loyal to and proud of their country often with the belief that it is better and more important than other countries'.²

Encyclopedia Britannica explains the concept as "a feeling that people have of being loyal to and proud of their country often with the belief that it is better and more important than other countries". The concept of Indian nationalism was that people from all religions; Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Sikhs etc, all races, ethnic groups desire to live in United India peacefully without being divided in the name of religions, languages, races and ethnic groups. Muslims arrived in India in eighth century and then started living with Hindu majority peacefully. India had been ruled by the Muslims, for most of the time, and their

philosophy of religious tolerance created harmony amongst Indians; all kept living in United India above their religious, ethnic and racist considerations. Dr Allama Muhammad Iqbal writes about this concept that "It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members".⁴

Separatism

The concept of separatism is that a group of people do not want to be part of specific country anymore and want to formulate a separate country on the basis of religion, language, ethnicity, race or land. It can also be defined as "a desire by a large group of people (such as people who share the same culture, history, language, etc.) to form a separate and independent nation of their own". Separatists in Subcontinent wanted not only independence from British but also from other majority i.e. Hindus and wanted their own separate homeland like Muslims of India were demanding for Pakistan. These separatist ideas were not based on narrow communalism but has a long history where they were forced to nourish the concept of a separate nation with own distinctive history, culture, language and civilization worthy to have a separate homeland. Minorities especially the Muslims had the fear that they would lose their identity in front of Hindu majority in the name of democracy.

Allama Dr Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938)

The poet-philosopher of Islam⁷ and the thinker of Orient⁸ was born in Sialkot in 1877, qualified Masters in Philosophy from Government College Lahore and proceeded to Germany for his PhD in

1905, and after completing the degree came back from Europe in 1908. Like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898), Igbal was an Indian nationalist in the beginning; as Sir Syed hasd been a staunch supporter of Indian nationalism, always personified India as a beautiful bride and Muslims and Hindus as her lustrous eyes. It was only Urdu-Hindi Controversy of 1867 that Sir Syed changed his political philosophy from Indian nationalist to Muslim separatism; and mentioned it to his friend Shakespeare, the commissioner of Banaras. Likewise, Allama Igbal also became convinced that concept of Indian nationalism is narrow in its spirit as it is based on ethnicity, culture, and land. Allama Iqbal chose poetry as a medium for the reflection of 'prevailing milieu, his people's hopes and fears, their ambitions and aspirations, their travails and dilemmas⁹.But unlike Sir Syed Khan and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, he passed through three distinct phases of his life, termed as 'nationalistic, pan-Islamic and Muslim-nationalism phases' 10. Talking about the first phase; Iqbal earned fame as an Indian nationalist in the beginning, as 27-year old lecturer of Government College Lahore and was enthralled in passionate love of India (Hindustan). He used to admire and eulogize the romance of India by describing its incredible rivers, wonderful mountains, ravishing beauty, glorious past and an enviable cultural heritage. This is the time once Igbal, like other nationalist poet of Bengal; Rabindra Nath Tagore cherished the idea of United India. Once he was invited by a student Lala Har Dayal to preside over a function and instead of making some speech, Allama Iqbal recited Tarana-i-Hindi which was included in his book Baang-i-Dara: -

(Better than the entire world, is our Hindustan, We are its nightingales, and it (is) our garden abode)

(Religion does not teach us to bear animosity among ourselves We are of Hind, our homeland is Hindustan)¹²

This song undeniably reflects the attachment of Iqbal in an elegiac way, with the land of Hindustan while embracing its ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity. Iqbal here appreciates the pluralistic and composite Hindu-Muslim culture and admires their peaceful coexistence. Everywhere Iqbal admires his country and people along with the cultural diversity. Then Igbal left for a three-year sojourn towards Europe where his philosophy is changed from Indian nationalist to a purely Islamic philosopher; a great visionary endeavoring to establish Islamic polity. This is the time once he carried out an extensive study of Islam and modern European society which helped him change his thoughts; but still avoided being Muslim separatist. On his return to India in 1908, a transformation can be seen in Iqbal. The political ambience at that time in Subcontinent was that Partition of Bengal was carried out in 1905 where Muslims took sigh of relief which could not be tolerated by the Hindus (in the name of Bengali nationalism) and they triggered a movement for its annulment. Iqbal in a changed mind, in 1910, recited following song *Tarana-e-Milli* (Anthem of the Religious Community) repudiating the earlier sentiments: -

(Central Asia¹⁴ and Arabia are ours, Hindustan is ours We are Muslims; the whole world is our homeland)

Now in 1910, Iqbal's philosophy had been transformed and hadbecome global; now Hindustan is not 'our homeland' but the 'whole world is our homeland'. Iqbal stated that Islam endeavoured to create new social set up *millat* or *Ummah*¹⁵ which must not be identified / amalgamated with a country; and since Muslims are different in their culture, history, ideology and civilization, therefore, cannot be assimilated in a Hindu-dominated political nationalism of India and instead advocated for cultural nationalism. Iqbal criticised the Muslims for becoming race-conscious, race-oriented and followers of narrow patriotism as well as false nationalism¹⁷; motivated them to build up a single *millat* or *ummah*, and then raised a clarion call to forge unity amongst Muslims for unfilterable defence of House of Allah from the banks of the Nile to the frontiers of *Kashgar*. Is

In next two decades, Iqbal had very minutely observed the succeeding events in Indian politics along with their attitude, response and dealings with Indian Muslims; the events like termination of *Khilafat* Movement (1919-1921), *Nehru* Report (1928) and Hindus response towards Jinnah's Fourteen Points (1929) and was convinced that Hindu facet in India had become much pronounced. Hindus were no more tolerant towards Muslims; but were hell bent upon eliminating their identity from India. Nehru propagated that Muslims were afraid of democracy, besides having roots in religion but '80 million Muslims are looking a safeguard against the communal oligarchy of Hindus in the garb of democracy, as the Hindus formed three fourth of the population. Once he observed that all possible attempts of reconciliation between these two conspicuously distinct nations had been

exhausted, he then in 1930, supported a separate nation-state in Muslim majority areas of Indian Subcontinent and paved a way towards the creation of separate homeland (Pakistan). In the annual address of Muslim League at Allahabad, Iqbal unequivocally enunciated that:

'India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race consciousness. I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim state in the best interest of India and Islam.'²¹

This epoch making address contained the final destiny of the Muslims of Indian Subcontinent and the country was termed as "Pakistan as brainchild of Iqbal" as he spoke that "I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan been combined into a single state' and finally announced that 'The formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of the North West India."

Allama Iqbal's demand of separate homeland for Muslims was not based on narrow concept of communalism; he clarified it by saying:

'A community which is inspired by a feeling of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religions and social institutions of other communities.'24

Iqbal observed that nationalism in Europe nurtured in the land of secularism, which declared the religion as private affair and excluded the role of religion from social and political spheres of life. Consequently, it deprived European states of the common bond of religion in which they were connected. Consequently, territorial and racial nationalism replaced

the religion. In his Allahabad address, Iqbal has traced back the evolutionary process of the rise of secularism and nationalism. The process started with the protest and revolt of Martin Luther against the authority and office of the pope in 16th century. Iqbal observes that Luther's challenge to the authority of Christian monastic order and church-organization resulted in complete displacement of "universal ethics of Jesus..by national systems of ethics and polity" He observes that 'the conclusion to which Europe is consequently driven is that religion is a private affair of the individual and has nothing to do with what is called man's temporal life'. ²⁶ He says:

It is, then, this mistaken separation of spiritual and temporal which has largely influenced European religious and political thought, and has resulted practically in the total exclusion of Christianity from the European states. The result is a set of mutually ill-adjusted States dominated by interests, not human but national. ²⁷

Iqbal has expressed his concern that "the national idea is racializing the outlook of Muslims" and younger Muslims, inspired by European religious and political "ideas, are anxious to see them as living forces in their own countries, without any critical appreciation of the facts which have determined their evolution in Europe."²⁸ He advised the Muslims:

(Judge not your nation on the criteria of Western nations Special in composition is the Hashmi Prophet's nation)

(Based on country and race is their organization The force of religion stabilizes your organization) ²⁹

Idbal a true visionary for the Muslims of the region, raised voice for separate country before the demand of Muslim League in 1940 through a resolution³⁰ and this demand was the result of a process of evolution in his political philosophy / ideology from Indian nationalist to Muslim separatist in the period of just twenty-five years (from 1905 to 1930). This paradigm shift was extremely consequential and it enabled Iqbal to advocate for the amalgamation of Muslim majority provinces 'into a single state', in 1930, so that the Indian Muslims, a mere 'minority' in India might become a 'sovereign nation' in an independent country. This demand proved decisive factor in the subsequent demands of Muslims of Subcontinent who gathered themselves under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and attained a separate homeland. Allama Iqbal was rather quick in transforming himself; he did not spend much time on the illusion of Indian nationalism. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had already provided a basis of Muslim separatism; and philosopher and thinker like Igbal would take no time in the appreciation of the situation of India and the nature of its masses. Then Iqbal, an avid and ferocious reader of books with a keen observation of world cultures / civilizations, did not believe on western narrow concept of nationalism. He introduced high ideals of life; endeavoured to recapture the glory of Islam in true spirits, reiterated on the Muslim renaissance, asked to follow the glorious path of Islam and, therefore, preached for a wider definition of nationalism. Igbal not only strengthened the evolution of Sir Syed Ahmed

Khan but also made the voyage of Jinnah very easy. If Iqbal were to remain as Indian nationalist, the dream to have a separate state would remain dream for Muslims of Subcontinent.

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948)

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah; the creator / founder of Pakistan,was a history-making leader / statesman³¹who possessed a visionary leadership, commitment to the cause having the capacity of political mobilization. He was a charismatic leader³² and gave "separate identity and an undeniable recognition"33. He was born in Karachi in 1876, got his early education from Karachi and Bombay then went to England in 1894 to join Lincoln Inn to become barrister³⁴.He entered politics by joining Indian National Congress³⁵ in 1906 and was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1909³⁶. Right from the outset, Jinnah was a 'thorough-going nationalist' ³⁷ and so was his political philosophy. He came under the influence of nationalist as well as moderate personalities like Dadabhai Noruji and Gopal Krishna Gokhale³⁸; was even known as a 'Muslim Gokhale'. In this phase of Jinnah's life (1906-1910), he was staunch Indian nationalist and remained unconcerned with ethnic, religious and parochial divisions and considered territorial unity as supreme. He did not approve formation of Muslim League under Nawabs and Rajas and in 1910 defeated a Muslim candidate from Congress side on a Muslim seat. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, was an Indian nationalist³⁹ and like him, Jinnah considered the religious beliefs above the politics i.e. a personal matter. This was the time once he had nourished high sense of Indian nationhood, love for India and unity of all Indians (Muslims & Hindus) and envisaged the interests of Muslims in the context of Indian nationalism. He remained unaffected from the developments of that time; Bengal was partitioned in 1905 by Lord

Curzon on administrative grounds and Muslims, by the stroke of good luck, were able to get majority in one province which could not be tolerated by Hindus. Therefore, Bengali Hindus, under the name of Bengali nationalism triggered a vigorous movement for the annulment of Partition of Bengal. Partition was actually annulled in 1911 and Muslims were dejected on the point that what was the loss of Hindus? Muslims had attained something, accidently, without damaging or affecting the interests of Hindus; but it all could not be digested by prejudiced Hindus.

Jinnah joined Congress in 1906 as it had the manifestation of unity of India; and self-rule leading towards the emancipation from British colonialism. All India Muslim League was founded in 1906 but Jinnah remained aloof from it in its early seven years. It was only 1913 once he joined it on the assurance that it was as devoted as Congress to attain political independence of India; however, he did not leave Indian National Congress. Once Indian Home Rule League was founded with a manifestation to get independence of India, Jinnah became its chief organizer and President of its Bombay branch. Ian Wells describes the trajectory of Jinnah's early political career describing him as a 'liberal constitutionalist of sorts, a disciple of Morley in political philosophy and *Gokhale* in political strategy'⁴⁰. He was the 'idol of the youth' and 'uncrowned king of Bombay' at that time⁴¹. He passionately believed in and assiduously worked for Hindu-Muslim unity. *Gokhale*, maintained about him:

'He has the true stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which will make him the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity: And, to be sure, he did become the architect of Hindu-Muslim Unity: he was responsible for the Congress-League Pact of 1916, known popularly as Lucknow

Pact- the only pact ever signed between the two political organisations, the Congress and the All-India Muslim League, representing, as they did, the two major communities in the subcontinent.'42

While being the joint member of Congress and Muslim League, Jinnah unleashed his relentless efforts to create political unity, bring both organizations closer to each other and forge unity among them to jointly fight against British and, therefore, rightly earned the title of 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity' an epithet coined by *Gokhale*. Jinnah tirelessly worked on this unity and managed to have Congress and Muslim League hold their joint sessions of consultations; in 1915 they held meeting in Bombay and then in 1916 at Lucknow where an epoch making pact was signed named as Lucknow Pact. This pact was a wonderful epitome of give and take; but the Muslims attained the right of separate electorate⁴³, one-third representation in Central Assembly⁴⁴ and protection of minority rights which subsequently proved very helpful in struggle movement.

In the first phase of his political career, from 1910 to 1930, Muhammad Ali Jinnah remained the ambassador of Hindu Muslim Unity; advocated for separate electorate and secured a crowning achievement in the form of Lucknow Pact (the only pact between Congress and the Muslim League). Meanwhile, a new political force in the person of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi emerged at the political ambience and India appeared to be completely swayed under his undeniable / irresistible influence; resultantly creating an atmosphere of vitality, agitation, frenzy, and non-cooperation. Jinnah; a devoted constitutionalist renounced this approach, left Congress as well as Home Rule League in 1920 on issue of *Swaraj* (complete freedom). He also

kept himself aloof from this political frenzy and non-cooperation movement of *Khilafat* Movement⁴⁵but still continued to be the believer of Hindu Muslim Unity. As a Muslim Leaguer now, he started working on converting league into an enlightened political body even at the time of the advent of Hindu revivalist movements (*Sangathan, and Shuddhi*) against Muslim entry in Congress in early 1920s⁴⁶and Jinnah remained working on rapprochement policy.

Then a decisive moment in the history of freedom movement came; Motilal Nehru (father of Jawaharlal Nehru) formulated a prejudiced report known as 'Nehru Report' in 1928 wherein even the right of separate electorate already conceded to the Muslims was confiscated. This report conspicuously revealed the true Hindu facet and their narrow-mindedness towards Muslims. How can a political organization could back out from the promise which it had already made, just few years after the concession when nothing wrong was done by that community? However, Jinnah under the same spirit of Hindu Muslim Unity and rapprochement offered reasonable amendments which were turned down by the Congress. A neutral mind would have stated that on looking at the amendments offered by Jinnah, the gulf between two nations was not a bigger one; but there was no desire to bridge it. Having been disappointed from the proposed amendments, Jinnah, resultantly in 1929, gave his Fourteen Points, which, for the sake of harmony with Congress, included recommendations of a federal form of government, separation of Sindh from Bombay, greater rights for minorities, reforms in NWFP, and one-third representation of Muslims in central legislature. These Fourteen Points were not accepted by Congress. This situation was beyond the comprehension of Jinnah. First of all, Congress could not accept his minor and reasonable amendments in Nehru Report (1928) of separate electorate and reservation of seats for Muslims in the legislatures and then did not give due weight-age to the Fourteen Points; he was resultantly frustrated. He cried on this occasion and narrated it as 'parting of the ways' Jinnah was in a strange position; many Muslims thought him too nationalist that interests of the Muslims were not safe in his hands, whereas Congress could not meet his modest and moderate demands halfway. Jinnah, in dismay went to London in 1930 and devoted himself to practice before Privy Council till 1935 once he was persuaded to come back to lead Muslims again.

Jinnah still tried to attain the objective of forging unity at the Round Table Conferences⁴⁸in London (1930-32) and once elections under the Government of India Act of 1935 were announced⁴⁹, he was still thinking of co-operation between both organizations with coalition governments in the provinces⁵⁰. During the second phase of Jinnah's political career in 1930s, (which was certainly different from the first phase of 1906-1930) Jinnah aligned himself as the spokesman of Muslim minority but continued to search for opportunities to bring Muslims and Hindus together. But still he was an Indian nationalist as long as emancipation from British, Indian unity and Hindu-Muslim settlements were concerned⁵¹; he was now talking about rights of Muslims without hinting at separation or partition⁵². Jinnah described Muslims of India as a 'nation' in Legislative Assembly in February 1935 and stated that 'combination of religion, culture, race, arts, music and so forth make a minority a separate entity'. Then at Bombay, in March 1936, he asserted that 'Muslims could arrive at a settlement with Hindus as two nations'. In the following year (1937), he reiterated that there was a 'third party in India, the Muslims^{,53}.

Elections under Government of India Act (1935) were conducted in 1937 and proved fatal in the future relations between the two organizations; Congress secured an absolute majority in six provinces, and Muslim League did not perform well. Resultantly Congress ministries were formulated who unleashed discrimination⁵⁴, and vendetta unto Muslims and adopted atrocious methods to annihilate them thereby convincing even Jinnah that both these nations were distinctively different from each other and their interests could not be common under any circumstances. Two and half years' rule by the Congress Ministries was truly an eye-opener for the Muslims of Subcontinent. Even the staunch supporter of Indian nationalism would turn its view point on the atrocities of Congress towards the Muslims. End of Congress Ministries in 1939 and Jinnah's decision to observe 'Day of Deliverance' marked the Jinnah's absolute transformation from Indian nationalist to Muslim separatist and he roared that the 'Muslims and Hindus are two nations'. This became evident and official in the demand for separate homeland in Lahore Resolution of Muslim League on 23 March 1940:

We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral code, custom and calendar, history and tradition, aptitudes and ambitions; in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all cannons of international law, we are a nation.⁵⁵

This change in political philosophy, although not very simple, became a decisive factor in attainment of freedom as it infused new force /energy in the struggle movement; it rather triggered the movement in the most specific direction. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was once

asked by a journalist that there was a time once he used to be a staunch supporter of Indian National Congress and the unity of Indians like the way he was now advocating the stance of Muslim League and cause of Muslims for separate homeland, he in an assertive way told that once he was a 'primary school student also'. Jinnah could never think of becoming a communalist or separatist. If the Congress and Hindus were on the constitutional ways safeguarding the rights of minorities, Jinnah would not change himself. If Hindus and Congress have shown flexibility on Jinnah's proposed amendments to the *Nehru* Report or have conceded to Jinnah's Fourteen Points, Jinnah would not change himself. Even if Congress had not unleashed a reign of terror during the Congress Ministries of 1937, Jinnah would not have changed. Jinnah's change was reactionary and was in response. Otherwise had no fears; no insecurities at all. It was a continuous display of Hindu narrow-mindedness, bigotry, prejudice, bias, rigidness, and perfidious designs that Jinnah was forced to transform himself from Indian nationalism to Muslim separatism.

Creation of Pakistan on 14 August 1947 was the ultimate result of this transformation and Muslims of India found a new life in the political struggle for independence. Muslims were then deemed a separate nation; other than the Hindus and a distinctive concept of Two-nation evolved. The ideological basis provided by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Allama Muhammad Iqbal were further strengthened by the political activism and charismatic leadership of Father of the Nation that all Muslims of Indian Subcontinent gathered under the banner of Muslim League to attain the coveted independence.

Conclusion

For a considerable period of time, Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah remained staunch supporter of Indian nationalism; unity and love of India remained at the top of their philosophy rather than religious, racial, and ethnic considerations. It was the process of evolution and extensive study/contemplation/observation (in case of Iqbal) and Hindu facet, narrow-mindedness and bigotry attitude towards the interests / existence of Muslims (in case of Jinnah) in succeeding events from 1906 to 1939 (33 years) that both prolific leaders turned from Indian nationalism to Muslim separatism. This voyage is replete with sad incidents, sorry state of affairs, disappointments and disillusionments. Both leaders eventually were convinced that the dignified survival of the Muslims of Subcontinent lies in the creation of two separate homelands before the departure of British; and this very conception became the supreme reason and a decisive factor in attaining the freedom.

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⁵² K.K. Aziz, A History of the Idea of Pakistan (Lahore: Khalid Imran Printers, 1987), 626.

⁵³ http://pakteahouse.net/ (Accessed on July 30, 2016).

⁵⁴ Shahid Javed Burki, Pakistan (Lahore: Westview Press, 1991), 15.

http://m-a-jinnah.blogspot.com/2011/01/thank-you-mohammad-ali-jinnah.html(Accessed on July 30, 2016).