

**RELIGION AND POLITICS IN THE UNDIVIDED INDIA:
AN ESTIMATE OF JAMA'AT-I-ISLAMI'S VIEWS ABOUT
PAKISTAN MOVEMENT AND INDIAN PARTITION**

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Abstract

This study deals with the political activities of Jama'at-i-Islami during the Pakistan Movement. The religio-political sentiments arose in Maulana Maududi after the failure of Khilafat Movement and later between 1938 and 1941. In these circumstances Maulana Maududi decided to give an organizational shape to his ideas. Thus he founded Jama'at-i-Islami in 1941. The Jama'at was founded in such a time when Pakistan Movement was on its full swing under the umbrella of Muslim League's leaders. Right from its creation, the Jama'at supported the Muslim Nationalism but along this its bitterly criticized the Muslim League and its leaders including Quaid-i-Azam. The Jama'at and Maududi rejected the League's idea of Pakistan in line with their own ideas whatever they have. When the creation of Pakistan become certainty, Maududi stated that he would tried to Mould the public opinion in Muslim majority areas in favor of Pakistan because it demanded on the name of Islam and its should an Islamic state.

Key Words: Jama'at-i-Islami, Pakistan Movement, Muslim League, Lahore Resolution,

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Maulana Maududi's organizational stance took shape after the failure of the Khilafat Movement and between 1938 and 1941, the years when Indian politics had become hopelessly polarized between the Congress and the Muslim League. In the face of mounting crisis Maulana Maududi advised the Muslim parties and organizations to unite, but his exhortation fell on deaf ears. India was continuously moving towards the partition and the only parties those survived were the Congress and the Muslim League. Maulana Maududi had no confidence on the Muslim League Leaders that they can achieve the Muslim goals.¹

Since the Muslim League's Lahore Resolution was passed in March 1940, the foundation of the Jama'at-i-Islami (Aug 29, 1941) might have been aimed against the Pakistan Movement. Maulana Maududi had admitted that since 1926 he had become more outspoken in his belief that the Muslims real duty was the establishment of the Sovereignty of God in the whole world and the Islamic way of life, and not the setting up of a Muslim national state. Thus Maulana Maududi adapted as the objective of the Jamat in no uncertain terms.²

On the issue of Muslim and Hindu nationalism Moududi wrote a series of articles with the objective of proving that Muslims were a Nation apart from Hindus. Actually Maududi was fighting an ideology battle on two fronts. On the one hand he was arguing against the Nationalist Ulama and on the other hand he was fighting against the Muslim League which wanted a separate homeland on the basis of two-nation theory. The word Qaum (nation) had been used in different senses in Urdu. Even Maududi has used the word Qaum in its various meanings. Maududi defined it in a manner which means that all those who had accepted Islam were one nation and those who had rejected Islam were others. Those two nations differed from each other not on the basis of their race or genealogy but on the basis of faith and practice. On the basis of this premise launched attack on any other definition of nation. He believed that territorial or racial nationalism would kill all feelings of Islamic nationalism and the two could not co-exist.³

¹ S. V. Raza Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: the Jama'at-i-Islami of Pakistan*, (1994), I. B. S Tauris, London. 16.

² Kalim Bahadur, *the Jama'at-i-Islami of Pakistan: Political thoughts and actions*, (1978), Progressive Books, Lahore, 13.

³ Ibid, 36.

Maulana Maududi opposed the concept of composite nationalism in India and believed that attempts to unite the different nationalities could have two alternative results. First, the attempt could result in all the nations arriving at clear defense agreements between them for common aims and objectives. The second, alternative was that all the nations would become one nation. Maududi believed that it was the latter that the Congress wanted. This would lead to the Muslims first preference to their motherland. Therefore Maududi advised the Muslims to forget separate electorate, weight age, fixation of seats, reservations of posts etc, and to concentrate on demolishing the concept of one nation and not to move one step forward until their separate nationhood was accepted.⁴

According to Maulana Maududi, Islamic nationalism was different from Muslim nationalism. He traced the roots of Muslim nationalism..... to the attempt by Akbar (Mughal King) to start Din-i-Ilahi. Dara (Shah Jahan son) carried forward the same trend and this ultimately ended in the decay of Muslim political power. According to Maulana Maududi the term “Muslim and Nationalism” was contradictory.

Two types of nationalism were founded among the Muslims. The first were the Nationalist Muslims. Nationalist Muslim means those who accepted the common Indian Nationhood. The second type was those who advocated the political and economic interests of the nation that was called Muslims only because they belonged to it by birth. They were not interested in the principles and objectives of Islam. For Maududi both were equally wrong.....because according to him, Islam did not allow any nationalism and believed only in the truth. Both these types of nationalists were unaware of their un-Islamic positions. The second type of nationalists, in other words the Muslim Leaguers, came in for serious condemnation at the hands of Maududi. According to him, while they considered themselves to be the flag bearers of Islam, they were not different from the Hindu Nationalism.

Maulana Maududi opposed the nationalist Ulama for they believed in territorial nationalism.⁵ Zafar Ahmad Ansari (Joint Secretary of Muslim League) said about the writings of Maududi on

⁴ Abu-al-ala Maududi, *Musalman Aur Majuda Syasi Kashmakash*, (1972), Islamic publications, Pathankot, 230.

⁵ Kalim, Bahadur, *The Jama'ati-i-Islami of Pakistan*,. Op, cit, 37.

the issue of nationalism that the discussion over the issue of nationalism was not merely an ideological discussion but it hits the view point of congress and Jamiat-al-Ulama-i-Hind. This is why Muslim League published these writings in thousands numbers.⁶

The demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims first voiced in concrete form at the Lahore Session of the Muslim League on March 23, 1940. The scheme for an independent Muslim state fell on fertile soil and won mass support particularly among the middle class. Almost overnight the Muslim League became the most influent political party among the Muslims. This was a demand based on many things including the deliberately engendered fear that if the Muslims and Hindus lived together after freedom, the Muslims would be in minority and ill-treated at the hands of Hindus. Very little attention was given to the nature of Pakistan that was to become into existence.

Maududi apposed the concept of Pakistan in spite of his firm belief in the separate nationhood of the Muslims. He stated that all the Muslims of the World constituted a Nation (Ummah) and the Muslims of India were a part of that Nation. He believed that the leadership of the common Muslims in India was in the hands of such peoples among whom the persons having very few knowledge about the religion. He believed that the front rank leaders of the Muslim League did not deserve to be the leaders of the Muslims. From “Quaid-i-Azam” at the top, down to the junior, most leaders none had Islamic mentality or way of thought and none of them could see things for an Islamic angle.⁷

Jinnah’s success as a political leader had convinced Maududi of his own potential. For if a Westernized lawyer could sway the masses in the name of Islam, then a ‘true’ Muslim leader could certainly attain over greater success. Maududi not only compared himself to Jinnah but also viewed himself as even a greater leader than Jinnah. Jinnah’s power had concluded, was tenuous.....predicted upon Islam to which the Muslim League leaders had normal attachment.

⁶ Sheikh, Muhammad Rafique, (1998), *Tarikh-i-Pakistan*, Standard Book House, Lahore, 583.

⁷ Kalim Bahadur, *the Jama'at-i-Islami of Pakistan*. Op, cit, 38, 39.

Taken to its natural conclusion, the arguments could be termed against Mr. Jinnah by Maududi, who could assert that he and the Jamat were more representative and typical of Muslims than the anglicized Jinnah and secular Muslim League. Maududi said of Jinnah's enterprise: "no trace of Islam could be found in the ideas and politics of Muslim League..... [Jinnah] reveals no knowledge of the views of the Quran nor does he care to research them... yet whatever he does is seen as the way of Quran..... All his knowledge comes from Western laws and sources..... His followers cannot be but Jamat-i-Jahiliyah (party of pagans). The term Jamat-i-Jahiliyah was no doubt coined to make the contrast between the Muslim League and the Jama'at-i-Islami more apparent.

If the argument of affinity as a basic for representation could win the day for the Muslim League against Congress, all the more could it justify the Jamat claim to the leadership of the Muslims? Maududi also saw the Muslim League as essentially a one-man show, in contrast to his movement, which was more disciplined and thereafter better poised to manipulate Muslim politics. The Jamat and Maududi believed was what the League pretended to be and was not. The Jamat was therefore opposed not to Pakistan but Muslim League. It was the expectations that Maududi would become its leader and not the partition of the sub-continent that let him to appose the Muslim League both before and after the creation of Pakistan.⁸

Maulana Maududi discussed the same thing during in an interview he said that, "We'd wanted the entire India to be a land of Islam. So how could we be opposed to the attainment of a country in the name of Islam? But those in the forefront of the Pakistan Movement did not appear to us be true Muslims. That is why we had our doubts; we were not against the Quaid-i-Azam, but the entire leadership that was running the Pakistan Movement."⁹

Maududi believed, the Muslims were a nation like any other nation. For him Islam was a movement which was not concerned with the national objectives of any particular nation, its aim was the welfare and the prosperity of the entire humanity. If therefore Muslims also inculcated

⁸ S. V. Raza Nasr, the *Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution*. Op, cit, 20, 21.

⁹ (Sep 25, 1977), *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore.

the prejudices of Muslim nationalism, he feared no Hindu, Sikh or Christian would lend his ear to Islamic appeal. Therefore he disagreed with the Muslim League's argument that Muslims must form a separate state on democratic principles and then try to improve their cultural and moral standards and gradually transform the democratic Muslim state to a "Godly" state.¹⁰ Maulana Maududi declared:

Being a Muslim I am not at all interested that the Muslim governments are formed in areas where Muslims are in a majority. For me the most important question is whether in your Pakistan the system of government will be based on the Sovereignty of God or popular Sovereignty based on Western democratic theories. In the case of former it will certainly be Pakistan otherwise it will be as "Na Pakistan" (unholy land) as the other areas where according to your scheme, Non-Muslims will rule. But in the eyes of God it will be much more reprehensible and unholy than even that. Muslim nationalism is as reprehensible in the Shariah of God as Indian nationalism.¹¹ This was the theoretical foundation of Maududi's opposition to Pakistan. He went on developing this point in his articles and speeches up to April 1947. Even in that month he was declaring to gathering of the Jamat at Tonk, that the Muslim League had made the establishment of Pakistan in a corner of India their highest ideal. If those people stood-up as the representative of the Islam with real sincerity then entire India could become Pakistan.¹² Maududi himself admitted in 1970 that his opposition to Pakistan was only a cry in wilderness. Maududi opposition to a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims could not be effective, while he himself was claiming that Muslims were a separate nation.¹³

Jinnah and Maududi had similar fears about the possible fate of the Muslims in a united and free India. Jinnah declared:

Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu Raj."

¹⁰ Abu al Ala Maududi, *The Message of Jama'at-i-Islami*, (1952), Islamic Publications, Lahore, 6, 7.

¹¹ Ibid, 76.

¹² *Rudad, Jama'at-i-Islami*, Vol, 5, Dehli, (1967), Islamic Publications, 93-95.

¹³ Maududi, *the Message of Jama'at-i-Islami*, Op, cit, 48.

Maududi also preached the same thesis he declared:

“Muslims were in a minority in India and in a democratic system under which decisions were to be made by the majority; neither separate electorate nor any other safeguard could solve their problems.”¹⁴

Maududi remained a consistent opponent of Pakistan and the Muslim League. The members of the Jama'at-i-Islami pressed him several times to allow some cooperation with the League. They obviously felt that they could work for an Islamic state in Pakistan after it was achieved. However Maududi refused to support the Muslim League in the elections of 1946 to the Constituent Assembly. He was opposed to any cooperation with the League in any political activity. In September 1946 some members demanded cooperation with the League in no-tax program of the league. Maududi rejected the suggestion on the ground that the Muslim League had started the no-tax campaign on un-Islamic and opportunistic grounds. The Jamaat said, he was opposed to any cooperation with the British anyway for it was an ungodly system.¹⁵

As the Pakistan Movement grew, Maududi's attacks on it became bitterer. In 1946 Maududi declared:

The first thing about the Muslim League's movement to be understood, is that its fundamental thoughts, its structure, its temper, its spirit, its tactics and objectives are the same as those of a nationalist movement. Since it is a nationalist movement of Muslims and every thing concerning Muslims becomes 'Islamic'. It has also been taken to be an 'Islamic'.¹⁶

But Maududi's attacks were not inspired solely by the reasons highlighted above, according to him: Whatever may be the dreams of the people living in the paradise of fools; if Pakistan ever came into being it would be based on the ideology of secular democracy in which non-Muslims would be equal partners with Muslims. In Pakistan their number would not be so small and the

¹⁴ Kalim Bahadur, *the Jama'at-i-Islami of Pakistan*, Op, cit, 40, 41.

¹⁵ ---*Rudad, Jama'at-i-Islami*, Vol, 4, Rampur, Islamic Publications, 1952, 146.

¹⁶ ---*Tarjuman-al-Quran*, Vol, 28, nd, 158.

power of their representation so weak as to make the Shariah the law of the government and the Quran as the constitution of the democratic system.¹⁷

It was not that Maududi was against the concept of Pakistan and was supporting the concept of a united India. His attitude toward the freedom struggle is concerned. Maududi opposition to both the Pakistan Movement of All-India Muslim League and the national movement led by Indian National Congress amounted to opposing the movement for freedom from the British. Maududi's interpretations of Islam led him to pose salivary to the British and the Sovereignty of God as alternative. But the Ulama such as, Muhammad al-Hassan, Hussain Ahmad Madni underwent long terms of imprisonment, exile and suffering to free the Country from foreign rule. They believed that the freedom of the Country was their religious duty and spent their lives in securing this objective. They believed it to be the real aim of Islamic politics and the main duty of the Muslims.¹⁸

By April 1947, Maududi could see that the partition of the Country was in the offing. He could not conceive of India as a secular state and this led him to conclude that it would be a Hindu nationalist state after independence. According to him, in independent India Muslims would have three options open to them:

1. They should resign all their permanent rights and be absorbed in the Hindu nation
2. That they should be deprived of all their rights and live like outcasts
3. That they should be destroyed physically.¹⁹
- 4.

The partition of India became certainty in the middle of 1947; Maududi accepted the inevitability of Pakistan and declared that he would try to mould the public opinion in the Muslim majority areas of India in favor of making its laws and constitution on the Quran. This became the main theme of all his activities in Pakistan. He also advised the Muslims of North West Frontier Post (NWFP), where a referendum was to be held in July 1947 to decide if that province would join India or Pakistan. He, however made it clear that voting for Pakistan did not mean voting for the

¹⁷ Ibid, 154, 155.

¹⁸ Kalim Bahadur, op, cit, 43.

¹⁹ ---Rudad, Jama'at-i-Islami Vol, 4, op, cit, 167.

system which was to be initially established their. Maududi now saw some formally he was absolutely sure their was one. He made it clear that if the system that was promised was Islamic, he would support it otherwise he would try to change it and mould it on Islamic principles.²⁰

Maududi and the Jama'at-i-Islami consistent opposition to Jinnah and the demand for Pakistan proved a great handicap for the Jamat after the creation of Pakistan. That was why Maududi and the Jamat leaders who migrated to Lahore began revising what they had said and done during the previous seven or eight years. The attempt was to prove that the Jamat was working for Pakistan in different way. A Jamat spokesman claimed that were it not for the attacks Maududi on the Congress, the Muslim League would never have amounted to any thing.²¹ Maududi declared:

I honestly believed, and still believe, that it was my duty to remind the Muslims that their objective should be not just the setting up of a Muslim state, and that they should try to built up the personal qualities and character which were the essential for the tasks involved.... Pakistan Movement was no doubt spreading and the Pakistan Resolution had been adopted in 1940. Yet no one at all could be certain at that time, that the Country infact would be portioned and Pakistan would be really achieved.

One of the Jamat publicists close to Maududi claimed that Jinnah had stated that the League was fighting for the pressing immediate goal which if lost would make the work of the Jamat impossible.²²

It was also claimed that Maududi was actually the author of one of the many schemes of partition that were being circulated in the thirties. The writings of Maududi after the Lahore Resolution were ignored. The third volume of Maududi's famous collections of articles, 'Musalman Aur Majuda Siyasi Kashmakash' which contained attacks on the concept of Pakistan, was committed and only the first two volumes were published under the title, 'Tehrik-i-Azad-i-hind Aur Musalman'. Maududi's biographers carefully edited quotations from his writings prior to Lahore

²⁰ Kalim Bahadur, op, cit, 44.

²¹ Leonard Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan*, Losengles: Oxford University Press, 1961, 88.

²² Misbah-ul-Islam Farooqi, *Introducing Maududi*, (1985), Islamic Publications, Lahore, 25.

Resolution of the Muslim League to make out the case that he was advocating..... The partition of India.²³

Abdul Hamid Siddiqi, the editor Maududi's 'Tarjuman-al-Quran' adopted an other approach to reply to the charge that Maududi had apposed the creation of Pakistan. He claimed that when the Muslim League passed the Pakistan Resolution in 1940 many Muslims felt that it solved the problem of only half of the Indian Muslims, i.e. of the Muslim majority provinces. Since the achievement of Pakistan was not certain and if the Muslim League failed in its struggle for Pakistan, the Jamat was the Muslims second line of defense. Siddiqi further claimed that at one time both Iqbal and Jinnah had also apposed the Muslim League. If it could be argued that Jinnah was sincere and wanted to serve Muslims and therefore some times advocated a united India and some time a separate homeland as the situation demanded. Why not the same standards would be applied to the Maududi.²⁴

Conclusion

The Jama'at was founded on the religious ground and religio-political thoughts of Maulana Maududi also moved it to the politics. Unfortunately he (Maududi) and his Jama'at began to criticize Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim League along with Congress and their leaders in the light of their (Jama'at) own ideas whatever they have. He criticized those who were the real representatives of the Indian Muslims at that time. Although Maududi and his colleagues thought that the Jama'at was the second option for the Muslims if the League failed in its mission. But I think that it would be a more better for the Jama'at and Pakistan if it supports the Muslim League. The Jama'at's opposition to Muslim League and Pakistan cast a heavy loss for its fame after the creation of Pakistan and still paid for this. This thing also forgot the Maududi efforts for Muslim nationalism as well.

²³ Kalim Bahadur, the Jama'at-i-Islami of Pakistan, Op, cit, 45.

²⁴ *Tarjuman-al-Quran*, Vol 61, nd, 153-156.