PREFACE

World Politics is entering a new phase, and intellectuals have not hesitated to proliferate visions of what it will be – the End of History, the return of traditional rivalries between nation states, and the decline of the nation state from the conflicting pulls of tribalism and globalism, among others. Each of these visions catches aspects of the emerging reality. Yet they all miss a crucial, indeed a central, aspect of what global politics is likely to be in the coming years.

In this regard I am partially agreed with the hypothesis of Samuel P. Huntington, that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future. Conflict between civilizations will be the latest phase in the evolution of conflict in the modern world. Here it is important to define the concept of civilization. A civilization is the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity. It is defined both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people. The broader reaches of human history have been the history of civilizations. In the A Study of History, Arnold Toynbee identified twenty one major civilizations; only six of them exist in the contemporary world. These include Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Latin, American and Possibly African civilization. The most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another.

The most important clash or conflict of civilizations in the contemporary world is between Islamic and Western Civilizations. The West’s “next confrontation”, observed M.J.Akbar, an Indian Muslim author, “is definitely going to come from the Muslim World. It is in the sweep of the Islamic nations from the Maghreb to Pakistan that the struggle for a new world order will begin.” Bernard Lewis comes to a similar
conclusion; “We are facing a mood and a movement far transcending the level of issues and policies and the governments that pursue them. This is no less than a clash of civilizations- the perhaps irrational but surely historic reactions of an ancient rival against our Judeo-Christian heritage our secular present, and the world-wide expansion of both.” (Bernard Lewis, “The Root of Muslim Rage”, *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 266, September, 1990, p.60). This clash is stimulated by Islamic Fundamentalism, Jihad, and Terrorism. Since September 11th 2000 A.D. the World Press too, has made exclusive coverage of the attack and we have become more familiar with many relevant terms, one of which is Islamic fundamentalism. Radical Islamic fundamentalism is inherently militant in nature and poses a threat to the new world order that emphasizes democratic values, particularly after the establishment of the Afghan Taliban. Some Western observes, including policy makers, regard Islamic fundamentalism as a more dangerous ideology and political movement than communism after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

He is general perception that the history of Islamic fundamentalism began in the 1920s but the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism was a very complicated social phenomenon. Actually it was related to the expansion of Western Imperialism and the colonization of Muslim society especially in Indian Sub-continent. In other words roots of the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism lies in the history. So, it is lay in the logic of historical research to trace those roots and bring them in the kind academic attention of the historians in particular and of the academicians in general.

It is here lies the relevance of my study in the World history context. As per my investigation and analysis the roots of Islamic fundamentalism entrenched in distant past of the Indian Sub-Continent- a century ago in 1820s than in 1920s as perceived by contemporary scholars of the theme. So, the time period of my study began in 1820s and spread upto 1920s. Upto 1820s the Muslim political power in India finally declined and the Western Power i.e. British Raj acquired the status of paramount power. The anti-thesis of Western Power in the form of Wahabhi movement emerged in the very same decade in Arab as well as in Indian Subcontinent.

In the present study Muslim political attitudes towards British Raj actually identified with Islamic political attitudes towards western culture and civilization.
The Muslims of India never lost their identity like earlier immigrants to India. They have always regarded themselves separate from the rest of people. But simultaneously they have not always rejected the title of “Indian”. Two-nation theory threw the clock of Western nationalism over the Islamic conception of a separate culture and so converted a cultural and religious entity into a separate political force in Indian sub-continent.

The formation of a separate political identity of the Muslims in Modern India was mainly the contribution of its Ashraf leadership i.e. the elite. The Ashraf leaders of different provinces differed among themselves on the measures to be taken and strategy to be adopted. These differences were procedural and not of content and goal.

This study is a humble theoretical attempt to probe the long term political trends of this force. For this the present researcher have taken hundred years, in other words a century (1820-1920) to analyse the thesis how could a group of diverse social origins, speaking many languages and geographically scattered behaved sometimes uniformly. To understand this it is necessary to delve into the distant as well as the immediate past of India.

The aims and objectives of the present study was to establish links between different micro and regional studies conducted on the various subjects of historical interest regarding Indian Muslims and their political attitudes. In other words the present study is a humble attempt to draw long term and macro inferences of Muslim attitudes towards British Raj in particular and Western culture in general.

To prove above thesis I have taken and analysed the Wahabi movement, the first Islamic Revivalist Movement, Revolt of 1857, Aligarh Movement, Deoband Movement, politics of All India Muslim League (1906-1920) indepth and comprehensively. The regional dimensions of the Muslim attitudes were analysis with the help of Revolt in Haryana region. The general hypothesis of this study was that there is an existence of Confrontationist attitudes of Muslims towards British Raj with some stray trends of collaborative attitude of Muslims with the Raj always there.
HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE THEME: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The present theme attracted attention of the scholars world over. Their works can be categorised to three levels geographically i.e. at World level, at continental level and at national level. The reading and writing of History provide an opportunity to look back on the past from the present context in order to avoid the path which might be disastrous for the human civilization in general and for the concerned society in particular. Hence, the interpretations of past keep on changing. This applies, without exception, to the modern Indian history as well. All of the above scholars and historians genuinely kept in mind the above conceptions. Some of them deserves to be mentioned here. These includes Arnold Toynbee, Samuel Paul Huntington, B.O.Chang, R.J.Moore, S.M.Ikram, H.V.Hodson, M.D.Wainwright, Pendoral Moon, Francis Robinson, Richard M.Eaton, Barbara Daly Metcalf, Norman Daniel, N.G.Barrier, Jamil Malik Burjar Avari, Tariq Ali, Q. Ahmad, A. Ahmad, K.K.Aziz, S.A.A.Rizvi, R.Gopal, Mushirul Hasan, P.Hardy, H.Mujeeb, W.C.Smith, Farzana Sheikh, A.M.Zaidi, Imtiaz Ahmad, and many more.

The study of cultures and civilization as a separate identity gone back early twentieth century. The broader reaches of human history have been the history of civilizations. In A Study of History, Arnold Toynbee identified. 21 major civilizations; only six of them exist in the contemporary world. He pointed out that civilizations rise, develop and decline in a set pattern like troughs and tides. In the article. “The clash of civilizations” Samuel Paul Huntington pointed out that civilization identity will be increasingly important in the future after the end of cold war and to some after end of History. In his view the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another. In other words cultural and civilizational vestiges and features never vanished and will remain converging and uniting force in human history. This article in the product of the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, at Harvard University’s project on

As a uniform culture and civilization Islam is also explored by other historians and scholars also. M.R.Bawa Muhaiyadeen in his book Islam and World Peace: Explanations of a Sufi, emphasize on the understanding of the true meaning of Islam. Islam is equality, peacefulness, and unity. The author emphasize that we must all wage a holy war against the evil qualities that come to destroy our good qualities. In the same manner Akbar & Ahmad in his book Post-Modernism and Islam: Predicament and Promise, explores an area which has been almost entirely neglected by scholars in the field- the area of post-modernism and Islam. This landmark work is starting, constantly perceptive and certain to be debated for years to come. In 2004 Natana Delong Bas shatters stereotypes and misconceptions. Her work Wahabi Islam: From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad, produces a revisionists thesis: Ibn Abd Al Wahhab was not the godfather of contemporary terrorist movements. Rather, he was a voice of reforms, reflecting mainstream 18th century Islamic thought. Similarly Tamin Ansary in his book Destiny Disrupted: A History of World through Islamic Eyes (2009), Tariq Ali in Clash of Fundamentalism (2012) and Norman Daniel in Islam and the West: The Making of an Image (2000) also explored Islam in various ways.

So many scholars and historians concentrates their investigations and writings on South Asia and India particularly. In this category we can include The British Empire and Muslim Identity in South Asia of Francis Robinson. He point out that British Empire in India saw major transformations in the identities of its Indian subjects. The growth of modern state, the introduction of new system of knowledge, the expansion of capitalist mode of production, and the spread of communications of all forms made possible the fashioning of all kinds of new identities at local, regional and supra regional levels. One of the identities which developed most strikingly was the Muslim. Burjor Avari in the book Islamic Civilization in South Asia: A History of Muslim Power and Presence in the Indian Sub-continent, provides a comprehensive account of the history of Islam in India, encompassing political, socio-economic, cultural and intellectual aspects. It discusses a range of topics, including: How power
was secured, and how as it exercised, the crisis of confidence caused by the arrival of
the west in Indian subcontinent, how the Indo-Islamic synthesis in various facets of
life and culture came about Jamal Malik in his book Islam in South Asia: A Short
History, (2012) explored that Islamic and Islamicate South Asia has became a focal
point in academia, especially since 9/11 (2000). This book synthesise the long
History of Islam in four clusters of time from 700 AD to 1930 AD. In there book
Barbara Daly Metcalf and others emphasised that India’s Muslim communities have
significant political, cultural, and religious identities in contemporary times. In their
book India’s Muslims: An Omnibus (2007) the authors brings together three analytical
frameworks- the empathetic view to identity formation, the regional articulation of
identity, and developments at national level. The book analyses several important
aspects from Deoband School to Aligarh School and Muslim league to partition.
Dominique-Sila Khan in her book, Crossing the Threshold- Understanding Religious
Identities in South Asia, explored the identity formation and pointed out that the
Hindu Muslim interface should not, however, be viewed as the convergence of two
fixed straight lines, but rather as the encounter between various fluctuating sets of
lines representing the religious movements which have their historical roots either in
the Muslim countries, prior to penetration of Islam in South Asia, or in the Indian
Sub-continent.

Muslim Politics of World in general and of Indian subcontinent in particular,
unique in many respects, has aroused considerable scholarly interest in India and
abroad. The theme has been closely studied from various perspectives. So many
historians brought out scholarly works on the subject. These scholars in varying
degrees, have analysed the Muslim political trends and attitudes. In these Barbara
Daly Metcalf explored the revival of Islam in British India in her book Islamic
Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900 (1982), Francis Robinson traced the
muslim history in South-Asia in his work entitled Islam and Muslim History in South
Asia, (2000). In his edited works India’s Islamic Traditions 711-750 (2003) and
Essays on Islam and Indian History (2000) Richard M.Eaton presented various
aspects of Islam explored by him and other scholars. In the same manner Imtiaz

Some of the scholars and historians specifically concentrated their works on India and Indian subcontinent. In this category a useful work on cultural heritage of Islam in by S.M.Ikram, *Cultural Heritage of Pakistan* (1955), W.C.Smith’s *Modern Islam in India* (1946), an extensive and informative work, for Islam in the nineteenth century, W.W.Hunters *Indian Mussalmans* (1870) may be included. A Yusuf Ali’s *Cultural History of India* (1940), has much scattered information. For ideas of Aligarh School one can see Syed Ameer Ali, *Spirit of Islam* (1922). The following general works on Islam and an Indian Muslims may be mentioned: R.Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam* (C.U.P. 1957); M.Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims* (1967); Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (C.U.P. 1972); and E.J.Rosenthal, *Islam in the Modern National State* (1965). The other important works and studies included *Communal and Pan-Islamic Trends in Colonial India* (1981) by Mushirul Hasan (ed); Aligarh First Generation (1977) by David Leyleveld; *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakistan* (1980) by Hafeez Malik; *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (1982) by Gail Minault; *Roots of Confrontation in South Asia* (1982) by Stanley Wolpert; and *Prelude to Pakistan* (2000) by Jaiveer S. Dhankhar. Alongwith the above important and basic works many more recent publications have been consulted during the course of this study which are included in the bibliography enclosed with present study.

In above studies and works the Muslim politics has been studied from various perspectives but yet the long term links and macro trends are not established in these works from world history angle. That is why the present study required and one must view this study in the above context.

**CHAPTERIZATION:**

The present study spread over following chapters.

In the first chapter entitled “*Introduction and Background*”, the present research scholar have introduced the reader about the Muslim attitudes towards British Raj and traced the whole background of theme of the thesis/study. The following composition of the chapter represent a modest attempt to the understand the
psychology of due Europeans, the Muslim, The Muslim Ruling Class, The nobility, The Ulama, and The Elite as also the British Policy towards the Muslim of India. The psychological analysis is proved to be useful in understanding the contradictions and disparities in the attitudes of the various Muslim classes and section towards the British rulers and their culture. In the next chapters that follow, the political part is to be dealt at length.

The second chapter of the thesis is entitled as “Wahabi Movement”. In this chapter the attitude of the Muslim religious class towards British rule and western culture have been traced. In order to understand this the religious movement during first half of the nineteenth century need to be considered. Delhi, a centre of religious and secular learning, saw the birth of all India-movement under the leadership of Saiyyad Ahmad Barelvi. The Movement spread to such distant centres as Hyderabad, Patna, Bengal, Tonk, Oudh etc. Bengal gave rise to many crucial movements like those led by shariatuulah, titu mir and Karamat ali. These movement though they differed in their vision and in their approaches to due question of Muslim life in British India, were one in seeking resolutely to purify Islam in India. They also aimed at re-establishing Muslim rule in India. The study of these movements is the main composition of this chapter. This study quite clearly elucidated that despite local variations and individual differences these movements for socio religious reforms aimed at annihilating British rule/Raj and preventing westernization. Their final goal was to establish a purely Islamic state in India. Hence the subject matter of this chapter also clearly establish the attitude of confrontation of Muslim political thought towards British Raj.

The third chapters entitled “Revolt of 1857 and Muslim,” will explore the Muslim attitudes towards British Raj during the great Revolt of Indian History. The contents and discussion in this chapter clearly elucidates the diversity of action and thought among Muslim community of Indian Sub-Continent. The historians and statesmen have been engaged in labelling the uprising of 1857 with some descriptive word or other such as “mutiny”, “Revolt”, “Revolution” “National War”, etc since its eruption. To the Muslims the uprising was logical culmination of their vigorous resistance of alien rule i.e. British Raj. Though wanting in the modern means and
techniques of welfare and handicapped by the absence of co-ordination between the various groups, it was based on definite ideals and objectives which converged towards a single purpose, viz. to re-establish Muslim rule in India. However, the concept of Muslim Government differed from section to section. For example, the religious class generally aimed at established a government on the model of Rashida. The Muslim masses on the other hand just wanted Muslim Rule, The Mughal Government being their ideal over all Muslims fought especially for the re-establishment of their old sway. In the end when the finale of the fierce encounter between the orthodox resisters and the British Rulers being enacted, a group of Muslims known to be pro-British behaved differently.

The reasons for such an attitude on their part were varied. Such groups existed in all parts of country. This proves that the Muslim of India in every part of the country reacted in two ways, i.e. both for and against British Rule and western culture. However, the anti-British attitude pre-dominated in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In order to understand the regional and micro level behaviour and attitude of Muslim community towards British Raj or Western culture it is necessary to have a separate chapter in this study. Hence fourth chapter of the study is entitle as “Revolt of 1857 and Muslims in Haryana.” The great Revolt proved to be a perfect historical event to analyse the general attitude of various sections of the Muslims of Haryana. The sepoys, the people and feudal chiefs all took part in this revolt in large number. Their participation and struggle displayed a general attitude of confrontation with British Raj. The specific activities of the sepoys, the masses or the people and feudal chiefs will be discussed in this chapter for which sources are collected from Haryana State Archives, Punchkula.

The Revolt of 1857 extinguished all the ambitions of the Muslim Community for the recovery of their lost power and dominion. This community became special target of British hatred after the revolt and darkness enveloped the community. In these circumstances there emerged three kinds of political trends of attitudes among the Muslim of Indian Sub-continent. The first school of thought was of the Ulama – the custodians of traditional learning and ideals. This school have imagined a
political order which would guarantee free exercise of faith, equal opportunities of welfare and advancement, and a self-respecting dignified life for men of all creeds, all races and all colours. This was the basis of the Deoband Movement in the second half of Nineteenth Century. The Second School of thought accept the rule of the alien masters and endeavour to enlist their goodwill to obtain government patronage. This school of thought consisted of men who were really impressed by the political institutions, military power, civilization and culture of the west. This thought or political trend ultimately led to the Aligarh movement which in turn was prepared the ground and created the circumstances for the establishment of all India Muslim league, the first ever political stage of Muslim community in India. This thought followed the attitude of cooperation and loyalty towards British Raj. The third school of thought was of nationalist Muslims consisted of the educated Muslims especially from Madras of Bombay Presidencies. They supported the political advancement of India along democratic lines, and they were deeply devoted of the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. The nationalist Muslim shared the Liberal attitude of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan towards west, but differed from him on the problems of political reform, the Ideas of representative democratic government, and methods of democratic agitation. The period between 1858 to 1906 witnessed the above political trends among Muslim community and above all the very same period also witnessed the formation of the separate political identity of the Muslims in Modern India. All the above developments will be the subject matter of fifth chapter of the study entitled as “Trends of Muslim Politics: 1858-1906”

The last chapter entitled “Loyalty to Confrontation-1906-1920.” In this chapter the foundation of Muslim League and it is politics up to 1920 has been explored comprehensively. The foundation of All India Muslim League in 1906 was the fulfilment of the hopes and desires of the Muslim Community of India. The Muslim League was established to protect and represent the interest of the Muslims of Indian. At the time of it’s foundation it adopted the traditional policy of loyalty towards the British Colonial Authorities which was followed by its predecessor that is Aligarh school or Aligarh movement. But within a decade it found itself at bay because of the British Policy towards two important issues concerning the Muslims i.e.
the annulment of the partition of Bengal and the treatment of Ottoman empire in the hands of British colonial power. This change was also due to growing participation of English educated Muslim youth from the various classes other than upper classes. In 1916 by signing the Lucknow pact with Indian National Congress, the Muslim League said adieu to its traditional policy of Loyalty to the British Raj. By the time of Khilafat agitation the Muslim League was well on the path of confrontation with British Authorities. This shifting of Muslim league policy is subject of great interest to study in depth and this forms the subject matter of this chapter. In the last there is conclusion of the study finds its place. The brief survey of the events of the period under consideration elucidated that Muslims of Indian sub-continent behaved diversely towards the British Raj. This diverse behaviour also can be detected in the course of different movements and historical developments and events. For example during Wahabi movement the confrontationist attitude dominated but during the Revolt of 1857 the various section of Muslim community behaved in both ways. Some sections participated in the revolt while some did not participated and remain loyal to British Raj. After revolt of 1857 the Muslim Community behaved politically in three different ways in the second half of nineteen century. One section adopted the path of confrontation on traditional lines and started a major movement against British called Deoband movement. The other section acted differently and adopted the loyal attitude towards British Raj.

This section played an important role in the life of Muslim Community. Mostly educated people consisted this section.

They started Aligarh Movement which ultimately paved the way for the first ever Muslim political organization entitled as All India Muslim League in 1906. In the third section the English educated Muslims from Madras and Bombay were there. This third section believed in Nationalism and democracy. These were the Nationalist Muslims. In the twentieth century when in 1906 All India Muslim league established, Muslims behaved as pro-British but later on this organization adopted an attitude of confrontation. In the end the attitude of Muslims towards British Raj was not Monolithic but of diverse nature.
This study is based on primary as well as secondary sources. Although, the secondary sources were utilized more than primary sources. This was so because the period of the study was so long and it was not possible to consult the primary sources so comprehensively. Moreover the nature of study was also restricted the present research scholar in the utilization of the primary sources exhaustively. This was the macro level study of long term trends not a micro study. The list of these sources is enclosed which is comprehensive and detailed one.

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