

**THE TWO NATION THEORY: A COMPARATIVE
STUDY BETWEEN VINAYAK DAMODAR SAVARKAR
AND MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH**

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Abstract:

The study focuses on the comparative analysis between the Two Nation Theory of Savarkar and Jinnah. Savarkar was notable for his Hindutva doctrine. Hindutva deals with a paternal hereditary of Hindus in the Sindhu Saraswati civilization from ancient times to modern days. Savarkar's Two Nation theory denotes Hindus' demand for political freedom and political rights to the establishment of Hindu Rashtra. The demand for separate nationhood by Jinnah was to achieve Political freedom for Muslims. Both argued Hindus and Muslims have two distinct racial identities. Hence, it is better to establish separate nations on the basis of Race to express the rights, and privileges independently. Both desired to liberate their motherland from racial conflict, linguistic conflict, and another socio-political conflict between Hindus and Muslims.

Keywords:

Hindutva, Nation, Theory, Political Freedom, Liberty, Equality, Hindu Race, Islamic, Race, Nationhood.

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Introduction:

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and Muhammad Ali Jinnah are exponents of the Two Nation Theory. In this article, an analysis has been made to find out the comparison between Jinnah and Savarkar's conceptualization of the two-nation theory. It is a comparative analysis of these two historical ideologists. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was an anti-colonial thinker who dreamt of Swaraj by the establishment of Hindu Rashtra. He wanted an Akhanda Hindustan where Hindus become a principal inhabitant. Savarkar's conceptualization of Hindutva is religious, terrain-based nationalism where Hindus are an ethnic tribe of the Indian subcontinent. They have a patrimonial identity from Saptasindhu to Contemporary days. It is an ethnical, and cultural representation of Hindus and Muslims that inculcates civilizational consciousness. Jinnah on the other hand, wanted a total share of rights with Hindus. Besides, he had several disagreements as a Muslim from Hindu as a politician and judge. Jinnah observed in everyday life Muslims faced discrimination from Hindus at every stage of life. Jinnah wanted to establish a territory-based Muslim identity with different Islamic tribes of the North-Western Provinces of India. He observed Muslims are being subjugated within India. Both Savarkar and Jinnah observed Hindu and Muslim rights and demands were subjugated under Congress's elitist loyalism. While Savarkar claimed Hindu security, rights and sanctity for Hindu Rashtra. Before, discussion it is important to observe South Asian history which is a burning example of Hindu -Muslim racial crisis throughout the age. In the mid-twentieth century, Savarkar and Jinnah claimed their two-nation theory to secure the Hindu and Muslim Race. Savarkar's Two-nation theory stressed on Hindu dominated Hindu Rashtra. It demanded 'Akhanda Hindustan'. It is an indivisible "Hindu Rashtra" from Sindh to Assam and Kashmir to Rameshwaram. While Jinnah claimed Pakistan with the northern provinces with a legal argument.

Savarkar and Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory

In Contemporary politics, the idea of the nation theory was introduced in the colonial context by V.D. Savarkar and Md. Ali Jinnah in the mid-nineteenth century of Indian politics. During nationalist movements, this theory became an expression of the rights and duties of Hindus and Muslims. At the same, it became an opposition voice of Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League against Congress. Savarkar and Jinnah were not the first who propagated the nation theory. In an interview with Beverly Nicholas, Muhammad Ali Jinnah said the formation of the independent state and partition of India was first coined by John Bright in 1877 (Mohomed,2014, P.319). While Shamsul Islam in "*Guilty Men of the Two-Nation Theory: A Hindu Nationalist Project Borrowed by Jinnah*" wrote Raj Narain Basu

and Nabha Gopal Mitra in the Nineteenth Century referred to as the first co-fathers of Two Nation Theory. Later, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan argued about the Two Nation Theory from a rationalist standpoint that Hindus and Muslims desired to acquire sovereign power. He said, 'To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable' (Sarkar,2020, P.112). It is found Savarkar and Jinnah are cultural nationalists. They demand rights and privileges for their religion. There are many instances in Indian Politics where Hindus and Muslims are involved in racial, communal conflict. It was Savarkar and Jinnah who observed such conflicts arise between Hindus and Muslims due to social, and historical cultural differences. It is the origin of Jinnah's two-nation theory adopted from diverse elements like the Aligarh Movement, Muhammad Iqbal's Two Nation Theory, and Rehmat Ali's claim for Pakistan. Jinnah was influenced by Md. Iqbal's Two Nation Theory "expressed the democratization of ethno-religious separation" (Sarkar, 2020, P.116)., Savarkar's Two Nation Theory was an observation of age-old Hindu oppression by Islamic Fanatics, the role of the Maratha Confederacy and its gallantry against Sultanates and Mughal empire. His theory emphasized on Hindu liberation war against Islamism Fanaticism and Colonial aggressiveness. His Maratha confederacy wanted to unite Hindu population of Bharat to remove zealotry, foreign mercantilism, and colonialism (Savarkar,1925, P.28). Bidyut Chakraborty argued Savarkar demanded Hindu Rashtra as an alternative approach against Muslims demand of Pakistan. Savarkar represented a Hindu cultural aspect to be institutionalized through his Hindu Nationalism. He wanted to establish a Rashtra based on Hindu cultural and ethnic essence (Chakraborty,2020. P.92). Savarkar demand for nationhood denotes the religious indifference of Hindus and Muslims. To him, Muslims have a homeland in the Middle East (Dube, 2019, PP.7-8). Generally, Savarkar was against the partition of India. He criticized Chakraborty Rajagopalachari's Plan as a 'willing tool in the hands of hands of Gandhiji' (Mahurkar,2021, P.153). While Jinnah's earlier ideology did not present the mass Islamic upliftment and two-nation theory. In his early political days, Jinnah was influenced by Congress's moderate political ideology of Hindu-Muslim unity. Later his idea supported legal and constitutional ideas to provide rights and privileges to Muslims. Jinnah's conceptualization is based on the constitutional democratic pattern. In the two-nation theory, Jinnah conceptualized Muslims as a marginalized group who were suppressed under Hindu majoritarianism in colonial India. They are suffering from oppressive Hindu racial discrimination. For that, Jinnah demanded Communal Representation that faced failure in the round tables. Later, Jinnah demanded a Separate electorate during the time of Interim Government. He rejected Nehru's proposal for one Muslim Representative on the

Cabinet Mission Plan. Factually, Savarkar and Jinnah both highlight the exploitation of Hindus and Muslims over each other. Another comparison is observed between Jinnah and Savarkar's two Nation theories. While Jinnah demands rights, equality, and liberty for the Indian Muslims. Savarkar's on the other, focused on sociological points of view like race, territory, and linguistics. Savarkar's idea is rooted in the core ethnic identity of Hindu rationalism. On the other, Jinnah's idea shows duality. Firstly, he begins with Hindu Muslim equalitarian ideas during the time of the foundation of the All India Muslim League. Jinnah 'voiced no traceable reaction' during the Bengal Partition in 1905 (Wolpert, 1984, P.21). But he criticized Muslim demand for 'reservation for the educationally backward classes' and "formation of All India Muslim League" (Chakraborty, 2020, P.176). In his later life, Jinnah's political leadership adopted extreme Islamic ideas to strengthen his demand for Pakistan. In the 1945 election Muslim league leaders used fanatical cards of Kafir's, Momen's. It was a communal tactic that was used by Jinnah to increase the Muslim vote. His prime objective was to establish Pakistan where "The Muslims are a nation" (Sarkar, 2020, P.112). In other words, Jinnah's demand for Pakistan was driven by the socio-economic context. During the time of nationalist politics Hindus and Muslims both wanted an independent statehood. Jinnah desire to establish a Muslim nation Pakistan in one hand. He called the creation of "India" as a British instrument. To Jinnah, India is created under Hindu domination with the sanction of the British. Thus, Chakraborty argued the emergence of the nation theory where Hindu Muslim diverse existence is a 'context-driven phenomenon' (Chakraborty, 2020, P.166). On the other, the idea of Savarkar's two-nation theory tried to abolish the anti-Hindu atrocities. He said Hindus should be united and integrated. He said, "..... India became free from the foreign domination and become 'Ekrat', united..." (Savarkar, 1971, P.110). He wanted a democratic Bharat which is free from orthodoxy, and caste prejudices. Savarkar wanted 'One race, one blood, one culture and one nationality' (Savarkar, 2014, Vol. IX, P.113). Where everyone gets their rights, liberty and opportunity. He wanted to re-occupy the lands which are occupied as a part of Jinnah's demand. He said, "To frustrate the vivisection of our Akhand Hindusthan we must first vivisect their Pakistan" (Savarkar, 1967, P.120). Savarkar also demanded a Hindu Majority Hindusthan as a part of his Hinduized Two Nation Theory. In 1947, on 3rd June Lord Mountbatten became a Viceroy of India. To lord Mountbatten Savarkar appealed to save the Hindu cause. While Jinnah mentioned Hindu Muslim cultural differences made them socially divided in Indian territory. Mountbatten believed about Jinnah that he was the "evil genius in the whole thing. The others could be persuaded, but not Jinnah" (Sarkar, 2020, P.122).

Concluding Observation

After the above analyses of Savarkar and Jinnah's Two Nation Theory, it is understood that Savarkar used his Hindutva doctrine as a two-nation theory in the colonial context. He wanted to establish an indivisible sovereign India where the "Hindu Race" recognized racial identity in terms of religion, caste, sex, and cultural difference. But Jinnah used the theory for the establishment Independent Muslim state. Savarkar has outlined his conceptualization as a counter approach to Jinnah's Two Nation Theory. It is found both Savarkar and Jinnah propagated the Two Nation Theory as their authentic philosophical version of racial identity, political representation and political leadership. Savarkar's idea tried to demand Hindu political representation and sanction of identity with the nation theory. He desired an Independent Greater Hindusthan which would get absolute liberation from any kind of religious fundamentalism, or racial oppression. His Hindutva is an absolute interpretation of the nation theory. It is a political approach that provides a Hindu majoritarian Independent India. His demand for a national Hindutva identity is a democratic demand for rights, equality, fraternity and civility for Hindus.

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