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FROM FINITE TO INFINITE

*Evolution of the Concept of Islamic
Nationalism in British India*

Moinuddin Aqeel

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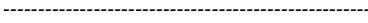
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*For a sincere devotee of Iqbal
Rafiuddin Hashmi*



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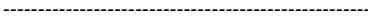
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I

NATIONALISM IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD

Nationalism has manifested itself in the modern world as a concept of secular society. The nationalistic movements, in the modern Islamic world have been confused as far as their meaning, importance and manifestations are concerned. Nationalism manifested itself in the east with the powerful military, economic and political penetration of Europe and its political concepts and institutions. The separation of religion from politics in the western countries had made religion a thing of secondary importance. More importance was attached to linguistic and racial unity and this damaged the concept of universal brotherhood and the world was divided into small and conflicting units. The same concept came to the Muslim world and as a result the Islamic countries were caught by the attractive slogans of individual and national liberty and progress. The concept of nationalism has been a very powerful political factor and has enjoyed the status of a belief in the Muslim states of Middle East. In spite of all this, nationalism in the Muslim countries was a reaction

against the western colonial-imperialism.¹ Its background and its manifestations have differed from country to country but in each of them it has been a national concept and its followers have been formulating a national political ideology instead of Islamic ideology.

The Arabs, who had witnessed a political downfall after the golden period of the Abbasids, took the inclusion of the Arab territories into the Ottoman Empire as compensation. For about four hundred years these territories remained as part of the Ottoman Empire but in the last quarter of the nineteenth century some Ottoman Arab thinkers started expressing the view that the Turks have no right to rule the Arabs.² It was Muhammad Ali who tried to give a new life to the Arabs which was independent of the Turks.³ He started a movement of liberating Arab provinces from the Turkish control and establishing an Arab state, but the movement failed.⁴ Because, the Arabs themselves were not in its favour.⁵ Along with that the idea of an Arab state was not acceptable to the western colonial powers. They did not want to allow the emergence of a power which could prove a hindrance to their trading interests in India.⁶ Muhammad

¹ Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs*, London, 1927. Vol. 1, pp. 7-9, see also Stoddard, *The New World of Islam*, New York, 1922, ch. V.

² Dawn, *From Ottomanism to Arabism, Arban*, 1973, p. 321.

³ Antonius, *The Arabs Awakening*, New York, 1965, p. 23, Zein, *Arab Turkish Relations and the Emergence of Arab Nationalism*, p.38.

⁴ Antonius, *op. cit.*, 27.

⁵ Najla Izz al-Din, *Arab Duniya*, p. 34.

⁶ In one of his letters, Lord Palmerstone wrote to the British minister at Naples: His (Muhammad Ali's) real plan is to establish an Arab state over all countries where Arabic is spoken. Apparently any such plan which break Turkey into pieces, poses no threat, but we can't support it for Turkey can be as good a guardian of the route to India as any Arab state. (Paraphrasing done by the author). See Antonius, *op.cit.*, p.31.

Ali himself was not an Arab and he had no mastery over the Arabic language. His efforts for the establishment of an Arab state were directed against the Ottoman Caliph. Arab nationalism had no place in his mind.⁷ After 1882, when Britain had captured Egypt, the Egyptians were against the British domination more than the Arabs⁸ subjugation to the Turks. Nationalism – a product of the nineteenth century west – could not penetrate the Arab society and throughout nineteenth century there was no Arab problem at all. The word "Arab" was confined to books and documents alone and was not used to signify the Arab residents of the Ottoman Empire. The majorities and minorities of these areas were called "Muslims" and "Christians." The word "Arab" was used for the tribes of the Arabs inhabiting the desert.⁹ There was no division in the Ottoman Empire on the lines of Arabs and non-Arabs and the Muslims were brothers among themselves. They were first of all Muslims and then Arabs and Turks.¹⁰ Although the Arabs had a feeling of being something different from the Turks and being Arabs had a sense of superiority and individuality and were proud that the Divine guidance was provided in Arabic through an Arab Prophet¹¹ (peace be upon him), but they were not ready for any movement against the Turks.¹² The germs of Arab nationalism can be traced from the

⁷ Attiya, *The Arabs*, Edinburgh, 1955, p. 77; Dutcher, *The Awakening East*, London, 1925, p. 15.

⁸ *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. I, p. 587.

⁹ Zein, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁰ Rashid Rida, *al-Manar*, Vol. 17, No 7, July 1914, p. 534, vide Zein, *op.cit.*, p. 47, n. 5.

¹¹ Rashid Rida. vide Dawn, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

¹² Rosenthal, *Islam in the Modern National State*, Cambridge, 1965, pp. 69-76.

movements in Damascus and Beirut at the end of the nineteenth century.¹³ It was directed against Turkey. Some intellectual and student organizations were active in Damascus, Beirut, Istanbul and Paris but their activities were limited and their membership could not exceed the figure of 126 till the First World War.¹⁴ These were secret organizations and were established between 1904 and 1911.¹⁵ The situation remained as such up to the third decade of the twentieth century with a few exceptions and Arab nationalism could not become a popular theme. The aim of these organizations was to separate the Arab territories from the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶ The slogans of separation were also heard at the end of the 19th century but were limited to Syria and Lebanon.¹⁷ The membership of these organizations was predominantly that of the Jews and the Christians.¹⁸ They, however, invited Muslims to become their members so that common purposes might be determined against the Turks.¹⁹ The Jews and the Christians took an active part in popularizing the concept of

¹³ *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 589.

¹⁴ Porath, *The Emergence of Palestinian Arab National Movement*, London, 1974, p.20.

¹⁵ Rodinson, *Marxism and the Muslim World*, London, 1979, p.80.

¹⁶ Schacht, *The Islamic Background of the Idea of an Arab Nation*, p. 15.

¹⁷ For details, see Zein, *op.cit.*, p. 38 and also Haim, *Arab Nationalism*, pp. 31-34.

¹⁸ Haim, *op.cit.*, pp. 33-38.

In the constitution of one such organization Arab National Committee it was said: "The Arabs, whom the Turks had divided on the bases of religion and culture, are now awakening under their national, historical and racial consciousness. And now they want that they should be united in the form of an independent state where there would be a religious Caliph for all the Muslims and for the good of all religion would be separated from politics. (Paraphrased by the author) see Stoddard, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

¹⁹ Haim, *op. cit.*, p.36.

Nationalism.²⁰ The Christians played the main role in separating the Arabs from the Turks.²¹ Their efforts met success in those areas of the Ottoman Empire which were captured by the Allies in the First World War. Arab nationalism was also a reaction against the prolonged political dominance of the Turks. Along with this historical background, European influence also played a great part in creating a spirit of nationalism among the Arabs. After the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in 1920, the European powers created many Arab states and thus encouraged a regional separation among them. On the other hand, these powers instigated the Turks against the Arabs. The conflict between the Arabs and the Turks resulted into a complete collapse of the Ottoman Empire which had already been rendered shallow. The internal and external factors had created feelings of separation among the Arabs but till the end of the 19th century these feelings could not be transformed into political purposes.²² The Arab intellectuals had been providing philosophical, ideological and historical foundations to this movement till the first half of the 20th century.²³ The most active of them belonged to Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. In the third decade of the 20th century some progressive youth organizations were active in Syria and Iraq. The religious spirit, common identity and a desire for political unity were the basic

²⁰ See Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, London, 1945, pp. 273-279, 283.

²¹ For instance Azuri vide Hourani, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

A large number of them were foreign to the Arab Muslims. See Attiya, *op. cit.*, p. 847.

²² Hourani, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

²³ Particularly the Christians, who were trying to break up the relations between Turkey and the Arabs. Rodinson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

elements of Arab nationalism and manifestations of Arab unity. The movement of Arab nationalism was strengthened in 1936 with the Arab- Jew conflict in Palestine.²⁴ The Arabs were not at a stage where they could start a movement against foreign dominance and imperialism.²⁵

The Arabs have always felt themselves as Muslims but nationalism created among them a sense of Arab identity. With the introduction of modern reforms the ruling class of the Turks also became nationalist. This amounted to defection from the universal and collective idea of Muslim Ummah. Separatist movements started among the Arabs. Secular reforms of the “Young Turks” were another reason for it.²⁶ The coming into power of the “Young Turks” and the enforcements of the new constitution made the Arabs think that the “Young Turks” did not recognize the equal status of the Arabs. The feeling was strengthened when the Young Turks banned all non-Turk associations. The Arab movement, therefore, went underground.²⁷ At one stage the Arab nationalists appreciated reforms in Turkey but when efforts were made to replace Caliphate with the Western political system, the Arabs had no choice but to revolt.²⁸ The Arabs had been demanding reforms for themselves.²⁹ They remained faithful to the Ottoman Empire although

²⁴ Kirk, *A Short History of Middle East*, Washington, 1949, p. 185.

²⁵ On the same basis a number of thinkers have rejected the concept of nationalism. Grunebaum, *Modern Islam*, Berkeley, 1962, p. 231; see also Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-121, and the same author in *Studia Semitica*, Vol. II. pp. 197-202 *et-seq.*

²⁶ Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

²⁷ Dawn, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

²⁸ Young, *Near Eastern Culture and Society*, Princeton, 1971, p. 207.

²⁹ ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Husayn, *Mudbakrati*, pp. 239-240.

they were critical of the Sultan of Turkey.³⁰ They continued their demand for reforms even during the tenure of the Young Turks. The main purpose of the Arabs was to gain internal autonomy for the Arab territories while being a part of the Ottoman Empire. Full freedom and the concept of a national state were demanded by them at a much later stage.³¹ When the Arabs came to know that a large number of Young Turks were Jews it was enough to instigate them.³² The Arab separatist movement started with a rebellion against the Sultan of Turkey at Hijaz on the go ahead signal of the English during the First World War.³³ They began to think that they were different from the Turks and had a right to live under the rule of an Arab Caliph. Hussayn Ibn 'Ali, the Amir of Mecca, revolted against the Ottoman Empire in 1914 and expressed the desire for a universal Caliphate for the Muslims of the world.³⁴ The war was a national revolt for the Arabs and a national discovery for the Turks.³⁵ The revolt was backed by the secret nationalist associations of Britain, Iraq and Syria. This is, however, very strange that the Egyptian nationalists kept themselves aloof.³⁶

³⁰ The revolt of the Wahhabis in the nineteenth century was a clear demonstration of this trend. Zein, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 73.

³² Zein, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Powell, *The Struggle for Power in Moslem Asia*, Lahore, 1976, p. III.

³³ Anti-Islamic and anti-Arab activities of the Young Turks have been reviewed by Zein, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

³⁴ For relations between the Arab rebels and the British see Dawn, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-121; Zein, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-109; for British strategy see Hourani, *Great Britain and the Arab World*, pp. 14-40.

³⁵ Amin Saeed, *Al-Thawrat al-Irabiyyah al-Kubra*, Vol. I, pp. 57-149. He also asserted that he was first an Arab.

³⁶ Cragg, *Counsels in Contemporary Islam*, Edinburgh, 1965, p. 142.

Although the spirit of nationalism was unimportant and had no ideological basis until then but during the Second World War it became popular, ideological and secular. In the beginning the Arab nationalism was presented by Rafi Tabaddi and Butras Bustani. The presentation was not consistent.³⁷ Nationalism could not become a political concept during their lifetime.³⁸ They, however, succeeded in generating patriotism and a desire for freedom.³⁹ Certain Arab elite like Abdul Rehman al-Kawakbi, who was a “Freemason” by evidence,⁴⁰ and Rashid Rida started giving more of stress on the distinguished role of the Arabs.⁴¹ Till the Second World War the Arabs had no distinct ethical and theoretical foundations of nationalism but this spirit went on growing and nutrition was provided to it by internal and external sources. The Muslim and Christian intellectuals kept themselves busy in defining the idea of an Arab nation during the Second World War. The writings of Constantine Zuraiq, Edmond-Robhath and Abdullah al-Alayeli are the links of the same chain.⁴²

The Arab nationalists understood that nationalism could not win a place as long as Islam was a part of their beliefs and social life. They started a movement to separate religion from politics. The most distinguished author on

³⁷ Rodinson, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

³⁸ *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 571.

³⁹ Thathawi, see Hourani, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 78-81; For Bustani, *ibid*, pp. 101-102; for Antouius, *ibid*, pp. 51-54.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 60.

⁴¹ Rodinson, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁴² And moreover, there is only one way for Arab renaissance, protection of Islam, Rashid Rida vide Dawn, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-303 and *et-seq*. For an analysis of other thinkers', ideas see Haim, *Arab Nationalism*, pp. 19-68; Dawn, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-144; and Hourani, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-81, 101, 195-196, 252, 312-313, 354-355, 373.

this topic was State al-Hasari who tried to separate religion from national thought. He made nationalism a new belief of the Arabs. He told them that loyalty to Arab nation was the spiritual and ethical duty of each of them.⁴³

In Turkey nationalism reached its destination with a deviation from the universal Islamic concept and the adoption of "Uthmaniat" first and "Turkiat" in the last, as the united national goals. "Uthmaniat" was a cherished goal of the bureaucracy while "Turkiat" was a dream of youth and those who had received modern education. The period during which this concept was emerging was also a period of the movement for Islamic unity in Turkey. Although the two concepts differed in purposes but both of them had a common goal of constituting "one nation." The movement for Islamic unity wanted to achieve this purpose through a universal Islamic nation while the other wanted to create one nation through the merger of different nationalities. Due to many hindrances the movement for Islamic unity gave way to the concept of modern nationalism. Islam had struggled against regionalism and nationalism but the prevailing condition did not allow it to succeed. Nationalism in Turkey was reaction against the movement of Christian minorities, who under the impact of French revolution, wanted to establish independent nation states.⁴⁴ When nationalism penetrated into the Ottoman Empire it stimulated the love for freedom of the non-Muslim religious minorities and limited the spirit of freedom of the non-Turk Muslim nationalities.

⁴³ See Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-123; Hourani, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Haim, *Arab Nationalism*, introduction.

⁴⁴ Haim, *Arab Nationalism*, pp. 147-154.

The Ottoman Empire had to face the concepts of patriotism, nationalism, Turk nationalism, Arab nationalism, modernism and conservatism due to its links with the west. As a result different Christian nationalities started demanding self-government and they were supported by the Western powers with an aim to disintegrate the Ottoman Empire. Greece revolted first followed by the liberation of other Christian provinces with the collaboration of Western powers. This period is characterized by emergence of the concepts of a separate Arab nation, and Arab nationalism. It was also reaction against the movement for Islamic unity. The reaction was supported by the Western powers.⁴⁵ The whole situation was the result of bad governance. The Young Turks tried to reform it under the leadership of Midhat Pasha and struggled for the establishment of a constitutional government. They were influenced by the concept of nationalism but they stood for Turk nationalism. They believed that the empire can be kept intact by building a safety wall of Turk nationalism.⁴⁶

The Ottoman Turks had a very close contact with Europe and its philosophy. Nationalism in Turkey was a manifestation of modern thinking, which was initiated in Central and Eastern Europe in the 19th century. Besides this many exiled persons from Europe had settled in Turkey after unsuccessful rebellions in 1841. They also took part in propagating new ideas. A new spirit was infused in the nationalistic movement in Turkey with the arrival of the

⁴⁵ *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 553.

⁴⁶ Had the western powers not encouraged even then one day national sentiment would have arisen among the Arabs. Khaldah Adib Khanam, *Turki main Mashriq wa Maghrib ki Kushmakash*, Ur. Tr., Delhi, 1938, p. 95.

exiled from Tartari and Turkish territories after the dominance of Soviet Russia over them. The non-Muslim minorities separated themselves in the Balkan wars. The Muslim Arab subjects started a movement of national uprising. These factors were responsible for giving a practical shape to the Turk nationalism based on the elements of common race, common language and common culture.⁴⁷ The Turks were now forced to organize themselves as a separate nation.

The manifestations of Turk culture could attract the general interest during the period of Young Turks and after the decline of the Ottoman Empire, but national thinking can be traced through a few evidences from the beginning of the Ottoman period and especially during the period of Murad the second (1421-1451).⁴⁸ Even before that in the fourteenth century, there was a tendency among the writers and poets of "Anatolia" of using ancient Turkish language with a preference over Arabic and Persian.⁴⁹

The fact that the Ottomans declared Turkish as the official language of the state while the earlier Turkish kingdoms of the Memlukes and the Seljuqs had used Arabic and Persian respectively for their office work, goes to prove the emotional attitude behind it. During the period of national movements⁵⁰ and particularly in the beginning of the twentieth century this tendency gained further strength.

⁴⁷ Ramsaur, *The Young Turks*, Beirut, 1965, p. 90.

⁴⁸ Cf. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, p. 340; Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 334-338 and *et seq.*

⁵⁰ Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, London, 1977, p. 2.

Ottoman nationalism in Turkey, in fact, began in the form of linguistic movement.⁵¹ As a result of the research of the orientalist and Turk scholars the information about the pre-historic period of Turkish history became common.⁵² Grammar of Turkish language were prepared. Attempts were made to lessen the influence of Arabic and Persian. A vast literature comprising national sentiments came into being.⁵³ In 1908 a Turkish association, *Türk Darna*, was established which began to encourage and propagate pro-Turkish sentiments as a political movement.⁵⁴ Besides this a number of associations were established for the propagation of Turkish language and culture. These associations were being nourished by the writings of Ahmad Wafiq Pasha, Sulayman Pasha, Najib Asim, Shams al-Din Sami, Frashari. Namiq Kamal was the first man to make the terms *watan* (homeland) and *azadi* (freedom) intelligible and popular.⁵⁵ Ziya' Gokulp by his writings gave a great impetus to this sentiment. He was an enthusiastic supporter of *Turkophil* activities and *Turaniat*.⁵⁶ In some of his writings he put forward the vision of political unity of all the Turkish people in the form of a

⁵¹ The Ottomans were racially a mixed concoction but they had strong sense of national unity which was based on language. Khaldah Adib Khanam, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

⁵² Kushner, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-14.

⁵³ Germanus, *Modern Movements in the World of Islam*, Calcutta, 1932, pp. 35-37.

⁵⁴ Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

⁵⁵ Marden Sherif, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, Princeton, 1962, p. 282.

⁵⁶ *Turkiyat* means loving one's own real and local culture. (Ziya Gokulp). *Maqalat-i-Ziya*, p. 161. For a detailed analysis see Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-61.

new *Turan*.⁵⁷ Movement for unification in the form of *Turan* rapidly spread. It was not limited to a few *Turkophils* but it had the support of the Turks and Tartars from other countries as well.⁵⁸ The leaders of the movement had all the *Turanian* world before them spreading from Finland to Manchuria.⁵⁹

However, it is a fact that the concept of Turkish nationalism mostly harmed Turkey itself. When the Ottoman Empire was at its zenith and had nobody to fear, the expression of Turkish nationalism was senseless. Rather it could prove injurious to Turkish interests. A state comprising diverse nationalities and peoples, could have gained strength and success from a universal ideal only. Therefore, as soon as the Ottoman Empire gave way to Turkish national sentiments, the resulting internal confusion among the Muslims shattered it and the Arab regions went under foreign tutelage.

There was a number of other factors and events which went a long way in strengthening Turkish nationalism. One such occurrence was the Armenian rebellion in 1914. Another was the Arab revolt against the Turks and their support to the Allied powers during the World War I. Moreover in 1918 it was thought necessary to find out some bases for the unity for forging defence, as was demanded by Allies, against Turkey. Therefore, Mustafa Kamal and his companions adopted the slogan of "Turkey for the Turks only." Now the only Turkish national

⁵⁷See Finz Khurshid, *Islam and Secularism in Post-Kemalist Turkey*, Islamabad, 1976, pp. 51-62.

⁵⁸ Kushner, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

⁵⁹ Ziya Gokulp had given a definition of Turkish country and nation. Our country is neither Turkey nor Turkistan, it is a spiritual atmosphere-viz, Turan, vide Khaldah Adib Khanam, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

sentiment was that Anatolia, their national homeland, should be freed from the occupying Christian powers, particularly the Greeks. Though in this situation the religious sentiment was very important but another very powerful factor, regionalism, also emerged.⁶⁰ Its influence was clearly manifest. In the days of Ata Turk nationalism was a secular concept, a fact confirmed by the abolishing of the Caliphate and measures against Islam. Since then Turkish nationalism has been characterized by secularism, emphasis on local culture and regionalism.

In other Muslim countries national feelings⁶¹ generally appeared in the form of increasing national strength, independence and prosperity of the country. For instance, in Iran, patriotism, nationalism and revivalism were so inter-mixed that they could not be visualized separately from each other and remained confined to a small group of revivalists and reformers.⁶² At the end of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century some secular-minded people took part in propagating the concept of nationalism, for instance, Akhund Zadeh,⁶³ ‘Abd

⁶⁰ Young, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

⁶¹ For a short summary see Grunebauam, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-233, Hourani. *op. cit.*, pp. 307-308

⁶² Keddie, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran*, London, 1966, pp. 7, 154. An interesting thing is to be noted that in the demands for Iranian self-autonomy and progress Iran occupies a more prominent position than Islam and Shari’at. This concept of nationalism is to be found in some reformist associations but wherever the addressee was the common man, they showed more concern for Islam.

⁶³ In his view patriot is that man who may give his life for his nation and is ready for any sacrifice and in this way benefits his homeland and nation. Hairi, ‘Abd al-Hadi, *Shi’ism and Constitutionalism in Iran*, 1977, Leiden, p. 27.

al-Rahman Talbut⁶⁴ or 'Ayn al-Dawlah Taba Taba'i,⁶⁵ amongst the ulema. In Iran this was, mainly, the result of confusion, foreign traders and foreign imperialism. Upto the Safawid period the concept of Islamic nationalism was alive. By the time of the Qachar and Pahlawi dynasties Iran became more inclined towards the west.⁶⁶ In the Pahlawi period conscious efforts were made to look back more towards pre-Islamic Iranian culture. Associations and organizations were created to remove the influence of the Arabic language from Persian. Iranian research scholars and writers revived the pre-Islamic past of Iran. Zurtushti beliefs gained respect and importance and Achaemenian style of architecture became popular.⁶⁷ It may also be noted that notwithstanding the Turkish involvement and its resultant tragedy for Turkey, Iran also announced its neutrality.⁶⁸

In Central Asian Muslim states, now socialist republics under the hegemony of Russia - and which include the Kazak, Uzbek, Tajik, Kirghiz and Turkmans - a sort of national sentiment has been created through socialism but it is mostly for serving the goals of socialism.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ He says: Our homeland is neither Egypt nor Iraq or Syria but Iran for whose security and progress and for which we should sacrifice our lives. *Ibid*, p. 44.

⁶⁵ Who said, "We want our king and our prime minister who should rule the country and not the Russians, the British and the Ottomans. *Ibid*, p. 84.

⁶⁶ The Iranian revolt against the tobacco monopolists should be seen in this light. It was an expression of their hatred against the foreigners. It has been discussed with details in Keddie, *op. cit.*

⁶⁷ Young, *op. cit.*, p. 40 and also pp. 141-145.

⁶⁸ *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 621.

⁶⁹ Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, Chicago, 1974, Vol. I, p. 324.

II

NATIONALISM IN THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT

The nationalism movement among the Muslims of the Indo-Pak sub-continent was the result of a thinking born of a firm conviction and an orthodox thinking. The Muslims of this region had contacts with the Islamic world from its earlier times. The Muslims who lived here always considered themselves to be affiliated politically with one Caliphate or another⁷⁰ and this situation lasted until the abrogation of the Ottoman Caliphate in Turkey, in the twentieth century.⁷¹ Indeed, Islam had emerged in the sub-continent as a dynamic and an effective force. As compared to other Muslim countries, it had successfully brought together the dispersed and scattered components of various races and castes into a unified whole. It was mainly because of the fact that, as compared to the Hindus, the Muslims were in minority and as such unity for them was of great significance. Hence they always appreciated the view that

⁷⁰ Suleman Nadwi, *Arab wa Hind ke Ta'alluqat*, pp. 1-3; Athar Mubarakpuri, *Arab wa Hind Ahd-i-Risalat Main*, pp. 13-16.

⁷¹ Aziz Ahmed, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, pp. 3-7.

the Islamic world was an indivisible whole and that the division of the Muslim Ummah into temporal and regional units was not possible. The sense and feeling of Muslim nationalism was present from the very beginning. They knew that they were a completely different nation from the Hindus. This “two nation theory” has a long historical background.

When the first Muslim entered this land, he knew that he was completely different from its inhabitants. However, the new cultural set-up, which had evolved, in spite of the marked differences between the Islamic and the Hindu cultures, had great potentialities for the assimilation of these two diverse cultures, and by living together, these two had various points of contacts and intermingling. There are instances wherein the Brahmins were engaged in teaching the *Qur'an* and explaining the secret of '*Tawhid*', ie the unity of God⁷² and the Muslims, imparting instructions on Hindu philosophies.⁷³ The idea of Hindu-Muslim brotherhood

⁷² Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 380; 'Abdul Qadir Badayuni, *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 323. The various motives which lay behind this among the Hindus were mentioned by Al-Biruni in his *Kitab al-Hind* (pp. 19-23). One of these motives was that the Hindus had a sense of insecurity after the attack of Mahmud of Ghaznah and the rule of the Sultanate of Delhi for one and a half century had changed their attitude. See Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign*, p. 64.

⁷³ Razaq Ullah Mushtaq and Miyan Taha had a deep understanding of the Hindu philosophies and sciences, Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *Salatin-i-Delhi ke Madbhahi Rujhanat*, p. 451. Muhammad Ghawth Gawaliari had a command over Hindu sciences and he was close to them. Abdul Quddus Gangohi, *Maktubat-i-Qudusiyah*, p. 205; Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *Rud-i-Karethar*, p. 29. "His son Shaykh Rukn al-Din used to go to a Hindu Sanyasi Balnath for learning the secrets of Twahid." Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *op. cit.*, p. 451. For more details, Muhammad Aslam, *Din-i-Iahi aur uska Pasmanzar*, pp. 24, 146-151.

came into vogue during this period. The advocates of this idea, who were mostly Hindus or Hinduised Muslims, endorsed the view that Islam and Hinduism were the two currents of the same river which finally join together. The Hindus took full advantage of this view. On one hand, they made efforts for the revival of Hinduism, and on the other, they systematically attempted to turn the Muslims into apostates.⁷⁴ In this way, the Muslims, even by living in a *Dar al-Islam* i.e. an Islamic state, could not protect themselves from the onslaught of apostasy. In fact a full-fledged attempt towards the assimilation of the Islamic culture into the Hindu culture was made during the reign of Akbar, the Mughul Emperor.⁷⁵ Akbar, from his early life was close to the Hindus⁷⁶ and as such, not only he had taken to various Hindu beliefs and customs, but it is said that he had issued proclamation prohibiting the Islamic duties and practices.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ We know about the instances of the apostasy of the Muslims from the Historical books of the period, e.g. Afif, *op. cit.*, p. 380. Nizam al-Din Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 322-323, 331. For more details, see Muhammad Aslam, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28. From these accounts we come to know that the Shudhi Movement and the movement for the revival of Hinduism had become aggressive at various places. A few references in this connection can be found in *A Punjab, Confederacy of India*, pp. 51-54.

⁷⁵ In India the first Islamic chaos came during the reign of Akbar. Fazalur Rehman, *Islam*, pp. 201-202.

“All the springs that were flowing against orthodoxy in India finally together become a big river during the reign of Akbar Ishtiaq Husain Quraishi, *Barr-i-Azam Pak wa Hind ki Millat-i-Islamiya*, p. 173.

⁷⁶ Badayuni, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 161. Abu'l Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 183-184.

⁷⁷ Many historians have reviewed this process; Badayuni and Nizam-al-Din Ahmad are such historians of this period. For recent reviews, see Ishtiaq Husain Quraishi, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-188, by the same writer, *Akbar*,

Being the sovereign, he was able to influence the common man and popularize his beliefs and customs, he had adopted the policy of “peace with all” and put an end to the supremacy of Islam. He hereby, turned India into a secular state. Under these circumstances the ulema, ie the religious scholars, could not remain as a passive spectator. They attacked the religious policies of Akbar, who succeeded in curbing down the opposition against his policies for the time being. But after his death the orthodox Muslims succeeded in the revival of Islam. Khwajah Baqi Billah and Mujaddid *Alfi-Thani* (Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi) were the men behind this movement. Mujaddid *Alfi-Thani* held a unique position in the sense that his movement for the revival of Islam had a far reaching political effect on a national scale. Through his movement he re-emphasized and clarified the differences between the Muslims and Hindus, which were becoming blurred due to the prevalence of Islamic customs and practices. He identified the potential danger to the security and the unity of the Muslim society from the Hindus and their culture, which was the result of the policy followed by Akbar. The main object of his movement was to prevent Islamic teachings from intermingling with the un-Islamic ones. Hence he may be regarded as the founder of Muslims nationalism in the sub-continent.⁷⁸ The conditions created by Akbar were such that to find a place for the Muslim orthodoxy in the state was a difficult task. However, when Aurangzeb, who was an orthodox Muslim, a man of firm conviction and a

pp. 134-171 and *Ulema in Politics*, pp. 43-81; Athar Abbas Rizvi, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-171; Aziz Ahmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-181.

⁷⁸ For example, Iqbal says in one of his verses:

“He is the warden of the wealth of the Millat who had been warned in time by Allah.” Jawed Iqbal, *Maye Latab Fam*, p. q.

worthy ruler, came into power, not only he provided the necessary stability to the state, but also an identity to the Islamic nationalism. Later on this mission was carried on by Shah Wali Allah on the academic and intellectual levels. The main purpose of his movement was to present *Shari'at* in the more practicable way so that the Muslims might be able to counter the onslaught of Hindu culture.⁷⁹

He was eager to maintain a separate identity of the Muslims. He, therefore, wanted them to have relations with the Islamic world, so that the source of their beliefs and practices should be Islam and its traditions of universality of the Muslim Ummah.⁸⁰

The Muslims, taking advantage of this consciousness, created by Shah Wali Allah, strived for the maintenance of their national identity and for protecting their national traditions from both the Hindus and the Britishers. During the British regime, the Muslims and the Hindus seemed to be far apart on the cultural scale. Although the Muslim fell victim to the enmity of the Britishers and the hatred of the Hindus, yet they, embracing their traditions and the religious heritage of their pious forefathers close to their hearts, always kept themselves aloof from these two rival nations. Both the Hindus and the Muslims had professed different goals and had shown different tendencies on the political and national levels. They had always followed parallel paths. Yet the Hindus, on various occasions, had expressed their desire to absorb the Muslims into the Hindu society or to subjugate them into a defeated race.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Hodgson, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

⁸⁰ Shah Wali Allah, *Wasiyat Namah*, p. 6.

⁸¹ Cf. Ishtiaq Husain Quraishi, *Hindu Communal Movements*, pp. 240 -275.

But the Muslims always tried to maintain their national and cultural identity, in one way or another, so much so that their efforts, ultimately, took the form of a long struggle (Pakistan Movement) for the establishment of an independent Islamic state in the sub-continent. The factors which lay behind this movement were:

- a) That the Muslims and the Hindus were two different nations in every respect;
- b) That there were marked cultural and religious differences between these two nations, with different goals of life;
- c) That the future of the Muslims would not be safe in a united India, if they lived with a nation which is in a large majority.
- d) Since the Muslims had a bitter experience of the Hindus in the past, therefore, they should get complete protection or India be divided; and
- e) That after the partition, the Muslims would establish an Islamic state (or Pakistan) on the territories under their control.

During the Pakistan movement, the Muslims had formed themselves into a permanent entity. They were a nation which lived into two worlds: one the external world, i.e. the material world surrounding them; and the second, the internal world, which formed the bases of their spiritual existence. But even during the Pakistan movement, they experienced different pulls and divisiveness, which created tensions between two forces: one, the force of regional patriotism and the other, the Islamic concept of universal brotherhood.⁸² The Britishers had taken initiative in

⁸² A denial of patriotism resulted into being branded as a traitor and the Hindus never hesitated for a moment in calling the Muslims as traitors, because patriotism for them meant nothing but the love for particular area of land. Muhammad Saeed, *Ahang-i-Bazgasht*, pp. 163-164.

propagating and spreading the idea of Indian nationalism.⁸³ Later on the Indian National Congress played an effective role in its propagation. Its movement was based on the idea that all those who lived within the geographical boundaries of India belonged to one nation and that the Congress was their representative organization. The basic purpose for its formation was to unite the population of India, which was comprised of diverse and conflicting elements into a nation.⁸⁴ But for a long time, all its efforts particularly among the Muslims, turned out to be fruitless. Most of the Muslim leaders, who were the members of the Congress, were also the members of the Muslim League or some other Muslim organizations. Such a situation was not advantageous for the Congress for the realization of certain of its political ends. On the contrary, it created dangers for it because, even after gaining support and cooperation from some of the Muslim leaders, none of its Muslim candidates could win a seat in the general election for the constituent assembly in 1937. Hence, Jawahar Lal Nehru⁸⁵ started his "Mass Muslim Contact" campaign to reach the Muslims ignoring the Muslim leaders and to bring about a political harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims.⁸⁶ In spite of the fact, that the Muslims were regarded as a different

⁸³ "This was an effective weapon for giving a large number of untouchable and backward classes under the domination of Brahmins. They had succeeded in their experiment of subjugating the Muslims through these Brahmins after the revolt of 1857; cf. Niemeijer, A.C., *The Khilafat Movement in India*, Hague, 1972, p. 167.

⁸⁴ B.N. Pandey, *The Indian Nationalist Movement, 1885-1947*, London, 1979, p. 6.

⁸⁵ Beni Prashad, *India's Hindu Muslim Questions*, Lahore, p. 74.

⁸⁶ B. R. Amhedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India*, Bombay, 1946, p. 337; C. R. Reddy, *Congress in Office*, Madras, 1940, p. 60; and Chaudary Khaliq-uz-Zaman, *Shahrah-i-Pakistan*, 1967, p. 939.

nation for all practical purposes,⁸⁷ yet the Hindus were not willing to accept their separate position. To make the Muslims ineffective and to deprive them of power and to absorb them into the Hindu culture, they had started yet another and more effective movement, which was based on patriotism or Indian nationalism. The main purpose of the movement was to show all the Indians, irrespective of their caste and creed to be as one nation, so as to deprive the minorities of their political rights and make their struggle ineffective and thus force them to join the Congress or be just its followers.⁸⁸ In fact, it was Hinduism in its new garb. All the movements started before by the Hindus, were all against the Muslims.⁸⁹ Even the Congress itself was in fact a Hindu organization.⁹⁰

By this time people with modern education had gained influential position in the Congress, under the leadership of Jawahar Lal Nehru. This group included Sampuranand, who said that Indian culture could survive and flourish only when the differences between the Hindu and the Muslim cultures were eliminated.⁹¹ Jawahar Lal Nehru had nurtured The Socialist Party, an organ of the Congress, according to his own thinking.⁹² He invited the Muslims to join the

⁸⁷ For example, by giving the Muslims a separate representation under the Lucknow Pact, A. B. Keith, *A Constitutional History of India*, New York, 1969, p. 212.

⁸⁸ The review of this movement is present in many books, particularly, M.R.T, *Nationalism in Conflict in India*, Bombay, 1946, pp. 16-26.

⁸⁹ K. K. Aziz, *Making of Pakistan*, London, 1967, pp. 79-85.

⁹⁰ Jawahar Lal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History*, Allahabad, 1935, Vol. II, pp. 689-690.

⁹¹ *Tribune*, 5th April, 1938.

⁹² J.P. Haith con, *Communism and Nationalism in India*, Princeton, 1971, p. 240. A good review of Indian Nationalism and Socialism is present in the book, particularly on pp. 246-256.

Congress or the Socialist Party, proving in a fascinating manner that religion was a personal matter and an absolute thing.⁹³ The “Mass Muslim Contact” campaign was a part of this programmed. To achieve this end a “Committee for the Minorities” was formed within the Congress and the Muslim leaders of the Congress were nominated to its key positions⁹⁴ and thereby associating “Majlis-e-Ahrar” and “Jamit-al-Ulema-e-Hind” with the Congress.⁹⁵ Jamiat-al-Ulema-e-Hind became very active and gave full support to the Congress.⁹⁶ Through this campaign, the congress used various tactics to defeat the Muslim league. For instance, it had encouraged the smaller and insignificant anti-League Muslim organizations.⁹⁷ It established an Islamic section under its patronage, two offices of which were started in Lucknow and Allahabad. From here they published plentiful literature, written by like-minded Muslim ulema, which created doubts and misgivings about the Muslim nationalism.⁹⁸ The Congress utilized its unlimited resources

⁹³ He said that religion without exception is concerned with vested interests and is an enemy of progress. He regarded emphasis on Muslim nationalism in India is absurd and should be ignored. Jawahar Lal Nehru, *An Autobiography*, London, 1935, p. 69.

⁹⁴ Nehru to Rajendra Prashad, of 7th July 1939 included in Pandey, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁹⁵ Bipen Chandra, Amlesh Tripathe and Biren Day, *Jid-o-Jubad-i-Azadi*, Urdu translation by Ghulam Rabbani Taban, Delhi, 1972, p.192.

⁹⁶ Zia al-Hasan Farooqi, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan*, Bombay, 1963, p. 89.

⁹⁷ R. Coupland, *Indian Politics*, Madras, 1944. pp. 180-181; Aziz Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁹⁸ Maulana Muhammad Miyan Farooqi was the head of this department in Allahabad who was working on various plans of publicity. He had the cooperation and guidance of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Nehru had paid tribute to him. Letter to Rajendra Prashad, of 7th July 1939, included in Pandey, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

and capital⁹⁹ to purchase the loyalties of Muslim ulema. Therefore, these revered and respected personalities were speaking the same language and uttering the same words as were uttered by Nehru and Gandhi.¹⁰⁰ Hence a section of the simple Muslims was easily duped. In fact the misgivings and doubts among the Indian Muslims about their nationalism belonged to this period. Now, the Congress did succeed in realizing its objective in the sense that a section of the Muslim ulema, accepting its views and objectives had joined it and, unconsciously, had joined hand in preparing grounds for Hinduism and united nationalism in India. Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad held a prominent place among this group. Not only did they try to give detailed arguments in support of a united nationalism based on the concept of homeland but they went to the extent of finding precedents and sanctions in the Qur'an. Maulana Madani gave primary place to "homeland" in the formation of nationalism. According to

⁹⁹ There are instances of some ulema being paid salaries and other expenses by the Congress, c.g. Muhammad Yameen Khan, *Namab-i-A'mal*, Lahore, 1969, Vol. I, p. 686, Vol. II, p. 1042; and Syed Niaz Ali Qadri, *A Moslem's Inner Voice*, Lahore, 1944, p. 4; hence it was published in the newspapers that Maulana Madni and Maulana Ahmad Sayeed etc., had demanded Rs. 20 million to carry on anti-League propaganda during the parliamentary election, quoted by Muhammad Yameen Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1042; for the recent proofs of financial help given to Jamiat-al-Ulema-e-Hind by the Congress see Bashir Afghani, *Pakistan Hamara*, pp. 68-69 and for Hindu cooperation, see, pp. 74-76.

¹⁰⁰ Therefore a nationalist leader of the Congress, Dr Syed Mahmood, referring to Akbar's *Dir-i-Ilahi*, wished that in the independent India of the future it should be the religion of the united nationalism of India and the Muslims should adopt a new name in accordance with the homeland, the "Jami'ah", October 1936, quoted by Razi in *Swaraji Islam*, Delhi, p. 6.

him it was the homeland, which was sine qua non for the nation.¹⁰¹ Hence the Muslims should base their politics on the concept of a united nation.¹⁰² Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, before joining the Indian politics was an enthusiastic and a keen advocate of Islamic unity. But under the influence of the apparent Hindu-Muslim unity, seen during the Khilafat Movement and the role of the Hindus therein, particularly the diplomatic participation and the leadership of Gandhi,¹⁰³ his views had drastically undergone a change.¹⁰⁴ In the beginning he said that “any Muslim who seeks guidance from any source other than Qur’an is not a Muslim, because like *Shirk fi al-sifat Allah* (associating someone with the attributes of God), *Shirk fi al-sifat Al-Qur’an* (associating something with the attributes of the Qur’an) is *Shirk*, i.e. polytheism and anyone who is guilty of such an act is a *Mushrik*, i.e. a polytheist. It does not

¹⁰¹ Hussain Ahmad Madani, *Millat Awer Qaum*, Multan, 1938, p.9, and “Ansari” 17th Feb 1938 quoted by Abdul Waheed Khan, *Musalmanon Ka Ittibad Awer Azadi Ki Jang* Lucknow, 1938, p. 308 and a letter by Maulana Madani to Taloot. vide Chaudhary Habib Ahmad, *Tabrik-e-Pakistan Awer Nationalist Ulema*, Lahore, 1966, p. 245; these (Hindus) are our neighbors ... our blood is mixed into their blood, they are relatives or have relations, either with our fathers or forefathers. Madani, *Malfuzat-i-Shaykh al-Islam*, Deoband, p. 104.

¹⁰² “The people of India to whatever religion they might belong, as Indians and united chauvinistic nationalism they should become one nation.” Husain Ahmad Madani, *Muttabida Qaremiat Awer Islam*, Deoband, 3rd edition, p. 51. “For different elements and different nationalities of India there is no common bond except the united nationalism whose only basis is chauvinism and nothing else.” same writer, *Malfuzat-i-Shaykh al-Islam*, p. 208.

¹⁰³ Francis Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims*, Cambridge, 1974, pp. 300-301.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 301 for the lines between Gandhi and the Muslim leaders of the Khilafat Movement.

become the followers of Islam to seek guidance from the Hindus in formulating their political policies. In fact, they have no need to join any party.”¹⁰⁵ He even considered the concept of nationalism as antagonists of Islam.¹⁰⁶ But around the Khilafat Movement he had changed his views. After abandoning the concept of Islamic nationalism, he adopted the concept of Indian nationalism, and thereafter, he remained as a faithful and reliable member of the Congress¹⁰⁷ and never opposed its policies. In 1923, he became its president for the first time and then he was its president during 1940-46.¹⁰⁸ He maintained that “the Muslims should look towards their fellow country men (Hindus) for the protection of their rights, instead of

¹⁰⁵ *Al-Hilal*, 19 Dec. 1912, pp. 12-19. We find similar thinking in his different writings of this period.

¹⁰⁶ Whatever effects the terms “nation” and “homeland” have on the world today, the same effects “Islam” and “God” have on the Muslims. In Europe one may stimulate thousands of hearts with the word “nation” but as against this, if you have any word it is only “Islam” or “God.” *Al-Hilal* 23rd Oct. 1912, p. 7; see P. Hardy, *Partners in Freedom and True Muslims*, London, 1971, pp. 21-31; Aziz Ahamd, *op. cit.*, 66-68; same writer, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan*, London, 1970, pp. 175-185; Marielta Stepaniants, *Development of the Concept of Nationalism* included in *Muslim World*, Hartford, January, 1979, pp. 37-40.

¹⁰⁷ Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi says when he was supporter of Islamic unity he (appeared) as a scholar of Arabic, Persian and Urdu and had a skilful command over writings. But his writing shows a meaningful change of heart. In the early days his writings were characterized by a mixture of Arabic and Persian words without any consideration and the Prakrit syntax was in the form of a mere structure only. In his later life he gave up this style of writing and began using a simpler language. *Barr-i-Azim Pak wa Hind ki Millat-i-Islamiyah*, p. 336.

¹⁰⁸ He had intermingled with the Congress to such an extent that in 1941 and 1942 it seemed doubtful whether he represented any or other than the Hindus, K. K. Aziz, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

turning to the British Govt. Instead of being suspicious of them (Hindus), they should join the Congress in large numbers, because their rights are safe with the Congress.¹⁰⁹ In 1905, when the Hindus started their agitation against the partition of Bengal, which was economically most advantageous for the Muslims of East Bengal, he had close ties with the fanatical Hindus such as Shyam Sunder Chakarbarti and Aurbindo Ghosh. In fact, Maulana Azad was eager to participate in any agitation which was against the foreign domination. He later on claimed in his writings that the purpose of publishing "*Al-Hilal*" in 1912 was to create patriotic feelings among the people and to incite their emotions against the foreign rule.¹¹⁰ In 1920 when he was released from the jail, he developed links with such bigoted Hindus and Gandhi and Balgangadhar Tilak.¹¹¹ He was against the Muslim League and its movement right from its beginning. He appreciated the Muslims joining the Congress.¹¹² He always remained in the forefront of all the movements, started by the Congress, as a nationalist, who was a great advocate and supporter of united nationalism based on homeland. Now he publicly spoke: "the Muslims are the Indian nationals and they have become an indivisible Indian nation. No imaginative concept of

¹⁰⁹ "Statesman", 19 Feb, 1940.

¹¹⁰ *India Wins Freedom*, pp. 5-7.

¹¹¹ Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*, p. 187; Hafeez Malik has given a good analysis that after 1920 both the Muslims and Maulana Azad had given up to recognize each other. *Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan*, p. 274.

¹¹² For example, "*Al-Hilal*", 1st Sep. 1912, p. 8, 10th Dec, 1914, pp. 437-438. It is also surprising that he was even against Muslim University Movement, *op. cit.*, 27 July, 1912, and opposed the objectives of "Muslim Education Conference," *op. cit.*, 10 Dec., 1914, p. 438.

separatism can split us now into two.”¹¹³ He had, in fact, become a politician whose thinking and activities revolved around Gandhi.¹¹⁴

Some of the ulema of “Dar-ul-Ulum Deoband” and a majority of ulema, belonging to “Jamiat-al-Ulema-e-Hind” had also become the advocates and proponents of nationalism based on homeland.¹¹⁵ The role played by Jamiat al-Ulema-e-Hind was rather unique in this regard, because according to tradition and convention, it was expected that it would support the idea of a separate nationalism for the Muslims. But due to its conservatism which is of great influence on the system of religious education in the sub-continent – the Jamiat took it for granted that the policy of Maulana Mahmood-al-Hasan Deobandi – which he had adopted when he had joined the Khilafat Movement, whereby he insisted on the unity with the Hindus¹¹⁶ – was always right.

¹¹³ *Khutbat-e-Congress*, p. 52. Here an interesting reality should be borne in mind that: (1) the Congress was Hindu nationalist organization and (2) Hindu Maha Sabha was a parallel organization, these two never merged together. L.S. May, *The Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought, after 1857*, Lahore, 1970, p. 244.

¹¹⁴ He said that today all their successes depended on three things: unity, discipline and confidence in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. This was the sole leadership which had prepared a glorious past of their movement and through it alone they could expect a successful future. *Khutbat-e-Congress*, p. 52.

¹¹⁵ For example, in 1940, “Azad Muslim Conference” Lahore, as a reaction to the Pakistan Resolution (Lahore, 23 March, 1940) of the Muslim League, declared India to be the homeland of all the people, irrespective of religion or race, and made them the common trustees of all the gifts of nature and from national point of view every Muslim was declared to be Indian — Zia-ul-Hasan Farooqi, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹¹⁶ Muhammad Miyan, *Jamiat al-Ulema Kya Hai*, Delhi, Vol. II, pp. 40-42; when Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hasan began his political activities, he

Among the other Muslim organizations which had joined hands with the Congress in its political and national movement, the names “Majlis-e-Ahrrar”¹¹⁷, “Khudai Khidmatgar,”¹¹⁸ “Shia Political Conference,”¹¹⁹ “Azad Muslim Conference”¹²⁰ and “Muslim Majlis”¹²¹ were of great importance. The Muslim League had based its movement on the two nation theory. But these Muslim organizations, by extending support to the Congress, provided the proof of their agreement about the concept of united nationalism. In spite of all their vehemence, these nationalist Muslims could neither be effective in Congress nor among the general masses (or in the final general elections).¹²² These organizations and the nationalist

had link with the non-Muslims. Maulana Husain Ahmed Madani writes that Shaykh al-Hind had taken house on rent on a permanent basis near his own house, where his like-minded non-Muslim friends and revolutionary associates used to stay. Often in his leisure time or at night Shaykh al-Hind used to have talks with them. They were either Sikhs or revolutionary Hindu Bengalis of Bengal Partition. *Naqsh-e-Hayat*, Vol. II, p. 207. By revolutionary Hindus of Bengal Partition it means those people who had intensely opposed the partition of Bengal (1905).

¹¹⁷ W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, Lahore, 1969, pp. 270-272; Y. B. Mathur, *Growth of Muslim Politics in India*, Lahore, 1980, pp. 277-278; Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan*, Lahore, 1969, pp. 186-189; Tufail Ahmad Manglori, *Musalmanon Ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, Badayun, 1938, pp. 504-505; The Jamiat had a hand even in its establishment” ----- David Gilmartin, *Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in Punjab in Modern Asian Studies*, Cambridge, July, 1979, p. 499.

¹¹⁸ Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-270; Manglori, *op. cit.*, pp. 507-508; Mathur, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-277; Waheed-uz-Zaman, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-185.

¹¹⁹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 276; Manglori, *op. cit.*, pp. 510-513.

¹²⁰ Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-279; Mathur, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-283.

¹²¹ Mathur, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-285; Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-281.

¹²² A few reasons are mentioned in Hardy, *Muslims in British India*, Cambridge, 1972, p. 245.

Muslims who had joined the Congress, thought, under the influence of a secularist thinking, that the united Indian culture which, according to them, had come into existence among the different races and religions – was an outcome of a long process of interaction. They regarded the Congress consisting of Gandhi, Moti Lal Nehru, Srojni Naidu and Jawahar Lal Nehru, to be a party which was above the racial and sectarian feeling.¹²³ Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari was regarded in the beginning to be the leader of the nationalist Muslims. In 1925, he had disassociated himself with Majlis-e-Khilafat.¹²⁴ And thereafter he was actively engaged in the formation and organization of the “All India Nationalist Party” which played the role of an intermediary between the Congress and the Muslims.¹²⁵ The objectives of this party were:

To develop a spirit of nationalism in the Indian Muslims.

To develop a vision, free from sectarianism, this would develop confidence in the Indian national objectives.

To encourage the Muslims to participate in the national struggle; and

To establish such relations between the majority and the minority of the population based on patriotism and a true sense of nationalism.¹²⁶ The Muslims, in general, condemned this

¹²³ Mushirul Hasan, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India*, Delhi, 1979, p. 199.

¹²⁴ Letter to Shaukat Ali of 16 July 1925, quoted by Mushirul Hasan in *Muslims and the Congress*, p. 19.

¹²⁵ The Nationalist Muslim party was established under presidentship of Maulana Azad on 27 July 1935– Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims- a Political History*, Bombay, 1959, p. 221; and Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience, The Mohatma in Indian Politics*, 1928-1934, Cambridge, 1977, p. 48.

¹²⁶ Indian Annual Register, 1929, Vol. II, p. 350; and Mushirul Hasan, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India*, p. 200 f _____ Among the

attitude.¹²⁷ Even the Hindus themselves were suspicious of it.¹²⁸ And as such this party finally became ineffective (on the political level).¹²⁹

A section of the Muslims belonging to the Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, also remained as a passive and ineffective representative of the united nationalism. This Jamia (the University) was inaugurated by Maulana Mahmood-al-Hasan and the names of Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari and Hakim Ajmal Khan are important among its patrons. Dr Zakir Husain, who belonged to it, later on rose to the

distinguished members of this Jamiat were Maulana Azad, Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Raja Mahmoodabad, Ali Imam, Saifuddin Kichlew, Syed Mahmood, Chaudary Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Tasadduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani etc. — Mushirul Hasan, *Muslims and the Congress*, p. 72, very soon its regional branches were established, *op. cit.*, p. 82. This Jamiat discharged its duties, remaining within the Congress. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari in this connection said that “It was the only path left for these political activities. They should keep themselves aloof of extremist and sectarianist Muslims. They must think and act on the principles of nationalism. “Vide letter to Tasadduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani, dt. 6 Jan. 1930, quoted by Mushirul Hasan in *Muslims and the Congress*, pp. 90-91.

¹²⁷ Maulana Shaukat Ali wrote to Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, “You have betrayed the Muslims, your friends and associates.” *op. cit.*, p. 67-71.

¹²⁸ This point of view was represented by Moonje, a distinguished leader of the Hindu Maha Sabha. He mentioned that this organization was formed to facilitate a large scale entry of the Muslims into the Congress so as to exert pressure upon the Congress from within-. Mushirul Hasan, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India*, p. 201.

¹²⁹ Chowdhary Khaliq-uz-Zaman had analyzed it in a better way. According to him it could not gain any grounds among the Muslims due to its principles and modus operandi. Although it conducted many meetings under its name, yet it had no rules and regulations, no membership nor office of its own. Like the Hindu Maha Sabha, it existed in the newspapers. But it had no positive existence. *Pathway to Pakistan*, Lahore, 1961, p. 102.

position of the President of India. At the end of the fourth decade of the 20th century, he was the chairman of the controversial Wardha Educational Scheme Committee, which was formed under the auspices of the Congress ministry. Besides, the names of Dr Abid Hussain and Prof Muhammad Mujeeb are of great importance. They were the persons who, under the influence of Gandhism, had set the example of “high thinking and simple living.”

III

IQBAL'S CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM

Although there were a large number of such Muslims, who were active and influential and they had even organized themselves into a party within the Congress, yet they could get no advantage.¹³⁰ As compared to them, the advocates of the two nation theory bravely countered their thinking and activities. Hence it was because of this resistance that the nationalist Muslims could gain no vantage ground, while the advocates and supporters of the

¹³⁰ Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, p. 84. The story of their failures is a tragic one. Jawahar Lal Nehru had analyzed well - *An Autobiography*, pp. 138-139; And K.K. Aziz, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-181. For the advantages they got by joining Congress, *Ibid*, pp. 182-83. The extent of their unpopularity can be judged from the fact that when once Husain Ahmad Madani gave a speech hardly a few people came to listen to him out of a population of ten thousand. Muhammad Miyan, *Ulema-e-Haq*, Muradabad, 1946, Vol. II, p. 288. This situation becomes more worse from the fact that in the general elections of 1946, the Muslim League contested on 63 seats in UP alone out of which it won 53 seats while the Nationalist Muslims contested on 29 seats but won 6 seats only. P. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Cambridge, 1974, p. 177.

two nation theory played a dominant role in the Indian politics.¹³¹ It was Syed Ahmad Khan, who for the first time, had insisted on a separate Muslim nation. After this various Muslim leaders had expressed the idea of the two nation theory in different ways.¹³² On the academic level Maulana Syed Abu al-Ala Maudoodi and Allama Iqbal opposed vehemently the concept of united nationalism based on homeland. Besides, the scholarly works of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanwi, Mufti Muhammad Shafi and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Uthmani played an effective role in this regard. Maulana Maudoodi especially participated in the debate on the concept of nationalism. As against the concept of united nationalism based on homeland; he gave strong and effective arguments to highlight the Islamic concept of nationalism.¹³³ And the philosopher poet Iqbal (1877-1938) provided an effective and well reasoned foundation through his poetry and sagacity.¹³⁴ As regards the concept

¹³¹ To such an extent that at one stage Gandhi was ready to accept their demand against his own will but his associates, ie Muslim nationalist leaders stopped him and opposed him earnestly. Nehru, *Autobiography*, p. 339.

¹³² Their stage-wise analysis can be found in Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Evolution of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1963.

¹³³ His writings: *Masla-i-Qawmiyat*, Pathankot, 1352 AH, and *Musalman A'war Marajudah Siyasi Kashmakash*, Pathankot, 1938, are permanent thesis on this topic.

¹³⁴ He said that he had spent half of his life in explaining and expressing the concept of Islamic nationalism and the Islamic point of view of the *Millat*. It was mainly because of the fact that this political concept of the Britishers was a great danger for Asia and particularly for Islam. Letter to Taloot, dt. 18 Feb, 1938, included in *Anwar-i-Iqbal*, ed. Bashir Ahmad Dar, Karachi, 1967, p. 1968. In this connection he writes at an other place:

“Iqbal, who marveled at the secrets of the reality of Islamic nationalism when the Indians were not aware of it and the history of whose verses

of nationalism, Iqbal had passed from the finite to the infinite. In the beginning he was influenced by the western concept of homeland. In his student life, he was a nationalist and his poems *Tarana-i-Hindi* (the song of India), *Hindustani Bachaun ka Qaumi Geet* (the national song of the Indian children) and *Naya Shivalah* (the New Temple) written during the period, represents this tendency.¹³⁵ But when he attained maturity of thought, he had changed his thinking.¹³⁶ During his stay in Europe (1905-1908) there had been a drastic change in his thought and mind. But the greatest revolution has taken place is his concept of nationalism. He began to think that the concept of nationalism was the greatest enemy of Islam and the Muslims.¹³⁷ Hence, during this period, he had started

precedes the history of the outspoken truths of *Zamindar, Comrade, Balkans, Tarabalas and Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk*. A letter to Khwaja Hasan Nizami, *Iqbal Namah*, ed. Shaikh Ataullah, Lahore, 1951, Vol. II, pp. 365-66. Khawaja Hasan Nizami had given the above-mentioned five causes of the reawakening of the Muslims of India and Iqbal had written this letter in reply to it. The main purpose of writing *Ramooz-i-Bekhudi* was to highlight the reality of Islamic nationalism. It may be stated without exaggeration that no poetry or prose has been written in this style upto now in Islamic literature.

¹³⁵ In these poems we usually get such feelings as every dust particle of homeland is a deity for me.

¹³⁶ *Letter and Writings of Iqbal*, Lahore, 1967, pp. 58-59.

¹³⁷ He said that in the present era the greatest enemy of Islam and the Muslims is the racial discrimination, and the concept of nationalism based on country. When he realized this for the first time, he was in Europe and this realization had brought about a revolution in his thinking. In fact the climate of Europe had converted him into a Muslim. This very thinking had been theme of his writings ever since. He did not know whether his writings had influenced the people or not but this thinking had left surprising effects on his life. Letter to Waheed Ahmad, dt. 7th Sep. 1921. *Ameer-i-Iqbal*, pp. 176-77. The same view was

rejecting the concepts of nationalism and homeland. Now for him it was a concept which had no material bases.¹³⁸ In fact for him, *chauvinism* was a form of idol worship.¹³⁹ Before this he used to regard every dust particle of the homeland as a deity but now he started saying:

یہ بت کہ تراشیدہ تہذیب نوی ہے
 غارت گر کاشانہ دین نبوی ہے
 نظارہ دیرینہ زمانہ کو دکھا دے
 اے مصطفوی خاک میں اس بت کو ملا دے
 ان تازہ خداؤں میں بڑا سب سے وطن ہے
 جو پیرہن اس کا ہے وہ مذہب کا کفن ہے
 اقوام میں مخلوق خدا بٹتی ہے اس سے
 قومیت اسلام کی جڑ کٹتی ہے اس سے
 بتان رنگ و خوں کو توڑ کر ملت میں گم
 ہو جا

expressed at other places also. See letter to Syed Muhammad Sayeed-ud-Din Jafari, dt. 24 November 1923, *Khutoot-i-Iqbal*, ed. Rafiuddin Hashmi, Lahore, 1976, p. 165; or Dr Qazi Abdul Hameed, *Iqbal ki Shakhshiat aar us ka Paygham*, Iqbal, ed. Moulvi Abdul Haq, Karachi, 1977, p. 190. Here the writer has quoted his talk with Iqbal.

¹³⁸ *Stray Reflections*, p. 24.

¹³⁹ Chauvinism is also delicate form of idol-worship. The national anthems of different countries are the proof of my claim that chauvinism is nothing but the worship of a material thing. Islam does not tolerate idol-worship in any form. To protest against all types of idol-worship is our lasting motto, *Shudbrat-i-Fikr-i-Iqbal*, p. 83. This writing of Iqbal is of 1910.

نہ افغانی رہے باقی نہ ایرانی نہ تورانی
 فکر انسان بت پرستی بت گرے
 ہر زمانہ در جستجوئے دیگرے
 باز طرح آذری انداخت است
 تازہ تر پروردگارے ساخت است
 آدمیت کشتہ شد چون گوسفند
 پیش ہائے میں بت نا ارجمند
 اے کہ خوردستی زمینائے خلیل
 گرمی خونت ز صہائے خلیل
 برسر میں باطل حق پیرہن
 تیغ لاموجود الا ہو بزن

Iqbal firmly believed that what Islam had come to eliminate, it could not be regarded as the fundamental principle of the political organization of the Muslims.¹⁴⁰ The only meeting points for them are to reconcile mentally to a specific concept of life and the universe.¹⁴¹ The unity of Ummah depends on the fact that they should firmly hold on to the religious principles.¹⁴² According to Iqbal, the

¹⁴⁰ *Stray Reflections*, p. 24.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² As soon as this grip becomes loose we will be nowhere. *Shudbrat-i-Fikr-i-Iqbal*, p. 85; or as he said in some verses meaning: the existence of

western concept of nationalism (country) is material in essence, whereas, Islam builds up a singular and a unique concept of nationalism which is based on religion.¹⁴³ Comparing the western concept with that of the Islamic concept of nationalism, Iqbal thought that Europe was proud of a concept of nationalism which was merely an old rag woven out of a fragile and feeble yarn. In fact, it was nothing but a “spiritual disease.”¹⁴⁴ The true principles of nationalism were given by Islam alone, whose perfection and firmness could not be affected by the passage of time.¹⁴⁵ For Iqbal, Islam was the means of elevating humanity above the confines of geographical boundaries and for the elimination of all the artificial discrimination, based on artificial, racial and national difference, which had cropped up in the early stages of human evolution. Hence, as compared to other religions, Islam was more successful. Since there was a wave of racial nationalism coming from Europe to Asia, the greatest curse according to Iqbal, so in the interest of humanity, it was necessary that the real

a nation is with the religion, you have no existence without Islam, because the stars cannot exist without their mutual attraction.

If we discard religion, there will be no unity and when there is no unity there will be no *millat*.

The Muslims will be annihilated like dust particles of the pathway, if they give preference to race over religion.

¹⁴³ *Stray Reflections*, pp. 29-31. Some of his verses say: We should not judge our *millat* on the basis of the western concept of nationalism, because the *millat* of the Hashmite Prophet (peace be upon him) is unique in its form and structure. The western nationalism is based on regionalism and race whereas your *millat* gains strength from religion.

¹⁴⁴ Letter to the newspaper *Hamdam*, Lucknow, in *Khutoot-i-Iqbal*, p. 221.

¹⁴⁵ Letter to Khan Niaz-ud-Din Khan, dt. 27 June 1917, *Makatib-i-Iqbal Banam Khan Niaz-ud-Din Khan*, Lahore, 1954, p. 6.

truths and the true form of Islam should be emphasized.¹⁴⁶ A common language, a common homeland or common economic goals are not the bases of Muslim nationalism. Islam transcends all the regional and temporal bonds.¹⁴⁷ Chauvinism born of nationalism is opposed to Islam which has come to eradicate all kinds of *Shirk Jali wa Khafi* (the explicit and implicit polytheism).¹⁴⁸

Since Iqbal believed the Islamic world to be an indivisible whole and Islam to be *sans* homeland, he bitterly criticized every kind of chauvinism:

مسلم کی بنائے قومیت ہے اسلام
 مسلم ہے اگر تو، تو وطن سے کیا کام
 پاک ہے گرد وطن سے سر داماں تیرا
 تو وہ یوسف ہے کہ ہر مصر ہے کنعاں تیرا
 تو ابھی رہ گزر میں ہے قید مقام سے گزر
 مصر و حجاز سے گزر پارس و شام سے گزر
 نرالا سارے جہاں سے اس کو عرب کے معمار نے بنایا
 بنا ہمارے حصار ملت کی اتحاد وطن نہیں ہے
 نہ چینی و عربی وہ نہ رومی و شامی
 سما سکا نہ دو عالم میں مرد آفاقی

¹⁴⁶ Letter to Syed Muhammad Sayeed-ud-Din Jafari, dt. 14 November, 1923, *Khutoot-i-Iqbal*, p. 165.

¹⁴⁷ *Maqalat-i-Iqbal*, ed. Abdul Wahid Moini, Lahore, 1963, pp. 119-20. This, along with the above-mentioned one, was written in 1910.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 121.

ہو قید مقامی تو نتیجہ ہے تباہی
 رہ بحر میں آزاد وطن صورت ماہی
 یہ ہندی وہ خراسانی یہ افغانی وہ تورانی
 تو اے شرمندہ ساحل اچھل کر بے کراں ہوجا
 درویش خدامست نہ شرقی نہ غربی
 گھر میرا نہ دلی نہ صفاپاں نہ سمرقند
 کہاں کا آنا کہاں کا جانا فریب ہے امتیاز عقبی
 نمود پر شے میں ہے ہماری کہیں ہمارا وطن نہیں ہے
 اصل ملت در وطن دیدن کہ چہ
 باد و آب و گل پرستیدن کہ چہ
 مسلم استی دل بہ اقلیمے مہند
 کم مشو اندر جہان چون و چند
 عقدہ قومیت مسلم کشود
 از وطن آقائے ما ہجرت نمود

But Iqbal is not against patriotism. The nations whose unity depends on the geographical boundaries according to him are justified in being influenced by such feelings.¹⁴⁹ Because, love of homeland is a natural emotion which needs no nurturing or encouragement. But the term homeland does not merely have a geographical connotation

¹⁴⁹ He says, "Patriotism is quite natural and it has a place in the moral life of man." *Harf-i-Iqbal*, ed. Lateef Ahmad Khan Sherwani, Lahore, 1955, p. 57.

but it is also a principle of a form of corporate human group, and accordingly, it is a political concept. In the similar way, Islam also has a corporate form of human beings. Hence when homeland is used as a political concept, it comes into clash with Islam.¹⁵⁰ Therefore Iqbal opposed the concept of chauvinism very vehemently. In the very beginning, when the concept of chauvinism had not become common, Iqbal had realized that the western powers had popularized this concept to disrupt the unity of Islamic world, and their policy did succeed during the First World War.¹⁵¹

It gave him much pain to see that the concept of homeland was also becoming prevalent among the ulema. He was shocked at the thinking of Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani and the like-minded ulema about Islam and united nationalism. It was rather bewildering that some of the religious leaders of the Muslims in India seemed to be the advocates of united nationalism.¹⁵² Had it been the young generation exposed to western education and culture which

¹⁵⁰ He says, "In the tradition of the Holy Prophet (SAW) the concept of homeland is different than the concept of homeland in politics." This was explained by him at one place.

"If nationalism means patriotism and sacrificing one's life for the honour of one's homeland then such nationalism is a part of Muslim faith. But this nationalism comes into conflict with Islam, when it becomes a political concept and claims to be the fundamental principle of unity of mankind and demands of the Muslims that Islam should be relegated into the background of personal belief and it should not remain as a life giving element of national life.

¹⁵¹ *Maqalat-i-Iqbal*, p. 222.

¹⁵² The ups and downs of the time are strange. There was a time when the semi-westernized educated Muslims were the victims of Tafarrunj Frankish (English or Western) culture and now it is the ulema that are being entrapped by it. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

was eager and enthusiastic about the concept of nationalism, it would not have given him any surprise.¹⁵³ The propagation of the idea of united nationalism in India, according to Iqbal, was an attempt on the part of the majority (the Hindus) in the country, to lead the Muslims in the direction of secularism and to show that religion and politics were two different things.¹⁵⁴ It was this which had happened in Turkey. Whatever happened there was the result of the love of homeland or rather the result of Turkism or Turanism.¹⁵⁵ Only secularism remained the common bond among the members of the nation there.¹⁵⁶ Iqbal held that it was secularism which turned the Europeans towards chauvinism and from chauvinism towards the socialism. Later it ultimately turned into

¹⁵³ When Islam and chauvinism are opposed to each other, how is it that the ulema do not understand that Islam is not bound to a homeland? *Iqbal key Huzur*, Vol. I, p. 137. He was hurt by the thinking of Maulana Husain Ahmed Madani and he expressed it repeatedly --- According to one story whenever he wake up in the night he used to say: Alas! How could Maulana Husain Ahmad say that homeland makes the nation? *Ibid.*, p. 273.

¹⁵⁴ *Maqalat-i-Iqbal*, p. 277; *Gufiar-i-Iqbal*, p. 117; ----- Consequently, From the nation's point of view, since they are Indians, therefore they should give up their religion and like other nationalities of India, they should get absorbed in the Indian nationalism or Indianism (Hinduism). *Maqalat-i-Iqbal*, p. 227.

¹⁵⁵ Letter to Masood Alam Nadvi, dt. 25 Feb, 1936, *Iqbal Namah*, Part-I, p. 406. Even the experiment of nationalism in Europe resulted into nothing but secularism and atheism only. *Gufiar-i-Iqbal*, p. 117.

¹⁵⁶ Iqbal, *Harf-i-Iqbal*, p. 230: If some of the Muslims are under the illusion that *din* and homeland are compatible as political concepts, I give them the timely warning that the end product of all this will be nothing but secularism in the first place, and if it is not, then Islam will be considered as a moral concept and will be ignored as a social system. *Ibid.*

atheism.¹⁵⁷ One of the main reasons of his opposition to chauvinism was that it had the germs of atheistic materialism, which, according to him, was the greatest danger to humanity.¹⁵⁸ Under this condition, Iqbal had various doubts and misgivings about nationalism but he had no firm opinion. He did not know as to what would be the effects of this tendency, upon Islam. Whether Islam would change it by absorbing it within itself, as it had done before in the case of various concepts which had undergone complete change, or there would be drastic change in Islam itself?¹⁵⁹ According to him the concepts of nation and homeland had entangled the Muslims into making discrimination of the bases of blood and race. Perhaps this racial discrimination would ultimately culminate into formation of Islamic ideas, but would also be just in contradiction to them.¹⁶⁰ He regarded racialism as the ugliest scar at the face of the modern civilization. He was afraid that if racial problem also rose in Asia, it would be of dangerous consequences. He held that, from religious point of view, the great task before Islam was to resolve this problem. Therefore he emphasized that the Asian countries should adopt the Islamic ideas if they wanted to save themselves from complete destruction and that, keeping the common interests of humanity before them, they should eradicate the racial discrimination.¹⁶¹

Iqbal believed that the problem of nationalism was more dangerous, particularly, for the Muslims in India. It would

¹⁵⁷ Nazir Niazi, *Iqbal key Huzur*, pp. 167-189.

¹⁵⁸ *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, ed. Latif Ahmad Khan Sherwani, Lahore, 1977, p. 28.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

not be so harmful in other countries of the Islamic world. Because in Turkey, Iran, Egypt and other Muslim countries, the Muslims were in majority and the minorities (such as the Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians) was either *Ahl-i-kitab* (People of the Book) or they were similar to them. According to Islamic jurisprudence the Muslims could enter into economic and matrimonial relations with them. The problem of nationalism cropped up only in those countries, where the Muslims were in minority and where nationalism demanded of them to destroy their very existence.¹⁶² Islam, according to Iqbal, was always opposed to discrimination on the bases of race and colour, because it was the greatest hurdle in the way of realization of the goals of humanity. In fact, the greatest enemy of Islam or rather the humanity at large was the belief in colour and race.

جو کرے گا امتیاز رنگ و خوں مٹ جائے
گا

ترک خرگاہی ہو یا اعرابی والا گہر
غبار آلودہ رنگ و نسب ہیں بال و پر
تیرے

تو اے مرغ حرم اڑنے سے پہلے پر فشاں
ہوجا

برنسب نازاں شدن نادانی است
حکم او اندر تن و تن فانی است
قوم تو از رنگ و خوں بالا تر است

¹⁶² *Harf-i-Iqbal*, pp. 50, 195.

قیمت یک اسودش صد احمر است
گر نسب را جزو ملت کرده
رخنه در کار اخوت کرده
نیست از روم و عرب پیوند ما
نیست پابند نسب پیوند ما

Iqbal had realized that the idea of nationalism based on race and geographical boundaries, was becoming dominant and prevalent in the Islamic world under the influence of western thinking and that the Muslims, ignoring the goals of universal brotherhood were falling an easy prey¹⁶³ to it.

حکمت مغرب سے ملت کی یہ کیفیت ہوئی
ٹکڑے ٹکڑے جس طرح سونے کو کر دیتا ہے
گاز
نسل قومیت کلیسا سلطنت تہذیب رنگ
خواجگی نے خوب چن چن کر بنائے مسکرات
لرد مغرب آن سراپا مکر و فن
اہل دیں را داد تعلیم وطن
آن چنار قطع اخوت کردہ اند
بر وطن تعمیر ملت کردہ اند
تا وطن را شمع محفل ساختند

¹⁶³ Letter to Nicholson, *Iqbal Namah*, Part-I, p. 468.

نوع انسان را قبائل ساختند

He believed that it was nationalism which had incited the Turks against the Caliphate, raised the slogan “Egypt for the Egyptians” and gave the utopian dream of “Pan-Indian democracy” in India.¹⁶⁴

The address, given by him as the president of the annual session of the Muslim League (29 Dec 1930, Allahabad) is important in the sense that for the first time, he had presented in a clear and logical way the concept of a separate Muslim state for Indian Muslims, on the basis of Muslim nationalism. According to the political definition of a nation, the Muslims, he thought, were the only nation in India. As against this, the Hindus were the aggregation of various nations.¹⁶⁵ He did not want the Muslims to be a part of the general conditions of the sub-continent. He believed that the Muslims were not aware of the dangers, present in India.¹⁶⁶ If no attention was given to these dangers then the future of Islam, in India, would be dark. Therefore, it was the duty of the Muslims to think about the future

¹⁶⁴ Letter to Akbar Allahabadi, dt. 11 June, 1918, *Iqbal Namah*, Part-II, p. 56.

¹⁶⁵ *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 23; and *Iqbal key Huzur*, pp. 187-88.

¹⁶⁶ These dangers according to Iqbal were nationalism and Qadianiat. One was the concept of geographical nationalism and the other a complete negation of the unity of *millat* ____ *Iqbal key Huzur*, p. 296. According to Iqbal there was a deep, purposeful relationship between these two. *Harf-i-Iqbal*, p. 240. In this connection the support given to Qadianiat by Jawahar Lal Nehru and advocate of united nationalism was also meaningful, ____ Abdul Waheed Khan, *Musalmanon ka Isar, aar Azadi ki Jang*, Lucknow, 1938, p. 305. For a detailed and well-argued answer of Iqbal to the statements of Nehru in support of Qadianiat; see, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, pp. 176-99.

generations, lest they might also fare like the Gonds and the Bhils (Shudras) and their religion and culture become extinct from this country.¹⁶⁷

At various places Iqbal mentioned the dangers confronting Islam in India. His said address to the Muslim League had given a complete description of these dangers. At another place he writes thus:

Islam is going to face a very critical time in India. Apart from the protection of their political rights and Muslim culture, the very existence of Islam is at stake.¹⁶⁸

Therefore, he was completely disappointed about the Hindu-Muslim unity. He was no longer its advocate. He even did not like the temporary Hindu-Muslim unity during the Khilafat Movement. He declared, "Any bargain with the Hindus at the cost of Islam cannot be tolerated. Alas! The advocates of the Khilafat Movement have gone far away from their real path. They are leading us to such a nationalism which no sincere Muslim can accept for a minute."¹⁶⁹

In the same way, he did not like the formation of the Congress Muslim Party and the Nationalist Muslim Party by the nationalist Muslims. When he was also invited to attend a conference which was called to consider their formation, in his statement, he said that the method adopted at that time, did not mean a compromise with the Hindus but it was an attempt to create disruption among the Muslim millat which had been organized into a united

¹⁶⁷ Letter to Mawlvi Saleh Muhammad, dt. 22 April, 1932, *Iqbal Namah*, Part-II, p. 387.

¹⁶⁸ Letter to Saleh Muhammad, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

¹⁶⁹ Letter to Syed Suleman Nadvi, dt. 18 March, 1978, *op. cit.*, Part-I, p. 158.

whole with much difficulty and hardship.¹⁷⁰ Indian and united nationalism, for Iqbal, was in reality another name of Hinduism and as such the acceptance of Indian nationalism, for him, was nothing but a denial of separate Muslim Ummah.¹⁷¹ He held that there was no existence of an Indian nation. The Turks and the Arabs or the Afghans might be regarded as a nation in the sense that they had a common homeland, common language, a common culture and religion. Whereas, in case of the Indian nation there was nothing common, except a common homeland. Therefore, in a nation formed on the basis of common homeland the ruling power will rest in the hands of the majority, ie Hindus. Under these circumstances if the Muslim accept this idea of a nation, their existence would be lost through a merger with the Hindus.¹⁷²

Iqbal held that no nation could survive by discarding its own principle of nationalism. Because when the nations deviate from their own principles of life, they always meet a fatal end. The Islamic world came into existence because of Islam. Its very existence depends on Islam and its revival is possible only through Islam.¹⁷³ For Iqbal, the danger from the concept of nationalism was not confined to India or Islam. In fact, they were equally harmful to all the nations of Asia.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, Iqbal did not confine his thinking and his message to India or Islam. In fact it encompasses the whole of humanity¹⁷⁵.

¹⁷⁰ *Harf-i-Iqbal*, pp. 190-91.

¹⁷¹ *Iqbal kay Huzur*, p. 292.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 344-45.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹⁷⁴ *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁷⁵ "In fact, the greatest enemy of Islam, rather of the whole humanity is the belief in colour and race and it is the duty of those who have love

Iqbal was aware of the conditions and the factors under whose influence the trends of nationalism and chauvinism were being developed in the Islamic world. The main reason according to him was that when subjugated nations which had lost their freedom, saw other nations getting their freedom they became prone to national and racial prejudice.¹⁷⁶ Iqbal was also aware of the circumstances which led to the disruption of unity of the Muslim nation in Turkey and the Arab world. He had, particularly, great interest and sympathy with the problems of the Turks. His attitude towards the Turkism and movements of Turkish nationalism was always sympathetic, though he was also extremely against these tendencies. He knew that whatever Mustafa Kamal had done in Turkey was not the beginning but the culmination of a process. Although Mustafa Kamal was the proponent and leader of the modern nationalism, in his time. Iqbal knew that the sentiment of nationalism had been developing in Islamic world, particularly in the Arab countries, even before this.¹⁷⁷ He was also aware of the tactics adopted by the western powers to sentiment of nationalism had been developed in the Balkans to divide this region into various small kingdoms which might break off from the Ottoman Empire later on and thereby put an end to Turkish domination in Europe. The European countries then would be in position to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey in the same way as they were doing in other Muslim countries. The Turks were observing all this, but they failed to realize that fact that the national

for humanity to rise against the inventions of Iblis (devil).” Letter to Nicholson, *Iqbal Nama*, Part-I, p. 468.

¹⁷⁶ *Iqbal kay Huzur*, p. 317.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 335-36.

unity of the Muslim world would fall asunder as a result of accepting this concept of nationalism. They had learnt about nationalism from their contacts with the Europeans, particularly, the French. Therefore, it was natural that they had to face the problem of dichotomy between religion and the country. This problem did arise and the Turks were divided between two conflicting groups.¹⁷⁸ Their nationalist feelings were strengthened during the First World War, when the Islamic World failed to act or raise voice in their support. On the contrary, when they were badly in need of help, the Arabs revolted against them.¹⁷⁹ According to Iqbal it was harmful for the world of Islam, because, in an attempt to follow the Turks, everywhere Islam was being interpreted in terms of race and homeland.¹⁸⁰ As the result of the exegetical efforts of the Turks, the dichotomy between religion and politics came into vogue in the Islamic world.¹⁸¹ In his lifetime, the manner in which the western powers had developed nationalism among the Arabs, in opposition to the Turks. Iqbal was aware of its potential dangers. Iqbal also knew that the germs of atheism and secularism lay behind this nationalism which was also harmful for the Arabs as a nation.

Iqbal had the whole history of the rise and fall of the Arabs before him. He knew about their movements of separatism, nationality and nationalism and he was sorry about the harmful effects of these movements upon the national life of the Arabs. By addressing them he tried to

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 336. He said in a verse, "The unknowing Turks tore of the robe of Caliphate, look at the simplicity and the innocence of the Muslims and the craftiness of the others (ie the west).

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Iqbal, *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore, p. 157.

make them feel the revolutionary change and their downfall. He informed them that the entire world was sorry for their stagnation and disunity. While other nations had gone much ahead of them, they neither cared for the religion nor its message. Once they were a *millat*, but now they were divided into various groups. Iqbal was hurt to see the plotting of the Britishers against the Arabs and the apathy of the Arabs about it. He warned them of the British intention and informed them as to how the fascination of the west, in the past had turned various nations into helpless and ineffective entities and how their unity was shattered.

اے زافسون فرنگی بے خبر
فتنه ها در آستین او نگر
حکمتش پر قوم را بے چاره کرد
وحدت اعرابیان صد پاره کرد
تا عرب در حلقهٔ دانش فتاد
آسماں یک دم امان او را نداد

Iqbal firmly believed that the concept of nationalism was a tool in the hands of the western colonial powers and they were using it effectively to achieve their colonial goals.¹⁸² He had seen the horrible and destructive aspect of this concept. He had perceived the fact that the Islamic world had not experienced such a trying and difficult period

¹⁸² As he has realized this during the revolt of the Arabs against the Turks in the First World War, *Maqalat-i-Iqbal*, p. 222.

before this.¹⁸³ Under these circumstances, he was anxious about the fate of the Muslim Ummah.¹⁸⁴ He was witnessing the fact that the entire Islamic world was being influenced by this concept of nationalism.

According to him, a better future of the sub-continent and the Islamic world depended on the adequate solution of this problem.

آبرو باقی تری ملت کی جمعیت سے تھی
 جب یہ جمعیت گئی دنیا میں رسوا تو
 ہوا
 فرد قائم ربط ملت سے ہے تنہا کچھ نہیں
 موج ہے دریا میں اور بیرون دریا کچھ نہیں

While Iqbal gave various arguments against nationalism based on homeland, he had also expressed it through his attitude, behaviour and tendencies. The fact that he made use of Persian instead of Urdu which was understood by his Indian audience brings to light the fact that he did not like the separation of Turkey and Iran from the centre of Islamic culture on the regional basis, nor did he like the discarding of the linguistic traditions of Islam. He deliberately used Persian as an intermediary language between the Arabic and other languages of the Islamic world.

بہ ترکان بستہ دریا را کشادند

¹⁸³ Letter to Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, dt. 2nd September 1935, *Iqbal Namah*, Part-I, p. 51; letter to Syed Suleman Nadvi, 18 March 1926, *Ibid.*, p. 142; *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 6.

¹⁸⁴ *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 5.

بنائے مصریاں محکم نہادند
تو ہم دستے بہ دامن خودی زن
کہ بے او ملک و دیں کس را نہ
داند

Although Iqbal was against regional nationalism, yet he considered patriotism as a part of the faith and a country to be necessary for the survival of Islamic culture.

Iqbal not only liked several of the exegetic efforts of the Turks,¹⁸⁵ but he also appreciated their national movement, because the love of freedom lay behind it.¹⁸⁶ Iqbal therefore considered the establishment of an independent Islamic state in India as necessary for the survival of Islam as a cultural force, so that it might establish its centrality in a specific region, which he visualized to be the North West India, at that time. In Iqbal's system of thought the geographical concept of homeland, gradually transcends the boundaries of a city, a country or a region and then encompasses all the cities, countries or regions which were the earthly abode and the historical and cultural heritage of the Muslims. Therefore Delhi, Baghdad, and Granada took new meanings for him. Hence every country of the Muslims, according to him, was the homeland of every Muslim, where Islam was to be the living and lasting cultural force. This is the main reason why a country – where religion, historical traditions and the culture of the Muslims could be well protected and where their beliefs and thoughts could grow freely – had become the centre of

¹⁸⁵ Iqbal, *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 157.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 156-57.

his thinking and he, beginning with national sovereignty started to dream about an international state, whose spiritual centre was to be Makkah:

قوم را ربط و نظام از مرکزے
 روزگارش را دوام از مرکزے
 راز دار و راز ما بیت الحرام
 سوز ما ہم ساز ما بیت الحرام
 تو ز پیوند حریمے زندہ
 تا طواف او کنی پایندہ

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