Chapter-4

Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind and Indian National Congress

The course of nationalism in India intimately connected with the history of Indian National Congress. Even if at its inception, its real significance was not fully evident, yet the regularity with which it held its annual sessions. The growing number of delegates and sympathizers who attended these conventions, the burgeoning of the organizational network that spanned much of the Indian subcontinent almost at once, stamped the Congress as the dominant national institution in the Country.

Right from 1885, the year in which the Congress was established the question of Muslims participation in the national movement has been a subject of great debate. Congress after having come into an existence, claimed to be the spokesmen and representative of all Indians irrespective of any differences. The attitude of Muslims towards Congress constitutes an interesting chapter of Indian politics. It split them into two very distinct groups politically, one group that of mostly Deobandis and their sympathizers joined the Congress and many high intellectual joined the Congress or they showed their sympathies and moral affection for it. Since its inception, the Congress was supported in every age by some noteworthy intelligent and talented Muslim leaders and statesmen, such as Justice Badruddin Tayabji, Maulana Mohammed Ali Johar and Abul Kalam Azad. Scholars like Shibli, Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani and Zakir Hussain
were its supporters. Apart from it, the Congress was supported by some of the parties and institutions of Muslims such as Dar-ul- uloom Deoband, Jamia Millia Delhi and Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind.

4.1-Formation of the Indian National Congress:

After the defeat of the revolt of 1857 A.D., the East India Company’s rule came directly under the British crown. On one hand, the treacheries of the British rule continued unabated. The Muslim in particular are made the victims of the British cruelties. On the other hand, the Indians were determined to free their country from the foreign yoke. While there was on one hand the political victimization of the people, on the other hand was the agitation of the people against the excess and exploitation by the British. The result was that there was an increasing resentment of the common man against rulers. Taking into consideration this anger of the people the English thought of creating such an association which could result into bridging the differences between the rulers and the rule and to resolve the hatred and opposition of the people against the government. It was this thought that on the advice of A.O. Hume a retired officer came out with a proposal to form the Indian National Congress. The credit for founding the premier political organization the Indian National Congress, goes to Hume, Son of the founder of the radical party in England. Hume had seen the great discontentment among the people during the closing years of Lord Lytton’s viceroyalty. He thought it would be a public benefit if there existed some responsible organization through which the government could be kept informed regarding Indian public opinion.

Although the idea of the formation of the Indian National Congress had come into the minds of some esteemed English people yet it formally came into being only in 1885.²

The Congress was not the innovation of one man; it was not the creation of few individuals, however of a few organizations coming together for a common purpose. It was the culmination of more than half a centuries labors put in at different times by different leaders and by different communities.

The first session of Indian National Congress was held under the presidency of W.C.Banerji on 28th Dec.1885 in Tejpal Sanskrit college Bombay. Seventy-two representatives from different parts of India participated in this session.

Many years after the Congress came into being, only resolutions were passed in its meetings and petitions submitted. With the passing of the time, the Indian leaders began to show some excitement and emotions. They were awakening. The early nationalists wanted a large share in government of their own country and made an appeal to the principle of democracy. But they did not ask for the immediate fulfillment of their goal. Their immediate demands were extremely moderate. They hoped to win freedom through gradual steps.

Nationalists Muslims who supported the Congress from its early days, they supported the political advancement of India along democratic lines and they were deeply devoted to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. For them, there was no conflict between their faith in Islam and their love for India. Among these nationalist Muslims, the name Badruddin Tayyabji will come first.

² Ibid.
Badruddin Tayyabji (1844 A.D. -1906 A.D.) was in the early days of the Congress, one of the foremost nationalist leaders. He belongs to an Arab family which came to India and settled down in Bombay. When the Indian National Congress met in Bombay in Dec. 1885, Tayabji not only supported the Congress but also took pains to repudiate the charge of the London times that the Muslims of Bombay had kept aloof. In a speech at the Bombay presidency Association, he said, “I assure you my perfect sympathy with the movement, and the sympathies of my co-religionists at large. The English Times, in writing about the movement, miss stated that the Mohammadan community refrained from having anything to do with it. This I deny.  

Although it is a fact that, for some reasons Tayabji was unable to attend the session, Rahmatullah Sayani and Abdullah Dhamarsi, to equally influential Muslim leaders of Bombay were present. In 1887, the Indian National Congress held its session in Madras and elected Badruddin Tayabji as president, and he paid no attention either to the displeasure of the government or the frowns of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Syed Ameer Ali. In his presidential address, he laid stress on the desirability of all communities of India.


5 Ibid.

6 Eminent Mussalmans Biographical and critical sketches of statement, poets, reformers, jurists and politicians. (2002). (pp.102-103). Delhi: BR. publishing corporation (A division of BRPC-India Ltd.).
joining together. “In their efforts to obtain those great general reforms, those great rights which are for the common benefit of us all, and which I feel assured have only to be earnestly unanimously pressed upon.” For several years after 1887 A.D., Tayabji was a decisive factor in the deliberations of the Congress. On the one hand, he attempted to convince the Muslims of India that, in matters of religion, they were free to act as they pleased and that the Congress would not interfere. But so far as national activities were concerned, the Indian Muslims should consider themselves as Indians and for all national advance, they should struggle together as one people to achieve their end. At the same time, he tried to dispel the fears of the Muslims community.

According to Dr. Tara Chand,

“As long as he lived, he remained a devout Muslim, but at the same time a devoted, loyal and fearless leader of the Indian National Congress.”

By the beginning of the 20th century, the nationalist’s leaders advanced further and put forward the claim for Swarajya or Self-government within the British Empire on the model of self-governing colonies like Australia and Canada.

This demand was made from the Congress platform by Gokhale and Dada Bhai Naoroji. During this period, the aims and objectives of Congress were changing. In 1907, the purpose of the Congress was declared as under.

“The objectives of the Indian National Congress was to achieve self government which the British government had granted to its members.”

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7 Tarach Chand, op. cit(p.390)
Thus with the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885 A.D., the struggle for India’s freedom from foreign rule was launched in a small but organized manner.

Sir Auckland considered the formation of the Congress as dangerous for the future of the British rule in India. He used to say that the Congress movement would lead to differences between the patriots and the revolutionaries. During a speech made by him, he wanted to finish the influence of the Congress by saying,

“The Congress injudiciously calls itself a representative of India.” ⁹

It appears from the above statement of Sir Auckland that he was a foresighted and intelligent person. His predication came true in the second decade of the 20th century. By that time, the Congress had established itself as a national body.

“Its real objective was not only to achieve freedom from the country but also to create a united India by bringing together Hidus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians and to remove the distinction between the rich and the poor, the high and the low and cast and creed.” ¹⁰

The Congress maintained her attitude of moderation till the end of the 19th century. The young leaders like Tilak, Lala Lachpat Rai, Bipin Chandrapal and Aurobindo Ghosh were dissatisfied with the working of the moderate Congressmen; they began to realize the uselessness of constitutional methods. They believed that independence could not be begged but achieved through sacrifice. The main cause


⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.
for rise of extremism in Indian politics can be attributed to the deteriorating economic condition of India under the British. The extremist aimed at achieving Swaraj that meant complete independence from British rule. However, the extremist could attend their goal partly. They failed to develop an effective leadership or sound organization.

The First World War and its aftermath changed the course of Indian politics. In the beginning of the year 1919 A.D., the Indian National movement entered into a new phase which was marked by an exciting story of valiant deeds and sacrifices, leading to the achievement of independence on 15th Aug. 1947 A.D.

All these thrilling events centered around Mahatma Gandhi, father of Indian Nation. He was the touchstone personality that gave a new turn to India’s freedom struggle. Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1915. His constructive works began with the Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmadabad, it was through involvement in two agrarian disputes, Champaran and Kaira and labor dispute in Ahmedabad in 1917 A.D.-1918 A.D. that Gandhi emerged as an influential political leader. Institutionally, Gandhi had access to the national Congress through Gokhale, his supporter in his South Africa battles. 11Mahatma Gandhi developed the technique of Satyagraha based on truth and non-violence in fighting against a ruthless and all-powerful government. Pursuing truth and non-violence, the cause of Hindu Muslim unity remained the objectives of Gandhi while leading the independence movement in India.

During the last two years of first world war 1917-18, he maintained close contact with the Congress and Home rule league and also with the Muslim leaders. The

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Jallianwala Baagh tragedy introduced a dramatic change in the Indian political situation, the Jallianwala Baugh massacre took place at a time when the Indian Muslims were extremely agitated over the pan Islamic Khilafat issue, which originated as a result of Turk’s entry into the First World War as an ally of Germany against Britain. The sultan of Turkey, ruler of the vast Ottoman Empire, was the caliph (khalifa) of the Islamic world. In the First World War Turkey was defeated; the ottoman empire was dismembered and the Sultan of Turkey was deprived of all real authority even in the remaining dominions, as he was placed completely under the control of a high commission appointed by the allied power.

The Muslims of India regarded the treatment of Turkey as a great betrayal on the part of Britain and other allies, and early in the 1920 A.D. , the Indian Muslims started a vigorous agitation to bring pressure on Britain to change its policy towards Turkey.

The Khilafat cause provoked a strong and popular reaction amongst Indian Muslims. The Pan Islamic feeling aroused was both proto-nationalist and anti imperialist in character. Muslims had become alienated from British rule since Britain was responsible for Turkey’s dismemberment. In the wave or anger that swept through the community, the militant like Dr. Ansari, the Ali Brothers, A.K. Azad and Kitchlew moved to the forefront.12

They drove home the anti British aspect of the khilafat movement and so made clear union between religion and politics.

Hitherto the Congress had scrupulously avoided involvement in religious matters. Gandhi ji felt that the movement provided an opportunity to unite Hindu and

12 Ibid. (p.142)
Muslims that might not come again for a thousand years. Sentiments and tactics hence brought him into championing the Muslim cause. He became associate with the khilafat committees and in Dec.1919 A.D. Delhi persuaded the assembled Muslim leaders westernized, intellectual middle class men as well as traditional divines and holy men, the Ulama- that the best way of opposing the British and achieving the ends desired was through Satyagrah.

The Ulama had to be convinced that Satyagrah was in conformity with their holy text, the Qur’an. Eventually they agreed to accept it as a technique rather than as an ethical or philosophical code. A khilafat committee was soon formed under the leadership of Ali brothers. Under the guidance of Maulana Mohammed Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other leaders started the Khilafat conference for protecting the integrity of Turkish Empire and the dignity of the Khilafat. At about the same time, the Ulama of Deoband and other divines who supported the National freedom movement had established a semi-religious and semi-political organization of their own under the name of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind, which was equally interested in the question of Khilafat.  

Mahatma Gandhi, who regarded Hindu Muslim unity as an essential condition of Indian freedom and of the building up of the Indian nation, gave his enthusiastic support to the khilafat movement and try to persuade the National Congress to support it. In Dec.1919 when Congress, the Muslim league, the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind and the Khilafat conference held their meeting in Amritsar, it became apparent

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that all the four organization could be persuaded to put forth a joint demand back it by direct action.\textsuperscript{14}

The Khilafat conference had announced the policy of non-cooperation even earlier than the Congress, and the Jamiat Ulama-I-Hind also passed similar resolution, and a united national front of Hindu and Muslims thus formed.\textsuperscript{15}

\textbf{4.2-Nationalist Muslims:}

The post mutiny period till 1905 A.D. was a period of trial and error and three main distinct tendencies prevailed among Muslims. The first was that of Deoband pro. Religious and anti-English, the second tendency was that of Aligarh pro.-English and anti-Congress and the third tendency was that of Nadva- pro English and anti-Aligarh and anti-Deoband. Such differences derive Muslims politically away from each other. Till now Qur'an was the basis of their political ideals, social views and educational philosophies but they differed in their interpretation of the Qur'an and thus the differences in political and social life sprang up.

Among the supporters of the Deoband, school was Shibli Numani (1857 A.D. -1914 A.D. ), a profound scholar of Persian and Arabic, and a prolific writer in Urdu. In 1883, he joined the staff of the Mohammadan Anglo Oriental college at the invitation of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and although he continued to serve till 1898. He early developed differences with Sir Syed Ahmed Khan .He could not agree with Sir Syed either in his theology or politics. In political matters , he held that Islam was a liberal religion, which promoted progress and civilization. It upheld the

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid. (p.71)
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
dignity of men, asserted human equality champion the rights of women and favored
democratic forms of government. Shibli admired the Congress for its high
idealism, and for his solicitude for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people.
So far as the Muslims were concerned, he realized that as a minority, they had a dual
status. They possessed a distinctive religion and culture, their part in the history of
India had been glorious, they belonged by faith to a universal society. At the same
time, the Muslims were the citizens of India and they owned loyalty to their
motherland. They shared with other communities the deprivations which British rule
imposed. He was convinced that the Muslims could, jointly with the Hindus create a
state in which both could live honorably and happily.

Shibli was a nationalist as well as pan Islamist. Being aware of the necessity and
importance of the English language, Shibli established a English school at Azam
Garh, named as “National school” politically he favored democratic trends. Though
Shibli never entered into practical politics, yet till his last he favored the Congress
and its policies.

Shibli in his pan Islamic trends was very much under the influence of Jamaluddin
Afghani and local political atmosphere made him opposed Muslim League and
favor Congress. Bombay has always being the center of Congressite. Propaganda
and Muslims of that city joined the Congress in spite of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan’s
opposition. Shibli in his old age frequently visited Bombay. In short, Shibli was
supporter of Congress. He was critical of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan’s attitude towards
Congress.  

16 Tara chand, op. cit. vol. II. (pp. 260-265).
17 Ibid.
Hakeem Ajmal Khan (1863-1928)\textsuperscript{18}, was a nationalist Muslim. Who presided over the Ahmed Nagar Congress in 1921 A.D., during the height of non-cooperation movement was one of the greatest practitioners of Unani system of medicine. His patients came from all over the country, from the families of Rajas and Nawabs to those of the poorest of the poor he treated free. Of striking appearance, he was one of the most popular leaders specially among the Muslims. He believed passionately in the Hindu-Muslim unity and struggled hard to keep them together.

In 1920 when Gandhiji gave call for non-cooperation with the government, Hakeem sahib returned to the government the title of Hafiq-ul-Mulk and the medal of Qaisar-e-Hind. The Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind confirmed on him the title of Maseeh-ul-Mulk.\textsuperscript{19}

Hakeem Ajmal Khan was a “Courier patriot” and an “Elder statesman” who had Hindu-Muslim unity as the breath of his nostrils. He was regarded by Gandhi ji as a “Great Musalman and equally a great Indian.”\textsuperscript{20}

By Pandit Motilal Nehru as one of India’s “Most trusted and valiant sons.”; by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru one of the “Stoutest supporters” of the Congress; by C. Rajagopalachari as one of India’s “Greatest Patriot and workers in the cause of unity.”; Mrs. Indira Gandhi called him as one who, “Store to remedy not only persons illness, but the nation’s illness.”\textsuperscript{21}

Maulana Mohammed Ali Jauhar (1878 A.D. -1931 A.D.) was indeed among the very few known for fearless and selfless leadership and devotion to the cause of

\textsuperscript{18} Zakaria Rafique, op.cit(p.64)
\textsuperscript{19} Chopra P.N.(1979). Role of Indian Muslims in the struggle for freedom.(p.19), New Delhi: Light and Life Publishers
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
freedom. He was the first political leader of the India who was tried for Sedition and who openly planned to make the Britons quite India. It was he who transformed the complacent group of the Congressites into a thundering organization and made the Indian National Congress a forum for united Hindustani Nation. He shook the Muslims and inspires them with the passion for freedom. It was he who raised Gandhi to the position of Mahatma and got him accepted as the spirit behind Hindu-Muslim unity. It was he who made Jawaharlal Nehru secretary of the All India Congress committee during his president ship. It was he who had proud distinction of presiding over the session of Indian National Congress, the Muslim League and the Khilafat Conference. In Khilafat conference, the Khilafat committee under Maulana Mohammed Ali Jauhar conferred on Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan the title of Shaikh-ul-Hind, which become the integral part of his name.

In recognition to Mohammed Ali’s great services and supreme sacrifices rendered to the national cause, he was elected as the Congress president. This was the greatest national honor. In his presidential address delivered at the annual Congress session at Cocanada in 1923, Mohammed Ali advocated nationalistic policy. He made an eloquent plea for Hindu-Muslim unity. As a Congress president Mohammed Ali along with Maulana Azad succeeded in bringing about reconciliation between the pro-changers and no-changers, the two warring groups over the issue of council entry and thus saved the Congress from split. Maulana Mohammed Ali Jauhar carried out incessant struggle for Hindu-Muslim unity.

Maulana Mohammed Ali Jauhar along with Maulana Shaukat Ali played a commendable role in the nationalist movement. Starting with Khilafat movement, Mohammed Ali’s association with the Congress and his proximity to Gandhi in the

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initial phase of non-cooperation movement was an eco making period in that; it witnessed a kind of Hindu-Muslim unity, which remains unprecedented in the history of modern India.

Although, he latter drafted from the Congress following the suspension of non cooeration movement and the submission of Nehru Report that rejected the idea of separate electorate for Muslims, his attachment during the Khilafat agitation with the Congress and his stupendous efforts at mass mobilization cannot be ignored. Maulana Mohammed Ali Jauhar represents the pan Islamism and religious revivalism in modern India. He espoused the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity but failed ultimately to check the decisive designs of the League.

Maulana Azad (1888-1958), was a staunch nationalist, a great thinker and eminent scholar and vigorous writer and forced speaker. He was a state man of high order. Maulana Azad had passion for the independence of India. For this, he first joined a revolutionary party. The partition of Bengal was a turning point in Azad’s political career. He rejected the main stream of middle class that was loyal to the British and plunged into anti-British campaign. He joined hands with the revolutionary leaders like Arbindo Ghosh, Shyam Sunder, Lala Hardayal. The members of the party were surprised to find not only a Muslim but also an eminent theologian joining them. He was a supporter of Hindu–Muslim unity from the beginning of his career.

On his own initiative, he learned various European languages. As a result of his no-means superficial studies in Western Sciences and literature, and the movement

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24 Ibid.
stirring in the India about him at that time, he decided to work for the reform of Islam. He had great respect for Islamic reformer Jamaluddin Afghani. We have already noticed his successful journalism in 1912 A.D. and the following years and his relentless and valuable work in Khilafat and non-cooperation movement during the interlude between his imprisonment. When released again two years later, he was at once elected president of Congress (1923 A.D.). Even since that time, he held some important executive positions in the Congress, and in 1940 was elected president for the second time.

He has not surrendered his scholarship during his political career; for instance, his much-applauded Urdu annotated translation of Qur’an (Tarjumanul Qur’an) was produced in twenties. He was profound scholar of religion discussing religious subjects dispassionately, historically. He was a scintillating conversationalist. Once, early in his career, Shaikul-hind Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan, the principal of the Deoband seminary, astonished Muslim India by giving to him, still a very young man, lavish price as a religious thinker. He became later universally respected and liked. He was a powerful orator.

Even his political opponents-for instance, the Lahore Daily Inquilab- when they have attacked him, have had to began by pricing him as a revered scholar and a great Muslim: then they go on to call him “Mislead”. Jinnah who was no understanding of these things, made a political blunder of the first water when he referred to him slightlying as “The play boy of the Congress.”

Azad’s political career began with his entry into the Congress, after his released from Ranchi in 1916. before his release, the Khilafat movement and the formation of
Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind were some of the important attempts, made by the Ulama on the mass mobilization front.

Azad met Gandhi on Jan.18, 1920 A.D. in Delhi and this meeting proved to be a beginning of new era. According to Rasheeduddin Khan, Azad’s cooperation with Gandhi started with the non-cooperation movement. He writes:

*Azad was probably the very first person who fully backed Gandhi on his program of non-cooperation movement. Azad knew very well that the non-cooperation movement was the most appropriate campaigning that could put the British government in trouble*.

After the Khilafat committee meeting in Meerut, Gandhi and Azad undertook the tour of the Country to mobilize support for Khilafat movement. Most of the time, Shaukat Ali and Mohammed Ali accompanied them. But their mission received a big jolt when Azad was arrested.

Maulana Azad was a young man, only 35 years of age, who was elected as the president of Congress, and he was the youngest president of Indian National Congress. He was an ardent follower of the non-cooperation movement. Professor S. Noorul Hassan praising Maulana Azad writes:

“At this Congress session, Azad revealed the quality, which remained characteristic of him for rest of his life: he could always find a way out of a difficult situation provided that there was no compromise with imperialist rule.”

25 Ibid.(p.32)


27 Ibid.
Maulana Azad tried to make it very clear that the Hindu-Muslim unity was the backbone of the nationalist movement and if any community faces danger, ultimately it disturbs the life of other communities.

Maulana Azad emerged as an important national leader of the Indian National Congress Party. He also served as the member of Congress Working Committee (CWC) and in the offices of general secretary and president for numerous occasions.

Paying his homage to the memory of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. S. Radha Krishnan wrote: “National sprit was the driving force of his life. He was an apostle of national unity and communal harmony, the lessons which we have to remember even now, since there are forces which are still at work in this country to divide us from one another.”

For more than half a century, Maulana Azad struggled with single minded devotion and superb sincerity of purpose to promote national solidarity. He began his political career by opposing the partition of Bengal and ended it by opposing the partition of India. Between these two partitions the life story of Maulana Azad read as one ceaselessly struggling to maintain the Indianess of India and preserve its historical tradition of catholicity and co-existence. Early in his political career he told that he was not prepared to accept freedom at the cost of Hindu-Muslim unity. Delay in the achievement of freedom, he said, would be a loss of India but loss of Hindu-Muslim unity would be the loss of humanity.

From the very beginning of his political struggle, Maulana Azad was anxious to explore avenues of cooperation and collaboration with all Indian communities.

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An important aspect of Maulana Azad’s thought was his global perspective. He disdained narrow nationalism as ‘the greatest obstacle’ in the development of universal outlook. He looked upon India’s contribution in a global perspective and assessed India’s impact on world – thought and culture. Maulana Azad’s anxiety all through his life was to create national consciousness and solidarity among the Indians. For this purpose, he had recourse to basic ideas of religion, polity, humanism and history. He rejected outright the concepts of majority and minority. For him the Indian nation was one indivisible unity and national integration was not something to be imposed from outside but an attitude of mind and emotional experience to be involved from within. Universalism is knowledge, federalism in political system, secularism in political ideals, humanism in social relationship and laissez faire in religious life where watchwords of Maulana Azad’s life and through them he sought to strengthen the fabric of the Indian Nation.

In 1942, Maulana Azad again became president of the Indian National Congress, but this time he would be the head of the Congress party during the quit India movement. He was arrested along with the entire Congress working committee for three long years, imprisoned at the fort in Ahmednagar. He remained president during those years as the party was unable to hold proper elections. Maulana Azad was the staunchest high profile Muslim opponent of partition of India into India and Pakistan. He was a man on the move, his eyes set on India’s future which was to be fashioned on the basis of existing cross-community networks. His unfinished Tarjuman- ul- Qur’an was easily the most profound statement on multiculturalism and inter-faith understanding. His political testament, delivered at the Congress
session in 1940 was a neat and powerful summation of the ideology of secular nationalism.\textsuperscript{29}

In fact his knowledge was so deep and so vast that it reminded many great man scholar like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said about him.\textquoteleft{} He was a peculiar and very special representative in high degree of that great composite culture which has gradually grown in India.\textquoteleft{}\textsuperscript{30}

A devout Muslim, whose work on the Qur’an has become a classic, he always stood for national unity and communal harmony. He made no differences between Hindus and Muslims, Sikh and Christian. He felt that all those who were in this country belonged to one country. National spirit was the driving force of his life. He gave the idea to the Muslims of India that there was no conflict in being a good Muslim and also a good Indian nationalist. Maulana Azad stood up for almost fifty years as the champion of the Hindu–Muslim unity, freedom and democracy.

Like Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, Azad also stood for the Hindu-Muslim unity. He was convinced that the freedom struggle should be a joint mission of both communities without which it was impossible to accomplish the ultimate goal. For achievement of Hind–Muslim unity, he appealed to both the communities, but he laid a special charge upon the Muslims for cultivating a consciousness of nationalism and playing a leading role in the struggle for freedom. According to him, it was a religious duty of the Muslims to wage by all means at their disposal a war against tyrants and enemies of Islam such as the British. Azad’s program of nationalism was composed of two parts, the overthrow of the Britishers and the

\textsuperscript{29} Singh Kamla.\textquotesingle{}(n.d.), Encyclopaedia on Maulana Azad.\textquoteleft{}(p.86), Anmol publication pvt.Ltd.

\textsuperscript{30} Ministry of information and Broadcasting, government of India, Great men and women of India, publication division.\textquoteleft{}(p.17)
achievement of the unity of all the people. He believed that the problems of the country could not be solved without this unity. Total independence of the country was certainly his cherished aim, but Hindu-Muslim unity was still dearer to him.

Happily, during the Khilafat Movement that spirit of complete unity and communal harmony was in evidence everywhere. But the bonds begin to loosen soon. Addressing a meeting of Majlis-e-Khilafat he said,

“For India, for the freedom of India and the performing the acts of truth and dutifulness, Hindu-Muslim unity and harmony is essential.”

Azad was as true to Islam as he was to India. By his leadership in both the secular and religious fields, Azad contributed greatly to the development of proper secular outlook specially among his co-religionists. Both Azad and Madani quoted historical instance from Islam to prove that Composite Nationalism was valid in Islam.  

4.3-Jamiat and Congress:

Since the establishment of Dar-ul- uloom Deoband, the Ulama of Deoband maintained the policy against the British power. In pursuit of their respective policies, therefore, when the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 and began to canvas support among the Muslims, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan opposed it. And persuaded the Muslims not to join it, but Deoband supported the Indian National Congress. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan founded the patriotic association; many Ulama led by Maulana Mohammed and his brothers, Maulana Abdul Aziz and Maulana


32 Zakaria Rafiq,op.cit(p.66 )
Abdullah issued a fatwa saying that it was unlawful to join the patriotic association and supported entry into the Congress. This fatwa was signed by about one hundred Ulama from all over the subcontinent including Maulana Rasheed Ahmed Gangoi and other professors of Deoband. These Fatwas were collected into a pamphlet under the title, Nusrat-ul-Abrar.  

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani has tried to justify Deoband’s political alliance with the Congress. In his opinion, in the post-mutiny period, all the Hindus and Muslims equally suffered from fear-complex and all of them were of the opinion that they would not be able to get freedom without war with the British. After the inception of Congress, the people realized that there is another way of getting freedom because they thought being strongly attached with an organization the English would not tyrannize the Indians.

Maulana Madani said that on account of this thing the Congress progressed by leaps and bounds. He further said that the growing popularity of the Congress frightened Mr. Beck, the then principal of the Aligarh College. Therefore, he along with other Europeans and some Indians founded the “Indian patriotic Association.” They published articles, travelled back and forth and lectured against the Congress. They exerted their influence on Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who turned out to be a die-hard opponent of Congress and forced him to exercise his influence on Muslims to keep away from Congress.

Maulana Madani further said that it was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who forced Muslims to join the Indian patriotic Association to prove their loyalty to English. Sir  

Syed Ahmed Khan’s group got a Fatwa issued from some of the scholars who declared the membership of Muslims in Congress as Haram. (Illegal from religious point of view) and the membership of Indian patriotic association was held as jaiz (legally valid from religious point of view).  

Madani said that these anti-Congress activities were seriously objected and opposed by Maulana Rashid Ahmed Gangohi and Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan who were teachers at that time at Deoband. They in order to counter act the anti-Congress activities of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan group, issued Fatwa in favor of the Congress and against the Indian patriotic association. The Deobands got more fatwas issued from other Ulama and published them in a treatise entitled Nusrat ul- Abrar. The treatise contained about hundred fatwas of Ulama condemning the patriotic association and favoring the Congress.

The membership of the Indian patriotic association was open to all but the Hindus very soon left it except Mr. Beck, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his Muslim followers. After the failure of this association, Mr. Beck founded another association named as Mohammadan Anglo oriental Association. Its aim and objectives were:

1- To safeguard the political life of Muslims.
2- To check political revolution amongst Muslims,
3- To contribute to the stability of the British empire in India.

Mr. Beck was the first secretary of this association and in the opinion of Madani:

34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
“He cultivated the spirit of slavery and communalism among the Muslims.”

This justification given by Madani for political alliance with the Congress is open to a serious criticism. The popularity of Congress being a constitutional and legal organization in its political frame, safeguarding the interest of people in understandable. It is also correct to say that the European were divided among themselves on the activity of the Congress.

As a matter of fact, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan himself was a man of deep political acumen, imagination and observation. He was a man of initiative derive and individuality. His opposition to Congress was on account of the political manifesto, programs and activities of the Congress and not under the influence of Europeans and any other miss-convinced notions.

As a matter of fact there were basic differences of serious nature between Deoband and Aligarh and the gulf widened in 1888 in connection with the Congress. The Deobandis, being anti-English disliked Sir Syed Ahmed Khan’s pro-English policy and attitude. In educational field, they never appreciated the Western education and culture being taught and spread at Aligarh. In religious affairs, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan’s rational progressive pragmatic approach was already condemned by the Deobandis. They were also against Sir Syed Ahmed Khan’s progressive –socio-cultural views. On the contrary, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan could not appreciate Deobandis anti-English political policies, socio-cultural conservatism, religious orthodoxy and the old pattern of education.

The two, fundamentally different outlooks on life one being flexible progressive, conciliatory and confirming to the needs of time and the other being rigid,

36 Ibid.
conservative or orthodox and not suitable to the genius of the age, could not reconcile. It is why then Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, from his particular outlook and philosophy of life, studied Congress, he could not like it. He took lead to warn Muslims to keep away from it. The Deobandis and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his followers came forward against each other on the Congress issue.

As earlier said that, Soon after the post war settlement, the Muslims divines of India entered into practical politics on a nationwide scale with definite aims and objectives. The Jamiat became the spokesmen of the common Muslims on the question of the Khilafat and the Holy places. At this juncture, Gandhi came closer to Muslims to fight for their cause and he advised the Hindus to cooperate with the Khilafat movement and boycott the victory celebration. Maulana Bari and the Jamiat fully supported the stand taken under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi to protest against the atrocities in Punjab. Maulana Bari was second to none of preaching the creed of non-violence of Gandhiji among Muslims.

When the All India National Congress with the cooperation and support of Muslims accepted the creed of Gandhiji, the latter became the leader of both the movements – the Congress and the Khilafat. Maulana Bari remained with Gandhi and developed good relations with almost all the leaders- Muslims as well as Hindus.37

A group of Maulana Bari’s disciples in Firangi Mahal also participated in the non-cooperation movement. One of his relations Maulana Mohammed Salamatullah

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37 Chopra PN, op.cit(p.94)
Firangmahali was sent to jail in 1922. In jail, he was with Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Mohanlal Saxena and Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman.  

Like Gangohi who issued a Fatwa in Oct.1888, justifying Muslims participation in the Congress and denouncing Sir Syed Ahmed Khan’s views as deadly poison for Islam, Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan also declared that Hindu-Muslim cooperation was not only vital for both communities but also essential for the attainment of the common national objectives. Under his leadership, the Jamiat worked in collaboration with the Congress.

With the birth of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind Muslims politics took a new turn. In its conference in 1920, presided over by Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan of Deoband who was just released from prison, a resolution was passed favoring participation in the national struggle with a view to non cooperating with the government. The Jamiat called upon the Muslims to give up the titles conferred on them by the government. It also called upon them to boycott goods as well as education imparted in schools and colleges under the supervision of the government. In this connection a Fatwa, delineating the instructions contained in the resolutions over the signature of five hundred well-known Ulama of the time was issued. The fatwa was forth with confiscated by the government. As a protest against the confiscation the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind started satyagrah.

One of the important disciples of Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan Maulana Sindhi also supported Congress from beginning. Maulana Sindhi used to openly declare in every meeting, public or private, that he likes the Indian National Congress. This

38 Ibid.
was because he considered it to be only political party that was respected in the country. Sindhi used to say on every occasion that the future of India and the Muslims lies in the unity of Hindu and Muslims and in accepting the Congress party as the sole representative of the country.

Sindhi felt the need for a strong and matured political party for attaining freedom and keeping the country united. Besides, such a party was necessary for dealing with the international issues for there was a threat of India being created as a slave and suffer humanitarian before the international communities. Thus, there was no party other than the Congress that was in conformity with his thoughts. Sindhi was a Congressman and always wanted to be so. However, he however had some reservation about its policies. He used to consider the Congress party policies as a permanent threat to the existence of Muslims.  

Another great leader of the Jamiat, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, put forth in very clear terms the policy of his organization: We have made it clear to the Congress high command that we have only one demand, viz. After India becomes free Musalmans of India should be given free hand in the management of their own religious affairs. In the mean time, we could ungrudgingly and whole-heartedly go on supporting the Congress in its movement for the freedom of the country. On the basis of this policy, Jamiat sent thousands of its member was in the freedom’s battle till 1947 A.D.

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani was a supporter of the Congress largely because he felt it was the only nationalist party. Maulana’s leaning towards the Congress, however, angered orthodox Muslim leaders, who thought that the Congress was a

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40 Farhat Tabasum, op.cit(p.134).
Hindu organization. This, however, did not deter Madani from openly advocating support for the Congress. He held that the Congress, though established by the British was the only organization that had the capacity for welfare of the people. Madani was not ready to accept the view that the Congress was a Hindu organization, merely because it had more Hindu than Muslim leaders. He considered it natural that the biggest party was dominated by the majority i.e. Hindus, simply because India had a majority of Hindus. Madani argued that initially the Congress has several Muslim presidents, which highlights the secular credentials of the party.

“In 1896, Rahmat ullah Sayani was the president of Congress. In the year 1913 A.D., Nawab Syed Bahadur was the president of Congress and again in the year 1918, Mr.Syed Ahsan held the post. From 1921 A.D. -1923 A.D. , as many as nine Muslims occupied the post of Congress president. The appointment of these persons as president of Congress shows that the party was not an organization representing a particular community.”

This is what the Indian National Congress has been striving to achieve since its inspection. In its first session in 1885, it outlined its main objectives in the following words: ‘To unite divergent and conflicting elements – that form the Indian populace - and turn them into one nation. However, even avert this (somewhat ambiguous) declaration; it has always stated that all citizens shall be free to pursue their religion, culture, personal law, etc. The proposal discussed at the meeting of the all India Congress committee meeting on 8 august 1931, described the funds mental rights and duties of the citizens:

41 Ibid.(p.143)
Any constitutional provision or declaration that the Indian National Congress would make or through it the independent government shall, it essentially shall have the following points:

(1) Every Indian citizen shall have the following rights,

   Freedom of speech and expression, total freedom of coordinated action and collaboration and right to peaceful, without arms, assembly for any purpose that is neither immoral nor against the law.

(2) Every Indian citizen shall have the freedom of conscience and right to declare, follow and propagate his religion – provided it does not degenerate and causes public disorder.

(3) All religious minorities shall have the constitutional right to protection of their cultures, languages and their religious rituals. Besides, the areas inhabited by linguistic minorities shall have adequate safeguard to their languages.\textsuperscript{43}

The working committee meeting of the Indian national Congress, held in Calcutta on 26 October 1937, reinforced and elaborated the same objectives.

The Indian national Congress has consistently said that it considers its duty to protect minorities, safeguard their cultural, political and economic rights and provide full opportunity for their growth in these fields. The main objective of the Indian national Congress is to liberate India and create unity among peoples of all faiths whereby the entire nation would work for the progress of India, without harming others for its partisan end. From liberation and cooperation it should not be construed that from among

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.
different cultures and civilizations a particular culture shall be singled out and subjected to pressures – rather it will be protected so that all the communities feel free to follow their traditions and progress without any hindrance. Since there have been efforts to create confusion among people towards the policy of the Congress, the All India Congress Committee once again would like to reaffirm and declare its policy. As for the rights of minorities, the following principles are put forth:\textsuperscript{44}

(1) Every citizen of India shall be free to express his opinion, form a society and organization and shall have the right to peaceful, without arms, assembly for any such purpose that is neither immoral nor against the law.

(2) Every citizen shall be free to profess his religious views and also be free to join any religious group – provided it does not degenerate and cause public disorder.

(3) Language, culture and script of all religious and linguistic minorities residing in different provinces shall be protected.

(4) Irrespective of religion, caste and gender, all shall be equal before the law.

(5) There shall be no differentiation on the basis of religion, caste and gender in employment for any ordinary government post or that of responsibility and dignity.

(6) All citizens shall have equal rights and duties in using public facilities such as roads, schools, ponds and other facilities built by government funds for the welfare of the general public.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.(p.39)
(7) The government shall maintain neutrality and impartiality in discharging its duties.

The above articles concerning the basic rights of minorities make it abundantly clear that there shall be no interference in the religious and cultural affairs of minorities, and they will retain their ‘personal law’ given to them in the Constitution. The majority cannot and shall not pressurize the minority for any changes in their personal law.

Later, the Congress party in its General Body meeting held at Hripura, Surat district on 19–21 February 1938 A.D. 45, declared the same in the following words and approved all previous resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee.

The Indian National Congress welcomes the sentiments and spirit of Muslims and other minorities in the fight against the colonial and imperialist power. It also welcomes united participation of all sections and communities in India’s freedom struggle that is same for one and all. The Congress specially welcomes the large number of the minority community (Muslims) who have joined the Indian National Congress and strengthened its hand in the liberation struggle against the oppressive foreign power.

The resolution pertaining to minorities’ rights that was prepared by the Working Committee at Calcutta in October 193746, this (General Body Meeting) session endorses, approves and also reaffirms that Congress to protect the religious, linguistic and cultural rights of minorities. In the

46 Ibid.(p.41)
government’s schemes where there is the Congress party’s involvement, minorities shall be encouraged to prosper, progress and participate in their cultural, political and economic affairs.

These declarations of the Indian National Congress make it abundantly clear that it was in favor of the formation of composite nationalism in India and was opposed to undue interference in the religious, cultural, linguistic and personal affairs of Indian citizens. It was only concerned with issues of common needs and interests that had been usurped by an alien government and used to destroy the interests of the common people.

These affairs are more or less similar to those required for participation in public forums like town area, notified area, municipal boards, district boards, councils and assemblies. This is not implemented with a view to absorb a nation or a religion into another nation and religion. Though the rules and regulations of these institutions vary, there is neither salvation in it for Indian citizens nor can participation in it be equated with atheism, irreligiousness, disbelief and assimilation in another religion. Also, it is possible to refrain from participating in these institutions because of such fears.

4.4-Jamiat, Congress and World War Second:

The Congress had been demanding complete independence since the Lahore session. The resolution passed at that session had ended all the differences between Jamiat and Congress. And Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani had after the advocated cooperation with Congress without any reservation or pre-conditions while the Congress on its path had given solemn assurance of giving full freedom of religion and culture to all minorities.
When war broke out there was Congress government in seven of the eleven provinces of the India. The British king declared war against Germany and Italy on behalf of Great Britain and all its colonies and the viceroy of India endorsed the proclamation. The British once again sought the support of the Indians, but this time most of the Congress leader’s cautious. They had a bitter experience with the British during the First World War. However, Gandhiji chose to be with British in their fight against dictatorial Germany. Gandhiji clarified that he was not happy with the British, but he nonetheless supported them only because they were fighting against the enemies of democracy.

Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind, however did not share the enthusiasm of Gandhiji. It opposed any support to the British in the war. At the annual session of its conference held on 16th sept.1939 the working committee of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind condemned the British policy of imperialism and declared complete independence as its goal. Jamiat issued a long statement recounting the British ruler’s barbarism against colonial subjects declaring that the goal of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind was total freedom for the country; its working committee decided that in the prevailing circumstances there was no room for any justification to support British imperialism.48

The nationalist India could not be hoodwinked a second time. Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind at its working committee meeting held at Meerutt, in a resolution repudiated all the arguments and recounted the injustice that Britain had perpetrated in its colonies and


declared that, committed as it is to complete independence, it finds no reason why British imperialism should be supported. The Congress also held the same opinion but was conscious in its reaction lest it should subject the people to state violence as in the past when it had openly declared noncooperation and opposition to army service. It decided that by 31st Oct. all Congress governments should resign. The next step after resignation was individual Satyagrah in pursuit that resolve a single person would come forward flag in hand and declare: “India has nothing to do with this war. The slave country has been forcibly dragged into war by its rulers.” There would be no procession, no big gathering and no provocative speech.

Maulana Madani had not offered himself as a part of individual Satyagrah movement though he did get arrested in those days but that was on account of an antiwar speech. However, he had launched another kind of secret activity as Jamiat’s contribution to mass awareness about the injustice being done to India by dragging her into war. The evidence is found in hand written letter that was sent to Maulana Khuda Baksh of Multan. Title Zaroori Guzarish (urgent Message)

“Read the programs of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind yourself and also make others read them. And fulfill your duty by getting these printed and distributed. If you are unable to get it published in the press by yourself or through the local Congress office, make at least one copy of the same for yourself and give this copy to another gentleman.”

Joint suggestion of the Congress and Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind:

Maulana wrote : In exchange of paper notes, massive amounts of gold currency had been taken abroad and mortgage in America. And this has been continuing since long. Whether you are supporter or opponent of the Congress, it is necessary for
you to think about your wealth. If you are opposed to the movement, you are not asked to sacrifice something or to support the movement. You are simply reminded that beware of the trickery. Do not destroy your wealth in exchange for the paper (currency). Neither the British government can be trusted, nor their banks nor even their notes. Therefore,

   a- Do not take any currency note specially the one rupee and five rupee notes.
   b- Whatever amount you have in the form of paper notes, get it exchanged for silver or gold.
   c- Whatever amounts you have in the banks get it withdrawn.
   d- Do not sell any goods in exchange for the paper notes.

Infamous descendent,
Hussain Ahmed
(Moradabad Prison)

After Second World War, Pakistan movement got momentum. There was severe resentment between Congress and Muslim League. In this critical period also, Jamiat supported Congress because Congress was against partition. And Jamiat was always against Two-Nation theory and partition of the country. Due to its support, Congress became most important National party. Apart from Jamiat there were also some regional parties who supported the Congress in the different parts of the country.

4.5- Pro-Congress Muslim Organizations:

   4.5.1-Khudai-i-Khidmatgar
   4.5.2-The Majlis-e-Ahrar-
   4.5.3-All India Shia Conference
All India Momin Conference

Nationalist Muslim Party

Azad Muslim Conference

Khudai-i-Khidmatgar:

The leader and the genius of the organization was Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, he was a deeply religious man, inspired by a love and devotion by his people and a strong desire to uplift them. His movement was originally one of social uplift only; but he was led by a diagnosis of the community’s ills to politics, and to substantially correct politics.

The people had united, under Abdul Gaffar Khan through the movement known as the Servants of God.(Khuda-i-Khidmatgar). It was a religious movement as was appropriate to cultural change at that stage of social development. The leaders preached the religion of unity of brotherhood, of the service of mankind. Through the movement, the Pathans have been learning to help each other; they have been learning to organize, to discipline their irascible discontent and to direct it into proper, effective channels. During the Congress no rent campaigning of 1930, the Khudai-i-khidmatgar staged as successful well-organized stoppage of revenue collecting. The imperial government claimed never to have been able to pacify them; and had used their contentiousness as one excuse for continuing its military rule in India.

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During Civil disobedience, the Khudai-i-Khidmatgars\(^{50}\) put up a marvelous display of pertinacious non-violence. When they attended the Karachi Congress, in 1931, they became famous throughout India.\(^{50}\) Again in 1942 A.D. at the time of Quit India movement, Khudai-i-Khidmatgar strove mightily for freedom, with great bravery and unflinching non-violence. It had early become clear to Abdul Gaffar khan and some of the subordinate leaders that the Pathan’s problem could be solved only with the help of the whole of India. A paramount task was to unite with the Hindus and with everyone else who was willing, to free the country from foreign domination. The Khudai-i-Khidmatgar wanted complete independence for India, nothing less.

Khan Abdul Gaffar khan, better known as the “Frontier Gandhi”, (Sarhadi Gandhi) it galvanized the Pathans and turned into brave soldiers for Gandhij’s non-violent struggle against the British. Trained on Gandhian lines the Khudai-i-Khidmatgars fought as much against the British as against Jinnah’s Two nation Theory.\(^{51}\) They made the frontier provinces a fortress of Composite Nationalism and were in the forefront in opposing the demand for Pakistan. In general election of 1946 under a separate electorate, the Khudai-i-Khidmatgars defeated the Muslim League candidates by convincing majorities. Few Muslims suffered so much for Indian freedom as the Khudai-i-Khidmatgars also known as the Red Shirts\(^{52}\), specially their tall and stately leader Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. But they were badly led down by their parent organization the Congress. Gandhiji never forgive himself for the sin of

\(^{50}\) Ibid.(p.552)


\(^{52}\) Ibid.(p.68)
partition, which did so much harm to brave Khudai-i-Khidmatgars and their valiant leader. According to Dr. Rafiq Zakaria,

“His name is legendary in the annals of India’s freedom struggle and his place in history of Congress continues to shine.”

The Majlis-e-Ahrar:

Majlis-e-Ahrar came into being in Punjab in 1929 A.D. 53 Chaudhary Afzal Haque 54 was the leader of this organization. It led rebellions against the reactionary policy of the Muslim League and resolve to participate in the fight for freedom.

In 1930 A.D. , at the time of Civil disobedience, various Muslim leaders in Punjab organized the Ahrar Party as an Indian nationalist and Muslim organization. It reexpressed something of the old Khilafatist movement tradition: an ardent and explicitly Muslim enthusiasm for Indian freedom. It grew among men who had been alienated from the Khilafat organization since the latter deserted nationalism and turned quite reactionary.

During 1930 A.D. , and 1932 A.D. the Ahrars worked side by side with the Congress in the Civil disobedience movement. They worked hard and well, making many sacrifices, and contributing a good deal to the nationalist struggle. The party by its activities attracted many Muslims, leaders and followers. It gained the respect of many more, of non-Muslims also. The Congress admires its effectiveness though it regretted the communal tinge.

53 Syed Tufail Ahmed, op.cit(p.527)

54 Ibid.(p.528)
Steadily, fervently, inspired, the Ahrars played their notable part in the fight of freedom. Against the brutal exploitation of alien imperialism, they have been resolutely anti-British and socially have been remarkably radical. The party has been aggressive. “It agrees with the political program of the Congress but regards it as half hearted and timed. It also wants a bolder economic program.”

The aims and objectives of Majlis-e-Ahrar were the complete independence of India, in independent India freedom of religion, culture, civilization and education for all. Unyielding opposition to the establishment of Pakistan.

According to Dr. Tara Chand the sacrifices which the Ahrars made and the sufferings which they cheerfully bore in the cause of Indian independence constitute a shining chapter of Indian history. 55

**All India Shia Conference:**

Another Muslim organization which joined the freedom struggle at that time was All India Shia conference. It was born in 1929 A.D. in Lucknow.56 Most Shias have been attached to the conference, which until the early forties was a mildly pro-Congress organization. It has been fairly representative, but neither active nor powerful. It has done little more than meet annually, pass resolutions, and retire. The resolutions have been slightly progressive. Naturally as an organized minority group within the Muslim community, it was opposed to Pakistan and the League.

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55 Tara Chand, op.cit. vol. III. (p. 283)

56 Syed Tufail Ahmed, op.cit (p. 554)
All India Momin Conference:

An organization has grown up among viewers known as the Momin Ansar Party or The All India Momin Conference. It has been led by certain hereditary members of the community who had become bourgeois, lawyers and the like. The basic idea to raise this community economically and culturally and to protect it. The party has been opposed to League, to Mr. Jinnah and the Pakistan. It has felt that the league would have little sympathy for the backward sections of the community. It has argued that these sections must organize for protection against the Muslim League.

Nationalist Muslim Party: 

Of all the Muslim organizations of the time, the one that deserves special mention is Nationalist Muslim Party. This party was founded in Allahbad in July 1929. The aims and objectives of the party was “To rise the patriotic spirit of the Muslim to inspire them to rise about sectarian outlook, to join hands with others in India’s battle for freedom and to fight against the British imperialism through the achievement of communal harmony.”

Maulana Azad was elected president of this party. Dr. M.A. Ansari its treasurer and Tassaduk Ahmed Khan its secretary. This party also was against the ideas of Muslim League.

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57 Ibid. (p. 557)
58 Ray, op. cit (p. 72)
59 Ibid.
Azad Muslim conference:

In March 1940,60 there gathered at Delhi representative of the various Indian Nationalist Muslim parties and groups – the Congress Muslims, Ahrars, Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind, Shia political conference and so on; virtually all Muslim groups accept Muslim League and Khaksars. Allah Baksh, Preemir of Sindh, presided at this Azad Muslim conference.61 The delegates, representing at that time probably still the majority of India’s Muslims, came to protest against the Pakistan idea and against the British government. They strongly supported the Congress’s plan for an Indian constituent assembly, elected by full adults suffrage, to drown up. A constitution for India; the Muslim delegates to that assembly to be elected communally, and to have the power to device safeguards for Muslims culture, personal law, political rights and economic position.

The conference set up an executive called The Azad Muslim Board “To preach communal amity and to device means for a permanent solution of the communal problem.”62

In a study such as the present one, there is no scope for entering at the length into the relations between the India Muslims and Indian National Congress. To discuss the part played by the Congress in the lives of the Muslims, and the part played by Muslims in the Congress, would be a vast task, and would led us far astray. Besides, it would involve an unreal approach, for Muslims joined or supported or directed the Congress in the same instance as a distinct Muslims group within a large

60 Syed Tufail Ahmed, op. cit (p. 559)
61 Ibid.
organization, but often as individuals, integral parts of the whole. The history of most Muslims in the Congress is simply the history of the Congress. 63

The Congress has been far the largest, most important, and most representative political organization in India. Various interested and influential parties carried on propaganda to the effect that it represented Hindus but not Muslims. This was for a time simply untrue; it was particularly untrue in crises.

There has always been a number of Muslims in the Congress or supporting it. They have been nationalists and they have been Muslims. Some of them have been nationalists because they were Muslims. They deduce their Indian nationalist ardor from their interpretation of Islam—for instance, of Islam as a religion of freedom and equality, of justice, of cooperation with and respect for all humankind. Others have been Indian nationalist in spite of being Muslim: they have heard Muslim League propaganda and despite its communalism, and have determined that they themselves at least would choose Indian freedom and world progress rather than Islamic reaction.

Others again have been Indian nationalist and have been Muslims, but have not taken time of to work out some relation between the two facts. They have supported the Congress not as Muslims but simply because it seemed to them the right or the obvious things to do. Finally, certain Muslims have noticed that some Muslims were in the Congress, some were not: some Hindus were in the Congress some were not, some Sikhs were in it and some were not… and so on. They have inferred that to postulate any relation between religion and politics is misleading.

63 Ibid.(p.251)
For among the first division, the communally conscious Muslims nationalists, supporting the Congress as Muslims. On behalf of Indian nationalism and the Congress applying to Muslims as a group, we may take as representative almost the entire crops of the orthodox divines. (For instance, Hussain Ahmed Madani, principal of the country’s chief Islamic theological college at Deoband), and such a firebrand agitator as Ubaidullah Sindhi.

He had a special Muslim social theory, which he derived from Shah Waliullah of Delhi. Anti capitalist, it envisaged Islam as an unfinished social movement began by prophet Mohammed (pbuh). Socially, Ubaidullah gave himself to political propaganda also. Turning south India, he applauded the Hindu-Muslim unity that he found and said:

“I therefore urge on my Muslim brethren to join the Congress without any hesitation whatsoever and work there as a group in cooperation with others for the upliftment of the country. I would urge upon Muslims with all the strength at my command not to be alarmed by those who constantly tell them that they are in minority. If the Muslims take their proper place in the vanguard of nationalistic forces and work for freedom of the country there will be no question of majority or minority. Their heroic work and organizing capacity will be amply rewarded.”

In addition to such religious divine, there have been many Muslims nationalists who were recognized as outstanding and sincere Islamic leaders but whose appeal has been not only to Muslims but to the whole India. Such have been the several of the country’s most prominent Congressmen: Hakeem Ajmal Khan, Dr. Saifuddin Kichlu, Dr. M.A. Ansari and Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani many others. Maulana

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64 Ibid.
Madani always tried to bring Congress and Jamiat on a single platform as a president of Jamiat. He was subdued Composite Nationalism and stressed always on HinduMuslim unity.