CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL ROLE OF THE INSTITUTIONS
By the middle of the eighteenth century political power had slipped off from the Muslims. The Mughal Empire was on its last leg; it was gasping in pain for breath. On the one side were the Marathas who were aspiring to step into the shoes of Mughals and on the other were the Jats and Sikhs who were emerging as rival powers to the Mughals. In such a critical moment when the horizons were dark for the Muslims there was one lone figure who sensed the catastrophe that was to overtake the Muslims and did whatever he could to avert it. He exhorted Muslim rulers to rise to the occasion and fight the rising non-Muslim powers unitedly and crush them once for all. This was Shah Waliullah (1702-62) who dominated the political scene in India of 18th century like a colossus. On one hand he strived hard for the regeneration of "Muslim Millat" which had become morally sick and decadent and on the other hand he made frantic efforts to infuse into Muslim rulers a new spirit of adventure and a sense of belonging to the "Millat". He had a programme for improvement of the administration that was at the verge of collapse and of the economy that was going from bad to worse. He fully realised that the state stood at the brink of disaster and at this delicate hour only the church could come to its rescue. This was why that he fought hard for the survival of Muslim power whereas Mughal rulers stood passive spectators. It would not be untrue to say that "The roles of Maulvi and emperor were reversed; it was the ulema who preached Islamic dominion while the last emperors (Akbar II, Bahadur Shah II)
became religious preceptors. Thus by his example he showed that Muslim divines were not incompetent to play the role of politicians and they could guide the Muslims both in temporal and religious matters.

A study of political letters which shah Waliullah wrote to Mughal rulers and feudal chiefs would reveal how much he was worried about declining power of the Mughals and moral decadence of the Muslims. In these letters he made pathetic appeals to the Mughal rulers, to Nizam ul-Mulk and the Rohilla Chief Najib-ud-Daula to realise the delicacy of the situation and meet it with courage and imagination. These letters also show that shah Waliullah had very high opinion of the Rohilla Chief and he had a great confidence in his ability to defeat forces of disruption and disintegration and that he would not ignore his call. In one of the letters addressed to the Chief he wrote: "I clearly see that the regeneration of the Millat depends upon you". And Najib-ud-Daula fully justified the confidence which shah Waliullah had reposed in him. He endeavoured hard to check the disruptive forces, but his efforts proved of no avail. Since certain nobles at the Mughal court conspired against him, he was forced to surrender to the Marathas. The surrender of Najib-ud-Daula to the Marathas shattered the last hope of shah Waliullah, and there was no alternative left to him but to turn to Afghan King shah


Abdali to deliver the Muslims from the clutches of the non-Muslims. In the letter which he wrote to shah Abdali inviting him to come to Delhi he gave a brief history of the causes of the weakening of Muslim power in the sub-continent. He traced the rise of the Marathas and the Jats. In spite of the vast territories which they had occupied shah Waliullah was certain that it would not be too difficult to defeat the Marathas and to break their power. The Jats had grown into a power because of the indifference and indolence of Muslim officers and could be easily suppressed. He then sums up the plight of the Muslims in these words, "In short the plight of the Muslims is pitiable. All control of the machinery of government is in the hands of the Hindus..... All wealth and prosperity is to be found in their houses while there is nothing for the Muslims but poverty and misery". In the end he exhorts Ahmad shah Abdali to come to the rescue of the Muslims because it was his duty to do so as the most powerful Muslim monarch in that region.

Shah Abdali did come and routed Marathas in the third Battle of Panipat (1761). Once the Marathas were crushed it was easy for the Muslim rulers to deal with the Jats and the English. Thus the Battle of Panipat gave an opportunity to the Mughal rule to revitalize it, but the lethargic attitude of the incompetent Mughal rulers could not take advantage of this last chance. His advice to the Mughal Emperor and other nobles was not taken seriously and the saying that history never repeats itself became a fact.

3. Ibid., pp. 45-63.
When efforts of \textit{shah Waliiullah} to arouse the Muslim rulers to their sense of duty proved abortive, he began to preach a reliance upon God rather than upon the emperor, a return to the first principles of Islam from the panoply of empire, to the congregation of Islam from the diplomacy of princes. In this way \textit{shah Waliiullah} gave a new hope to the Muslims who appeared dejected and desolate. He gave them a new message that instead of looking towards their rulers for everything they should have a faith in Islam which would not fail them in their hour of crisis. This indeed revolutionized their whole outlook and gave them a new confidence in their own inner strength. It was for the first time that the Muslims came to realize their own existence and also became conscious of the collective strength of their community. It was this philosophy of mass movement that inspired Muslims to revolt against the British in 1867. It was this reliance upon Islam rather than upon the princes and nobles that \textit{Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi} clashed with the superior forces of Ranjit Singh. A careful reader of his words can fail to find in his writings the thrill of a new life -- a thrill caused by his efforts to awaken the masses from political stupor and to create a political consciousness in them. He does not approach the kings, the nobles or the governing classes alone to reform the corrupt political institutions; he asked every section of the

the population — peasants, artisans, workers, soldiers, scholars, mystics and others — to rise to the occasion and to play their legitimate part in the political sphere. He exhorts them to develop faith in their destiny and to be conscious of their potential contribution in reviving political institutions.\(^5\)

Shah Waliullah also showed to the 'Ulama that when the State failed to do its duty it devolved upon them to perform that function as in Islam there was no distinction between Church and State. Thus he "gave a new orientation to the cramped and narrow outlook of the theologians. He brought them out from their closed rooms into the open world and taught them to influence the main currents of life by preaching and propagating the dynamic principles of religion". Dr. Tara Chand has rightly pointed out that the school of the 'Ulama which advocated religious reforms and political freedom traced its affiliation to Shah Waliullah who had inspired leaders of the so-called Wahhabi Movement, and many divines who had joined the Revolt of 1857.\(^7\)

While Shah Waliullah urged Muslims to identify themselves to the early Islam, he was all the time conscious of the fact that they could not ignore the new forces that were shaping the world. He had utmost reverence for the traditions of early Islam and wanted his co-religionists to imbibe the true spirit of those traditions. Nevertheless he was not unmindful of the

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6. Ibid., p. 539.

economic and political problems which were bedevilling the Muslim society and the solution of which required a mind imbued with a new spirit. Dealing with this aspect of Shah Waliullah, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami rightly remarks: "what has infinitely enhanced the value of his writings in the socio-political life of modern Islam is his thorough assimilation of the traditions of early Islam as well as a determination to reconstruct the future in the light of the problems of the new world."

No less significant is the role of Shah Waliullah in bringing about reconciliation between sufis and theologians. Not only did he explain sufism in terms of Islamic doctrines and make it acceptable to the orthodox 'ulama but also he worked hard for ironing out the differences that existed among the different orders of sufis. Thus the philosophy of Shah Waliullah was the outcome of the compromise between his puritanism which was the result of his contact with the Wahhabis in Arabia and the sufism which he inherited from his family. His advice to the Muslims to divest themselves of the non-Muslim practices and return to the ways of early Islam was the language of a puritan and his exhortation to them for the spiritual self-discipline was nothing but sufism in a modified form. However, his puritanism would not accept sufism without questioning its negative aspect which was not conducive to the healthy growth of Islamic society. As a matter of fact he interpreted sufism in such a way that it became a part of Islamic culture. Equally, his sufistic tendencies held

a check on his puritanism and did not allow it to grow wild and become a source of irritation to the Muslim masses.

After the death of Shah Waliullah his worthy son Shah Abdul Aziz carried on his father's work with unabated zeal. Shah Waliullah did whatever lay in his power to arrest the disintegration of the Muslim power; but he avoided participating actively in politics. In fact on the role of the 'ulamā in politics he had very definite view and believed in a division of work, which till recently has characterised the normal course of Muslim history. He drew a clear distinction between succession to the Holy Prophet in worldly matters (Khilafat-i-zahiri) and spiritual affairs (Khilafat-i-batini). Thus, whereas Waliullah was a theorist, his son was an activist whose aim and endeavour was to translate into action the political philosophy of his father. In 1803 he issued a fatwa which declared that India under the British rule was a "Dar al-Harb". This meant that for Muslims in India it became their sacred duty to wage a relentless war against the British and drive them out of the country. The original Fatwa is in Persian which has been summarised by W.W. Hunter as follows: "When Infidels get hold of Muhammadan country and it becomes impossible for the Musalmans of the country and the people of the neighbouring districts, to drive them away or to retain reasonable hope of ever doing so and the power of the infidels increases to such an extent that they can abolish or retain the ordinances of Islam according to their pleasure; and no one is

strong enough to seize on the revenues of the country without the permission of the infidels; and the (Musalman) inhabitants do no longer live so secure as before; such a country is politically a country of the Enemy (Darul-Harb)\(^\text{10}\).

Shah Abdul Aziz was not content with only issuance of the Fatwa, but he wanted to act upon it. In this he was fortunate to have got Sayyid Ahmed Barelwi as his great disciple who master-minded the whole campaign which was wrongly named as Wahhabi Movement. Under this movement Muslims were exhorted to prepare themselves for Jehad against the non-Muslim powers which had reduced the Muslims to the state of vassals and to establish an Islamic State based on shariah. In pursuance of this goal Sayyid Ahmed was asked to join the camp of Amir Khan Pindari in order to receive proper military training required for this purpose.

Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi (1786-1831) was a man of high character and a born leader of men. He had a unique position among the Ulama of his age. There is a general misunderstanding that Sayyid Ahmad started his movement under the influence of Wahhabis of Arabia. In real sense his teaching differed in many respects from those of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab of Najd from which Wahhabism derived its name. As a matter of fact the whole movement was inspired by Mujaddid Alfa-Thani, Shah Waliullah and Shah Abdul Aziz. It would be incorrect to say that Sayyid Ahmad gave a definite shape to his ideas after performance of Hajj where he came under the influence of Wahhabism. As a matter of fact he had already formulated his ideas of reforms before

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proceeding to Hajj. There can be no better testimony to this
than the fact that the two most authoritative works of the
movement, "Sirat-ul-Mustaqim" and "Taqwiyat-ul-Iman" were
compiled before the pilgrimage. Moreover there were many
important differences between the two schools of thought. The
Sayyid's moderate views on taqlid and his attitude towards sufism
may be cited as two of the principal differences; Muhammad bin
Abdul Wahhab rejected both absolutely, whereas the Sayyid did
not.\(^\text{11}\)

Of course Sayyid's views on some of the issues were similar
to those of Wahhabis. Like Wahhabis he too was intolerant of
all innovations in Islam and that he was critical of the practice
of showing excessive reverence to religious preceptors. Like
Wahhabis he had nothing but contempt for the practice of visiting
the tombs of saints and almost worshipping them. To the
uneducated masses these views of his were sufficient to condemn
him as a confirmed Wahhabi.

The reasons why Sayyid's followers were dubbed as Wahhabis
was not far to seek. When Mujahidin came into conflict with
Ranjit Singh the British Government connived at their activities,
rather they encouraged them and their main objective in encouraging
them was that they should hold a check on the growing power of the
Sikhs. But when the British Government conquered Punjab and came
into conflict with the Mujahidin they became alarmed and thought

\(^\text{11}\) Mahmud Husain, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid (Jihad) in A History of

\(^\text{12}\) Ibid., pp. 568-69.
out to curb the movement without incurring the wrath of the general Muslims. One way to do this was to show that it was nothing but Wahhabism in a different garb. Since the Muslim masses were orthodox and nothing was so repugnant to them as Wahhabism they naturally became suspicious of the movement which they thought would undermine their beliefs. Thus the British Government largely succeeded in misleading the Muslim masses and alienating their sympathy from the Sayyid's movement.

As directed by his preceptor Sayyid Ahmad joined Amir Khan Pindari's cavalry as a 'sawar' and gave such a good account of himself that he was promoted to the command of Khan's own bodyguard. He remained in the service of Amir Khan for about seven years and was back to Delhi towards the end of 1817 when Amir Khan made peace with the British and in return got the principality of Tonk in Rajputana. During this period he received full military training and he was now confident to start his jehad in order to establish Islamic State in India. For mobilising the Muslim opinion in favour of his movement he made extensive tour of India. "He actually undertook journeys to Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Deoband, Rampur, Bareilly, shahjahanpur, etc. Everywhere he was hailed as a man of God. His proclaimed objective was to restore Islam to its pristine purity and to cleanse it of all superstitious accretions of Indian and Iranian origin. He was not interested in hair-splitting and doctrinal controversies. His message was simple: he exhorted his hearers to believe in the unity of God and to lead good lives. A large number of people were converted to

13. Ibid., p. 560.
his views”.

In 1821 the Sayyid proceeded to Mecca along with his disciples, Shah Ismail Shahid and Mawlwi Abdul Hayy. Instead of taking the shortest route he decided to go to Mecca via Calcutta. At Calcutta he attracted such a large crowd that it became impossible for everyone to touch his hand in order to become his disciple. As such his turban was unrolled and was declared that anyone who touched any part of his turban would become his disciple. Thus within a short period of six or seven years he was able to enroll a very large number of mujahidin who were always ready to fight and die for Islam.

After his return from Hajj Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi threw himself wholeheartedly into the cause which he cherished so long i.e. to establish the Kingdom of Islam in India. For this he chose Punjab and North West Frontier as the area of his action. He also decided to strike the Sikhs first. There can be a number of explanations for this decision. Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi perhaps thought that it would be better to challenge the Sikhs than the East India Company as the former were a far lesser power as compared to the latter and hence the chance of success there was greater. But for more important reason for Barelwi’s confrontation with Ranjit Singh was that the Muslims living in his Dominion were not treated well. They were not allowed to perform their

15. Ibid., p. 663.
16. Ibid., p. 578.
religious duties openly.\textsuperscript{17} Whatever might have been the reasons, one thing was clear that Sayyid's fight against the Sikhs was purely motivated by his zeal for making the country a place for true followers of Islam to live in. Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi had no personal ambition, he did not aspire to be the ruler of the conquered land. He was interested only in establishing the Kingdom of God. For seven years he and his followers were able to carry on the war against the Sikhs who were far more powerful than the Mujahidin. However, in 1831 in the battle of Balakot Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi died along with his chief lieutenant Shah Ismail fighting till the end and with his death ended a story of a defiant spirit with a religious zeal in him.

Barelwi's movement though it did not attain its objective was nevertheless an important movement in history and undoubtedly gave a new awakening to the Muslims.

There can be a number of reasons for the failure of Barelwi to attain his objective. Apart from the fact that Barelwi's followers i.e. Mujahidin were not well organized and that they were ill-equipped and inexperienced, Barelwi made a tactical mistake of coming into conflict directly with Ranjit Singh of Punjab. Ranjit Singh was a power to reckon with and he had built up a very efficient army which was well trained by French and Italian soldiers. Even the equipments which his army used were modern. In addition to this the fertility of Punjab was the economic backbone so essential for backing up military operations. On the other hand the Mujahidin were poorly equipped.

\textsuperscript{17} Hussain Ahmad, \textit{Madni, Naqah-i-Hayat, Deoband, 1952, Vol. 2, pp. 12-13.}
with no military training and with little experience of fighting. Moreover, they were always short of funds without which no war could be won and no campaign could succeed.

Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi did achieve some success in the Frontier Province. The conquest of Peshawar was his notable achievement as it was there that he got an opportunity to experiment with the Islamic State for which he longed throughout his life. But the establishment of Islamic State in Peshawar created a number of difficulties for him and his followers. As a matter of fact the sturdy Pathans upon whom Barelwi placed a great reliance paid more allegiance to their tribal chiefs than upon him.

"The Sayyid and his lieutenants, perhaps in their zeal for the cause, did not quite take into consideration the peculiar mentality of the Pathan. They seem to have thought of putting an end to the old order at one stroke. The appointment of qazis in the country-side for the adjudication of disputes and the punishment of offenders strictly according to the shariat proved a little too much for the Pathans. Many of the social reforms which the Mujahidin were keen on introducing, notably those connected with the marriage of girls, became highly unpopular. Had they been better students of Pathan psychology, they would not have committed such mistake and would have gone slowly."

"In addition one cannot ignore the importance of the sectarian propaganda which was carried on in the Frontier by a

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section of the Mawlawis who disapproved of the efforts at reform which were being made by some followers of Sayyid who stood close to Wahhabism. \[19\]

With the death of Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi it appeared that his movement would also die out with him. But this did not happen. Sayyid Ahmad left enough spark in his followers who continued the fight undaunted and kept his torch burning, though of course dimly. Even after twenty years of Sayyid's death Mujahidin were quite active. In 1862, the East India Company unearthed a plot at Patna which was engineered by the Mujahidin. The members of the Sadigpur family were suspected to be involved in it. The main character in this conspiracy was Mawlawi Imdad Ullah, one of the members of the family, who, later on, took leading part in 1857 War of Independence. It is interesting to note that in the beginning of 1857 War of Independence the Ulama established an Islamic State in Thana Bhawan and its neighbouring area on the same pattern as Sayyid Ahmad Shahid did in Peshawar sometime ago, though the state lasted only for a short period. \[20\]

After the annexation of the Punjab by the British Government the Government made determined efforts to suppress the movement and it succeeded in these efforts. By the close of the 19th century the Mujahidin were completely mopped up.

This was about the revolt of Ulama against the British in Bihar and Upper India. In Bengal where the Muslims were in majority Haji shariat-ullah had started a movement similar to

19. Ibid., pp. 599-600.
that of Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi. However, this movement did not take inspiration from Shah Waliullah or Shah Abdul Aziz. Here the situation was altogether different. By the later part of the nineteenth century most of the Zamindars were Hindus whereas Muslims formed majority of the cultivating classes. The result was that it was difficult to differentiate between the Muslims and the lower orders of the Hindus. "In Eastern districts, where Muslims were most numerous, this was particularly evident. In Backergunj district, for example, Muslims were 64.8 percent of the population but owned less than 10 percent of the estates and paid less than 9 percent of the total land revenue. In Mymensingh, just under 10 percent of the proprietors were Muslims, paying just over 10 percent of the district's land revenue. Indeed most Muslims were simple cultivators, artisans and fishermen who, in social standing, appearance, language and customs, closely resembled the lowest Hindu castes".

Haji Shariat-ullah was the first Muslim in Bengal who was pained to see the bulk of Muslims having no identity of their own and that their status in the society was no better than that of the scheduled castes among the Hindus. He was determined to purge these Hinduised Muslims of their Hindu excrescences and practices. He urged them to return to pure Islam and identify themselves with the general Muslims.

"Shariatullah started his movement among the most depressed classes of the Muslims, the peasants and the artisans..."  

towards whom even their comparatively fortunate coreligionists were indifferent. He was convinced that the best way to reform these unfortunate Muslims who were suffering from various complexes and were scarcely aware of their rights and responsibilities as Muslims was to live with them as one of them. With sympathy and understanding he soon won over the hearts of the poor ryots who readily responded to his call to give up customs and practices which were un-Islamic in character and began to act upon the commandments of religion called faraiz or duties. Hence his followers came to be known as Faraizis.

Haji Shariat-ullah's son Muhammad Muhsin better known as Dudhu Miyan added to this movement a new note by instigating the Muslim cultivators to rise against the Hindu Zamindars and the British Government. Dudhu Miyan argued that all land belonged to God and the peasants were the real owners of the land and zamindars were no more than usurpers. As such peasants were in no obligation to pay taxes to the landlords or the Government. In 1857 Dudhu Miyan was arrested and later on released. He died while organising a parallel government in a small part of Bengal.

A similar peasant movement was led by the Titu Mir in Bengal. It was also directed against the Hindu landlords and the British rulers. So powerful he was that he brought three districts under his control, but ultimately in 1831 the British Government got the upper hand and the followers of Titu Mir were crushed.


Another movement was also that of Mawlā Karamat Ḍalī of Jaunpur, who for forty years carried on a campaign of renewal in Eastern Bengal directed from a flotilla of boats which moved to and fro on the intricate river system.

All these movements had one thing in common; they were all led by the Ṣulāmā and most of the participants were Muslims. Since Muslim divines were associated with these movements, their one clear goal was to create in the Muslim masses an awareness that they could regain their past glory only when they disassociated themselves with the Hindu excrescences and return to the original Islam which they had abandoned long ago.

It is also a fact that because of these movements which have given a new awakening to the Muslim masses that a war of independence was fought in 1857. It is not difficult to explain why the people in the North enthusiastically participated in the war of independence, whereas the southerners were indifferent to it. It is quite obvious that in North India the ground for revolt was prepared by the Ṣulāmā through these movements. On the contrary since the South had no such movement, it kept itself aloof from it.

Not only did the Ṣulāmā train the masses in the art of rebellion they actively participated in this War of Independence and were in the vanguard along with the nobility and the feudal chiefs. Some of the famous Ṣulāmā who led the revolt were Ahmadullah Ghān, Ḥajj Imadullah, Mawlawī Rashīd Ahmad Gangohi, Mawlawī Faizullah Badayuni, Mawlawī Liaqat Ali, Mawlawī Fazle-Haq Khairabadi, Mawlawī Abdul Qādir Ludhianwī. Besides these

Ulama there was Bakht Khan, the leader of Delhi revolutionary army who also played a very important role. The interesting fact about him was that he was one of the Mujahidin. It was Mawlana Sarfaraz 'Ali who persuaded him to leave the British army and join the rank of freedom fighters.

This unsuccessful attempt proved very costly to the Indians in general and to the Muslims in particular. The British rulers became unduly harsh with the latter. Muslims became strangers in their own land; politically and economically they were squeezed out. But in one sense the revolt proved a blessing to both the Ulama and the privileged class. The latter realized for the first time that it could not wrest power through violent means from the British who were too powerful to be thrown out of the country and as such it decided to submit it to the British once for all. It also realized that it could live honourably only when like the Hindus it assimilated the Western thought and ideas and learned the English language which had become the language of administration. The people of this class clearly saw that their salvation lay in their reconciliation with the British rulers. In this they found in Sir Sayyid a man who was best suited to retrieve them from the hopeless situation they were in and lead them to a path ensuring them their safety and prosperity as well. And Sir Sayyid readily agreed to this position. He started, as it were, from the secular end, the political plight of the Muslims after that catastrophe. But his remedy was not withdrawal into primitive Islam and reconciliation with Hinduism. He had to deal with not only a resentful infidel government and an increasingly confident Hindu society, but also an intellectual and moral challenge from
the west, now in its most self-confident and aggressive mood. His remedy was reconciliation with the West through the study of science, the use of reason and a flexible attitude to social reform. Indian Muslims, he maintained, had much to learn from the West without committing any treason to Islam. With its help the Indian Muslims could become a modernized and self-reliant body which could hold its own with the alien government and resist the octopus-like embrace of Hinduism. Thus under his inspiration there was a movement for renewal and separation in the upper as well as the lower ranks of Muslim society. The difference lay in the fact that while the popular leaders harked back to the past, to the national Islam of the seventh century, Sayyid Ahmad looked outwards and forward to a modernized Islam borrowing what was needed from the West to make it a viable and challenging way of life in the modern world. For controversies on the meaning of the obligation of Holy War or the relevance of the ban on idolatry to gramophone records he substituted the study of science and the promotion of Western education.25

Opposed to this group of Sir Sayyid and his followers was the Ulama group which refused to have any reconciliation with the British rulers and also they were not convinced of Sayyid's attempt of reinterpretation of Islamic doctrines in the light of new scientific rationalism. They were convinced beyond any doubt that what was needed was that Muslims should imbibe a true Islamic spirit and if they had that, their success was assured. They were distrustful of the new science and they had nothing but contempt for the Western outlook and ways of thought. They set themselves to two tasks: One was to persuade Muslims to return to the original

Islam and other was to co-operate with the Hindus in their efforts to liberate the country from the British. With these objectives in view this group established a school at Deoband which, within a short time, grew into a centre of traditional education and it also became a base for the Ulama to direct their activities against the British. The contribution which this school made to the freedom struggle was quite impressive. It produced a host of Muslim religious leaders who were always in the vanguard of the battle of independence and whose sacrifices in the cause of freedom would be long remembered. It would not be irrelevant to mention some of the names which have distinguished themselves as freedom fighters. They are Shaikhul Hind Ahmadul Hasan, Mawla Obaidullah Sindhi, Mawla Husain Ahmad Madani, Mawla Ahmad Saiid Dehlvi, Mufti Kifayatullah, Mawla Hifzur Rahman, Muhammad Miyan, etc.

These two schools of thought, Deoband school and Sir Sayyid's school generally known as Aligarh School were antagonistic to each other in both the educational and political programmes. Since we are concerned here with the political programme, it would be in the fitness of things to show how they differed in their attitude towards the All-India Congress and its independence movement.

Sir Sayyid believed in Hindu-Muslim Political Co-operation and was never an advocate of two nations theory. Once he rebuked Hindus for using the terms "Hindus" for themselves. But despite this profession of Sir Sayyid to Hindu-Muslim unity he was opposed to the Congress and his opposition was quite vehement. The reason for this Sayyid's contradictory stand was partly due
to the fact that he believed sincerely that it would not be in the interests of Muslims to antagonise the British rulers who were already very much annoyed with the Muslims and partly because of great infidence of Mr. Beck, the Principal of Aligarh College, who persuaded Sayyid to wage a war against the Congress which was directed against the British.

It cannot be overemphasized that Sir Sayyid's efforts to persuade Muslims to boycott Congress were largely successful. But Ulama of Deoband stood on their ground. They exhorted Muslims to ignore Sir Sayyid's advice and join the Congress in large number and wrest the power from the foreign rulers. In this opposition to Sir Sayyid's policy initiative part was taken by 'Ulama-i-Ludhyanah. Mawlana Muhammad and his two brothers Mawlana Abdul Aziz and Mawlana Abdullah collected fatwas from all parts of the country in favour of the Congress and these fatwas were compiled in the name of "Nasratul Abrar". Mawlana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi issued a fatwa to the effect that in worldly matters co-operation with the Hindus was permissible provided it did not violate any basic principle of Islam. The fatwa also warned the Muslims against the activities of Sir Sayyid.

There is the question why the Congress which had full support of the 'Ulama failed to attract a large number of Muslims to its fold. Two factors explained the Congress failure. First of all, the existing Muslim leaders from the land-owning classes were

successful in persuading Muslims that under a democratic or representative government, the Muslims, who until recently had ruled India, would be swamped, and subjugated by the Hindu majority. Secondly in Maharashtra and Bengal, Congress leaders in order to win grass-roots support for their political movements used Hindu religious symbols and slogans and thereby aroused Muslim suspicion regarding the secular character of the Indian National Congress. For example, in 19. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a prominent member of the Congress sponsored the cow-protection movement. In the same year he reorganised the old Maharashtrian festival of Ganpati and gave it a political character. In 1895, he inaugurated the Shivaji festival to revive the spirit of adventure and heroism and reawaken a desire in the Hindus to liberate the country from foreign yoke. And to Tilak both the English and Muslims were foreigners. The consequence of these revivalist Hindu movements was that Muslims too started thinking to form separatist movements and thus the differences between the two communities accentuated and became more wide and pronounced. The British Government too encouraged the Muslims in their separatist thinking.

In the wake of these revivalist movements came the announcement by the British Government in September, 1905 that Bengal would be partitioned. At first the Muslims disapproved the scheme of partition, but later on they accepted it. On the other hand, the All India Congress vehemently opposed it and with the support of

Hindu lawyers landed aristocracy and businessmen, it organised a fierce agitation against the Government which forced the Government to annul the partition advantageous to the Muslims. Its annulment by the Government gave a rude shock to them. They became very bitter and the result was that the relations between Hindus and Muslims which were already strained came to a breaking point. This was the background that on October 1, 1906 a delegation of Muslim community of India under the leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan met His Excellency the Viceroy of India, Lord Minto, at Simla. The delegation impressed upon the Viceroy the desirability of allocating seats to the community on the basis of numerical strength. In 1909 as a result of Morley-Minto Reforms the Muslims received separate seats. Now we could see that even separate representation for the Muslims failed to give full justice to the Muslims. So they sought other means to secure their political rights. They were convinced that mere negative attitude towards the Congress was not sufficient to safeguard their interests. This was the reason that All India Muslim League was founded on December 30, 1906.

As a matter of fact the Muslim League which claimed to represent the Indian Muslims represented only the Muslim landed aristocracy, merchant class and the lawyers. And this was the reason that in Aligarh College where only Muslims of upper classes could afford to send their sons came to be associated with the Muslim League. On the contrary was Deoband School which, as explained earlier, formed mostly of 'Ulama and which advocated that it was essential for Muslims to form political alliance with the Hindus and that was possible only if Muslims joined the Congress.
It was Shaikhul Hind, the Principal of Deoband School, who made efforts to bring these two schools closer to each other. In this Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. M.A. Ansari also supported Shaikhul Hind. In the Jashn-i-Dastarbandi which was held in 1910 at Deoband and in which Muslims of different shades of opinion participated, Aligarh College also sent a delegation led by Sahibzadah Aftab Ahmad Khan. The Aligarh delegation exchanged views with the Deoband party. As a result of exchange of views it was agreed that there should be an exchange of students between Deoband and Aligarh so as to foster friendship and intimacy between the two schools. But unfortunately its first exchange of two Aligarh students proved a bitter experience and wrecked the whole scheme. Aligarh boys who came to Deoband to study Islam were found as British secret agents who helped the British Government in the arrest of Shaikhul Hind.

In the same way efforts were made to bridge the gulf that existed between Muslim League and Congress. "This spirit of co-existence produced the joint Lucknow Pact of 1916 whereby Congress conceded the principle of separate electorates and seats for Muslims and agreed upon a formula whereby the Muslims accepted a lower ratio of seats to the population in their majority seats — Punjab and Bengal — in return for greatly increased representation in other provinces where they formed a minority."

The Lucknow Pact was indeed a great document. It clearly showed that it was not impossible if sincere efforts were made to

achieve unity of Hindus and Muslims on political plane. Later on Khilafat movement also afforded an opportunity for both the Muslims and Hindus to stand united at one platform although this unity was short-lived, and the events that followed the movement were painful.

The institution of Khilafat played a vital role in Muslim politics in the world. The Prophet of Islam made it incumbent upon upon the Muslims to have an Amīr and once an Amīr was chosen, it was a duty of the Muslims to obey. Indian Muslims were always passionately attached to this institution of Caliphate. It was because of this respect which the Muslims of India had towards this institution that Turkey where the Caliph resided occupied a special place. This was why that when Balkan powers threatened the existence of Turkey, the Indian Muslims became very much agitated. Mawlana Muhammad 'Alī roused the feelings of Muslims through his papers Haardard and Comrade and collected a large sum of money towards war fund of Turkey. Although the British Government had given solemn promise to the Muslims of India that its war was against the Turkish Government and not against the Khalifatul Muslinin and that it would see no harm was done to the Holy Places of Islam, it, however, did not keep up to its word, rather it acted in such a way that extermination of Turkey was little in doubt. Naturally Muslims became very much agitated and they began to make preparations to launch a countrywide movement to show their deep resentment against the British Government and force it to desist from its nefarious design against Turkey. Meanwhile, some Muslims at Bombay formed an organisation to this end and they gave it the name of Majlis-i-
Khilafat. This prompted Mawlana Abdul Bari, a very active Muslim divine, to announce to hold an All India Muslim Conference and in it he had the co-operation of Muslim leaders like Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari. Mawlana Abdul Bari also issued a fatwa signed by about five hundred 'Ulama which was submitted to the Viceroy. The conference as suggested by Mawlana Abdul Bari met in Lucknow and it passed a number of resolutions concerning Turkey and Khilafat.

On January 20, 1920 Khilafat Conference met at Delhi under the presidentship of Mawlawli Fazlul Haq. The important feature of this meeting was that a large number of Hindu leaders participated in it and supported the stand of Muslims on the Khilafat issue. Prominent among them were Mahatma Gandhi, Lokmanya Tilak, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. "It passed a number of resolutions. An appeal was made to the Muslims that they should not participate in the victory celebrations. It was also decided to boycott British goods and non-cooperate with the Government if no heed was paid to their demands in regard to the Khilafat. An important outcome of this session was that Gandhi, with him many a Hindu leader, came closer to the Khilafat issue.

In a joint meeting of Hindus and Muslims Gandhi announced that Hindus would cooperate with the Khilafat Conference and advised them to boycott the victory celebrations. Of course Gandhi thought it was a good opportunity of uniting Hindus and Muslims which "will not occur for another hundred years". Mahatma Gandhi became so much enthusiastic that in a special session of Congress held at Calcutta he himself moved the resolution of non-cooperation.

The Khilafat movement provided an opportunity for both the Muslims and Hindus to sink their differences and reduce the strain that existed between them for generations. But this unity did not last long, it received a rude shock when in August 1921, Moplahs, descendants of early Arab settlers in Malabar, oppressed by the repressive measures of the Government, revolted against it and in this revolt they did not spare even Hindu landlords. The Moplah rising was followed by another shocking and horrifying incident at Chawri Chawra near Gorakhpur where Congress workers murdered twenty-one policemen in cold blood. Mahatma Gandhi was so much shocked at this violence that he saw no alternative but to call off his non-violent non-cooperation movement.

The withdrawal of non-cooperation movement by Mahatma Gandhi adversely affected the Khilafat Movement which was already petering out. The abolition of Khilafat by Mustafa Kamal in 1924 cut off the very branch which supported the entire agitation and thus the Khilafat Movement collapsed unceremoniously.

A dispassionate study of Khilafat Movement reveals a number of truths which neither the Congress nor the 'Ulama cared to know them at that time. It showed that for Muslims any movement was good which convinced them that Islam was in danger in any part of the Muslim world. In Khilafat Movement they rose to one man because Islam was in danger in Turkey. Later on Muslim League exploited this feeling against the Congress by persuading them to believe that Islam was in danger in their own home-land. It was but natural that they rallied behind the League and refused to listen to their 'Ulama whom they thought that they were in
league with the Congress to destroy them. In other words, for arousing the feelings of Muslims on a political issue. It was necessary that it should have some religious basis. Another truth was about the 'Ulama themselves. The whole Khilafat Movement was in their hands, they had full control of the Muslim masses. Even the land-owning class whose loyalty to the British was assured was forced to toe the 'Ulama line as it could not afford to give affront to the general masses. The most interesting fact in this melodrama was that even 'Ali Brothers who played very important role and whose names were on the lip of every Muslim had to don the garb of 'Ulama, though they were products of Aligarh and were not at all 'Ulama in the traditional sense of the word. It was no doubt that 'Ulama sincerely worked for the Movement, especially the role which Deoband divines like Mahamudul Hasan and Obaidullah Sindhi played would become a part of history. The question arises what happened subsequently that 'Ulama lost the hold of Muslim masses even so much so that Muslims became mad after Jinnah who was their very anti-thesis. There are number of factors to explain this attitude of Muslims. One of the important factors was that Jinnah convinced Muslims that Islam was really in danger and that if Muslims supported Congress they would lose their identity. On the contrary 'Ulama had no religious basis for their political cause.

'Ulama also committed a blunder by issuing the fatwa of Hijrat which was indeed a sheer act of folly. This unfortunate

fatwas brought untold misery and sufferings upon the innocent Muslims who acted upon it blindly. As a matter of fact the 'Hijrat Fatwa' tarnished a little the image of those Ulama who were responsible for it. It pushed thousands of Muslims into the foreign country as unwanted guests while their instigators chose to stay behind. Was not their role the role of a mile-post which showed the road but it itself did not move?

The Jam'iyat-ul Ulama-i-Hind was established in the first quarter of the century. The aims and objectives of the Jam'iyat as laid down in its constitution are as follows:

1. To guide the followers of Islam in their political and non-political matters from a religious point of view.
2. To defend, on 'Sharai' ground, Islam, centres of Islam (the Jazirat-ul Arab and the seat of the Khilafat), Islamic rituals and customs and Islamic nationalism against all odds injurious to them.
3. To achieve and protect the general religious and national rights of the Muslims.
4. To organize the Ulama on a common platform.
5. To organize the Muslim community and launch a programme for its moral and social reform.
6. To establish good and friendly relations with the non-Muslims of the country to the extent permitted by the Shariat-i-Islamiyah.
7. To fight for the freedom of the country and religion according to the 'Shari' objectives.
8. To establish 'mahakim-i-Shariyah' (religious courts) to meet the religious needs of the community.

9. To propagate Islam, by way of missionary activities, in India and foreign lands.

10. To maintain and strengthen the bond of unity and fraternal relations (as ordained by Islam) with the Muslims of other countries.

In 1939 the provisions 2, 7, 8 and 9 were amended in view of the changed situations in the country and abroad. The amended provisions show as follows:

2. To protect Islam, centres of Islam (Hijaz and Jazirat-ul-'Arab) and Islamic rites and usages, and defend Islamic nationalism against all odds injurious to it.

7. Complete independence for the nation and the country according to Shari objectives.

8. To organize the Millat-i-Islamiyah, into a Shari body and establish, 'mahakim-i-Shariyah'.

9. To work for the religious, educational, moral, social and economic reforms of the Muslims, and to propagate Islam, by way of missionary activities, in India to their best ability.


Next to Jamiyát is Jamaat-i-Islami-i-Hind which has a wide following among the educated Muslim youth. The founder of Jamaat is Mawlanā Abūl Āla Mawdūdī who, by his powerful writings, prepared a band of devoted Muslims to form a body which might create an awareness among the Muslims that Islam is a living religion and that it is only because of ignorance that some Muslims entertain the wrong notion that Islam has no vitality to withstand the challenge of the modern world which is forward looking and complex. The Jamaat came into existence at Lahore in August 1941 with Mawlanā Mawdūdī as its first Amir. Mawlanā Mawdūdī has produced a vast literature upon every aspect of Islam. He has critically examined the basic principles of Islam and has argued that there is no need to take an apologetic view of Islam as some of the reformists in the past have done. Mawlana is very much critical of these reformists who try to show that modern western socio-political values are really identical with Islam as properly understood. He believes that Islam has a solution for every modern problem. He exposes the weaknesses of both the traditional Islam as understood by our conservative Ulama and Modern Islam as interpreted by westernized Muslims. Since Mawlanā had a thorough knowledge of Islam and the modern world it was but natural that his writings attracted a large number of Muslim youth who were dissatisfied with the orthodox Ulama and who were also sceptic about the interpretation of Islam as given by westernized Muslims who were so much influenced with the west that they wanted to mould Islam on western lines which could have changed it beyond recognition.
Mawlena Mawdudi is a dynamic personality and within a short span of six or seven years he was able to gather a large number of followers who became very much devoted to his programme. However, with the partition of India Mawlana who was opposed to the demand of Pakistan moved to the new Islamic State in the hope that his dream of establishment of Islamic State might be fulfilled there. Soon he established the Jamaat there, framed a new constitution in 1952 and became a force to reckon with.

The Indian counterpart of the Jamaat known as Jamaat Islami-i-Hind was formed in April 1948 and it produced the constitution of its own in 1956. It would not be fair to say that both the Jamaats are one and the same. Jamaat Islami-i-Hind which takes inspiration from the writings of Mawlana Mawdudi is nevertheless quite distinct from its counterpart in Pakistan in many respects. It would be unfair to condemn the former for the activities of the latter.

The basic creed of the Jamaat is the establishment of the Kingdom of God upon earth. According to the Jamaat a true believer should completely surrender himself to the Will of God who is "Creator, the Sustainer, the Controller, the Lord of Us all and of the entire universe as well as the Sovereign, the Author of the creation". The other objective is that the true believer "should accept without demur every teaching and every guidance that is proved to emanate from Hazarat Muhammad" - who had been commissioned by the Sovereign of the Universe to act in accordance with His Guidance and Code which He revealed to

Hasarat Muhammad in the form of Holy Book.

The Jamaat has also spelt out the methodology for the realization of the above goal. Article 5 of its constitution says:

1. "The Quran and the Sunna shall form the groundwork of the Jamaat. All other things shall be kept in view secondarily, only to the extent to which there is room for them in accordance with the Quran and the Sunna."

2. "In all its actions the Jamaat shall be bound by moral limits and shall never adopt such means or ways which are against truth and honesty or through which may come about communal hatred, class struggle and Fasad fil arz."

3. "For the achievement of its objectives the Jamaat shall adopt constructive and peaceful methods that is, it shall reform the mental outlook, character and conduct through propagation (of Islam), instruction and dissemination of Islamic ideas, and this shall train public opinion in order to bring about the desired righteous revolution in the social life of the country."

The essential difference between the Jamaat Islam-i-Hind and Jamaat Islamic of Pakistan is that while the latter is socio-politico movement, the former is socio-religious one. Jamaat Islam-i-Hind has no political ambitions at present. But it would not be correct to say that in future it would not involve itself in the political activity. Today it is not in favour of participation in the elections, but it has given indication that under certain circumstances it may decide otherwise.

35. Ibid., p. 5.
As a matter of fact Jamaat thinks that it should primarily engage itself in bringing about desired reforms in the society by peaceful means. It will take up other issues only when it gets success in this primary task.

The Jamaat stands alone in this respect that almost all other religious bodies in India have made sharp criticism of the way the Jamaat interprets certain fundamental issues of Islam. The traditional Ulama have repeatedly declared that Jamaat's understanding of Islam is not authentic and that it is misleading the Muslim youth on fundamental Islamic tenet.

Of late the Jamaat has gone a sea-change. In certain matters it has revised its attitude. As said earlier its attitude towards its participation in elections is undergoing a change although its hard-liners are still very much opposed to it. Similar is the case with the concept of secularism. Jamaat is not opposed to secularism which directs the state not to discriminate on the basis of religious belief. But it would certainly frown upon the type of secularism as practised in advanced countries which encourage the people to lead such life which may be least concerned with their religious beliefs and thoughts. According to Jamaat it would not be proper for India to develop such type of secular democracy in view of the fact that religion is deep rooted in the minds of its people. As regards views of the Jamaat about nationalism it would be suffice to say that it accepts the nationalism with some reservations. It certainly approves the nationalism that fosters in the people a love for the country, a sense of dedication for its welfare and prosperity. But it is not in favour of such nationalism which
comes into conflict with the concept of universal brotherhood or internationalism. The Jamaat opposes that type of nationalism which tries to impose on the people one type of culture and one language intolerant of other cultural heritages and traditions. The Jamaat believes in national integration which can be achieved by two methods. First, efforts should be made to create an awareness among the people about the concept of common goals like defence of the country against external aggression, economic progress of all the classes, internal security and social welfare of the people. Second, every community or religious group should be given full freedom to preserve and propagate its own religious beliefs and culture.

Recently Jamaat has been sharply criticized by non-Muslims in particular and a powerful section of Muslims as well. It has been accused of repudiating everything outside the pale of Islam and Indian Constitution, and encouraging Muslims to keep themselves aloof from the main current of national life. To the charge that the Jamaat brusquely repudiates everything outside the pale of Islam, even the Indian Constitution and the electoral system, the General Secretary of the Markaz Jamaat Islami-i-Hind replies: "We do not "brusquely" repudiate things, rather we try to persuade people through sweet reasoning and historical data that peace, progress, and prosperity here and salvation hereafter can be achieved only by following divine guidance, which is not the monopoly of Muslims alone. We look at all matters in the light of Islam. Thus, for example, we do not consider the Constitution of India so sacrosanct that it can never be amended."
It is certainly within the constitutional right of every citizen to hold that particular clauses of the Constitution, some of the laws based on it, are not suited to the genius of our people (Hindus and Muslims), who are by and large religious in outlook, and to try to get it amended by peaceful means. We do not believe in subverting it by violent means. At the same time we hold that certain provisions of Indian Constitution are good.

The Jamaat has a definite educational programme which it has briefly outlined in its booklet entitled "Jamaat-Islami-i-Hindi - An Introduction". It reads as follows:

(i) Efforts would be made to get that portion of Government approved textbooks scrapped which propagates a particular religious beliefs and thoughts or which is repugnant to the spirit of Islamic teachings or which injures the susceptibilities of the Muslims.

(ii) Muslims would be persuaded to establish their own primary schools for the education of the children.

(iii) Every effort would be made to see that Muslim students of the aforementioned primary schools are exempted from compulsory primary education.

(iv) Muslims would be persuaded to set-up day and night schools for imparting religious education for those attending schools and colleges.

(v) The Jamaat would extend its co-operation with the individuals, institutions or associations which are engaged in such work.

Muhammad Yusuf,
37. Jamaat Islami Hind, Aik T’aruf, Delhi, 1967, p. 84.
There is another party which is no less popular with the Muslims than the Jam iyyat-ul-'Ulamā or the Jamaat Islami. This is Tablíghee Jamaat which is wholly devoted to the religious cause and is least interested in the political aspect of Muslims. This Jamaat is unique in this respect that it has no necessary paraphernalia which is ordinarily associated with an organisation. In other words, it has no office bearers. Neither it maintains any record of membership, nor does it have any funds to run the movement.

The founder of this movement was Mawlānā Muhammad Ilyās who was born in Kandhla in district of Muzaffarnagar (U.P.) in a family of Ulama. He received his traditional education at the famous Islamic Institute of Deoband. After completion of education he set himself to the task of reviving Muslim society which had completely forgotten the ways of God and leading un-Islamic ways of life. In the course of his missionary tour he came across such Muslims who were totally ignorant of Islam, they even did not know the basic tenets of Islam. He was so much shocked at the appalling state of affairs that he resolved to devote his whole life to teach them the fundamentals of Islam and urge them to lead an Islamic way of life.

Soon Mawlānā Ilyās was able to gather a band of devoted followers who toured the Mewati villages and with their sweet persuasion turned the Hinduised Mewatics into God fearing Muslims. It was indeed a great achievement. The success in Mewat led him to think that this could be made an Indo-Pak movement. However, the Mawlimā could not live long. He died in 1951 and his mission was carried on by his son Mawlānā Muhammad.
Yusuf with greater zeal and energy and within a very short period it became a world movement. He too died in 1965 at an early age.

The message of the Tablighee Jamaat to the Muslim is very simple. Muslims everywhere are miserable lots. Worst are the Indian Muslims who are economically backward and morally deprived. Muslims are to blame for all the ills they suffer from. Their main guilt is that they have forgotten the teachings of Islam. They betray ignorance even of the fundamentals of Islam which every Muslim ought to know. For all their self-inflicted wounds and sufferings the simple remedy is that they should go back to the early Islam with its emphasis on unquestionable faith in God and simple moral life. The Jamaat has no economic programme to offer. Neither it concerns itself with the political life of the Muslims as stated in the beginning. It simply believes that if Muslims become true believers and perform their duties which God has enjoined upon them everything will be alright. They should leave everything to God who will Himself take care of them.

The code of conduct which the Jamaat wants its followers to observe consists of the following principles:

"1. To recite and repeat again and again the Formula of Declaration, "There is no god but Allah and Mohammad is the Prophet of Allah" fully understanding the meaning spirit and implications of the Declaration.

2. To perform prayer, obligatory and non-obligatory with complete concentration of heart and mind."
3. To spend sometime daily in meditation and the improvement of knowledge about Religion.
4. To be courteous and respectful towards every Muslim.
5. To keep the motive absolutely pure and above all sorts of selfishness and worldly passions.
6. To walk on foot and march for the purpose of preaching and contracting personal contact with the people.

We have already explained that the Jamiat-i-Ulama played a very significant role in the freedom struggle against the British. But in this struggle it failed to carry the bulk of Muslims with it. Undoubtedly it had a full control over the Muslims in the Khilafat movement. But gradually its grip on Muslim masses began to loosen and with the phenomenal rise of the Muslim League it lost confidence of the majority of Indian Muslims with the result that despite its stiff opposition to the demand of separate homeland for Muslims the country was partitioned. The reasons why the Jamiat failed to carry the Muslims with it are manifold. One of the reasons was that 'Ulama could not convince the Muslims that their apprehension that in case the British left the country they would get justice at the hands of the Hindu majority or Hindus would treat them as equal partners in free India. Second, the accusation of the Deoband 'Ulama that the Muslim League represented at best the landed aristocracy and the upper classes was not without some truth.

But they forgot that these landowning classes exercised considerable influence upon the non-educated Muslim masses, especially in villages this class reigned supreme; a word from a Zamindar was a command to a Muslim cultivator. On the other hand the 'Ulamā in general and Deoband 'Ulamā in particular did not command so much respect as they used to do in the past. Rather the orthodox Muslims were hostile to Deoband 'Ulamā who were considered as Wahhabis. As such Muslim masses readily believed what the Muslim League told them about the 'Ulamā. Moreover, the Muslim League had also obtained the services of a number of Muslim Divines like Mawlānā Aghraf 'Ali Thanwī and Mawlānā Shahbīr Ahmad 'Uthmanī who were the products of Deoband and who sincerely and tirelessly worked for the Muslim League and dispelled the Jam 'iyat propaganda that the League represented ignorant Islam.

Another factor which contributed to the failure of the 'Ulamā to take the masses with them was their ignorance about the new ways of the world. They shut their eyes to the changing world, rather they were derisive of the western knowledge that was influencing entire course of history. Since Sir Sayyid had created in educated Muslims an awareness of the new forces that were at work with the destiny of the people, they lost patience with the 'Ulamā who clung hard to the dead past and refused to take any notice of the new knowledge. For the Muslim intelligentsia the products of Deoband School did not compare well with their counterparts of Aligarh; the latter might be ignorant of the shari'ah, but they displayed an ability to adjust to the changing environment.
Finally, the greatest handicap for the 'Ulama to win over the Muslims to their side was that unlike Khilafat Movement their whole political cause was devoid of any religious fuel which could have easily excited the Muslims to their side. The Muslim League provided this fuel and that too in abundance and it reaped a rich harvest in the form of Pakistan. It convinced the Muslims that the Congress was a Hindu organisation and was out to destroy Islam in India and it had hired Jam iyyat-ul-'Ulama to accomplish this task.

In the post independence period too Jamiat did not prove an effective Muslim organisation. It could not even win over the Muslims whom it had lost before independence. Today the Muslims are indifferent to the Jamiat if they are not hostile to it. The reason for the indifferent attitude of Muslims is simple. Since this body is mainly manned by the products of traditional schools it would be too much to expect of this body to present any programme which could catch the imagination of the Muslims. Our 'Ulama, as explained above, are still living in the old world that has died long ago. Even in their old ways their sincerity is in doubt. They have not even displayed the strength of character which could compensate for their lack of understanding with current issues of the modern age.

Jamaat Islami too failed to prove itself as an effective religious organisation of the Muslims. Its revitalization programme of Muslim society which it took up in the early years of post-independence period did not produce the desired result. There is no doubt that in the beginning it looked as if it would revolutionize the Muslim society here, but soon it was discovered
that it too could not go beyond a certain limit. On certain fundamental issues the Jamaat is no less rigid than the Jamiat, although it has sufficient number of Muslim Youth who have received education in the colleges and universities. It is difficult to understand the Jamaat's stand against participation in elections. It will be a suicidal act on the part of a community which does not attach any importance to the elections in the modern world.

However, to the credit of the Jamaat it goes that of all the Muslim organisations it is the only organisation which is well organised and well-disciplined; and it can play very effective role in the political life of the Muslims if it makes its programme realistic and practicable in the context of the modern age.