

Colonialism and Imperialism

1. Colonialism

The Historical Context

From 1870 a series of great economic changes in advanced capitalist powers ("Second industrial revolution") brought a wave of new technologies that radically transformed the economy of the most advanced countries.

Cheaper transportation and communication allowed people to travel throughout the world in a way and in a quantity hitherto inconceivable. This process of global integration has been called the **first globalization**.

In this context we should understand the phenomenon of **colonialism or imperialism**. Both terms are used interchangeably to refer to the territorial expansion of the European industrial powers, especially after 1870. The result of this expansion was the formation of large overseas empires.

The Causes of Colonial Expansion

The colonial and imperialist expansion undertaken by the industrial powers from 1870-1914 was motivated by several factors:

- **Economic factors** (raw materials, new markets to sell and buy, valve for population pressure in the metropolis)
- **Political factors** (national prestige, lobby groups interested in colonization, action of highly influential politicians)
- **Geostrategic factors** (geographic privileged enclaves)
- **Cultural and scientific factors** (thirst for knowledge, extension of Western culture)

Causes of Colonialism

When asked about the causes of the European imperial expansion in the late nineteenth century, historians have traditionally favored **economic causes**.

Capitalist development led European powers to seek new spaces in which they could obtain:

- Raw materials to supply its industries (textile fibers, minerals...)

- Markets in which to sell their products
- Territories in which the colonial powers could profitably invest capital, usually in infrastructure such as railways, roads, or bridges
- New lands to locate the growing European population, allowing emigration to ease population pressure in Europe

These factors were important, but have been often overstated. It is now known that many colonies were not a good deal for the European countries that formed empires and that, in many cases, the cost of invading and controlling the colonies considerably exceeded the benefits. In fact, commercial exchanges, demographic flows, and financial investments were much more intense between free countries than between the colonial powers and their colonies.

So, without underestimating the economic reasons, which are keys to understanding imperialism, we should focus our attention on other factors.

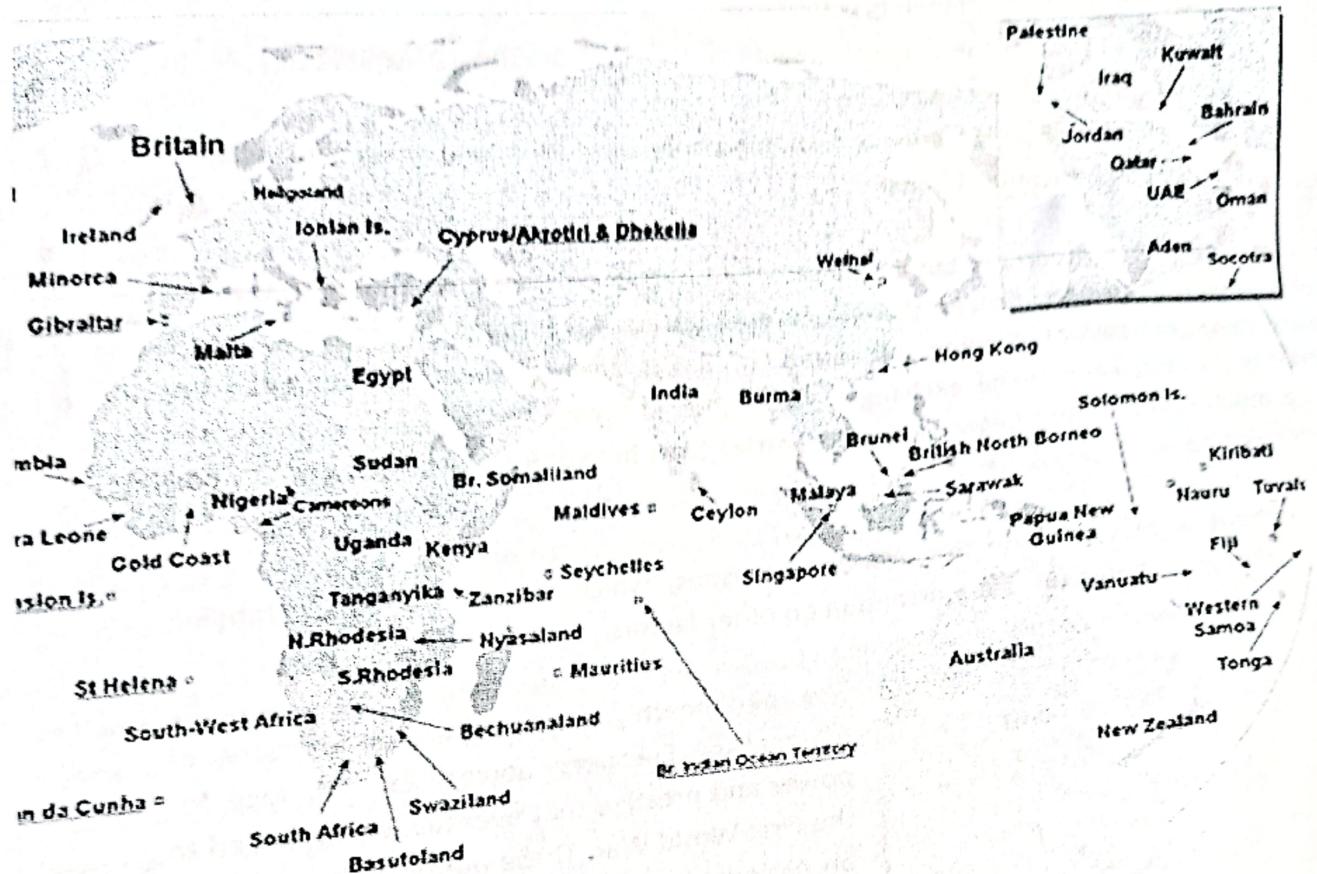


The nineteenth century was the century of nationalism. European powers faced a race for power and prestige that eventually would lead to the First World War. These political causes, based on national prestige, were keys to triggering and maintaining the colonial expansion.

Each country had its own motivations: France, to forget its defeat by Prussia in 1870; Germany and Italy, recently born nations, to reach the greatness of the old European states. Important politicians like the British Disraeli or French Ferry ardently defended the importance of colonial

expansion to their respective countries.

Geostrategic considerations joined the political motives. Countries often conquered a country to hinder the expansion of a rival power or to facilitate communication between different regions of the empire. This was the case of Gibraltar, Malta, or Cyprus or the Suez Canal for the British.



- We also should mention what can be called **ideological and scientific factors**:
- the eagerness to discover new and unknown territories, something that Europeans had experienced since the fifteenth century.
 - the belief on European superiority linked to "social Darwinism".
 - the desire to evangelize non-Christian populations.
 - the will of extending the values and progress of Western culture.

All these factors were key to understanding European colonial expansion.

Finally, the European imperial expansion cannot be understood without taking into consideration the European technological superiority, the use of quinine to protect Europeans from malaria, and the internal rivalry between ethnic groups that facilitated European invasions.

2. The Great Colonial Empires and Conflicts between the Powers

European colonial empires were born in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. First Portuguese and Spanish, then French, English and Dutch had conquered vast territories on other continents.

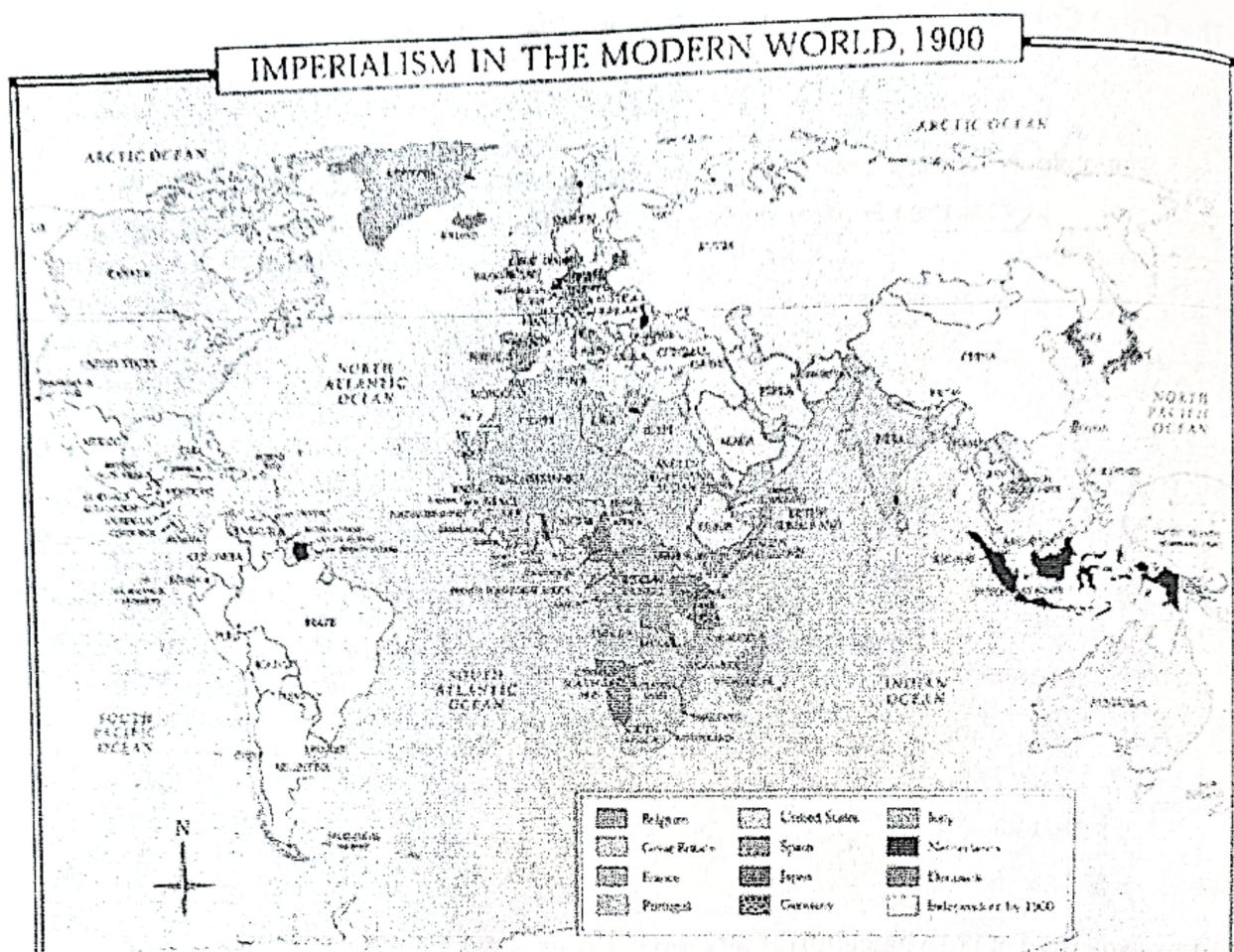


The new expansion of the nineteenth century was led by the great industrial powers.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the various powers were handed an important part of the planet.

- The British Empire constituted the largest in history.
- The French Empire occupied important territories in Africa and Indochina.
- Other empires. European countries like Germany, Italy, Portugal, Holland, or Spain and non-European powers like the United States and Japan.

The metropolis struggle to extend their territories and their interests often clashed and led to diplomatic conflicts. Despite attempts at an agreed upon solution, such as the Berlin Conference in 1895, colonial conflicts were an important factor of international instability.



The British Empire

Great Britain had been established since the seventeenth century as the great European naval power. Encouraged by its spectacular industrial development, the UK configured an empire stretching from Canada in America to Australia and New Zealand in Oceania, from Egypt and South Africa in Africa to the "jewel of the empire," the large colony of India in Asia. Many colonies in Asia and enclaves ranging from the Caribbean (Jamaica) to Asia (Hong Kong and Singapore), to Europe (Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus) shaped the most extensive empire in history.

The French Empire

The French threw themselves into an active colonial expansion with a strong nationalist attitude and a remarkable industrial development. Its empire extended around two areas: Saharan and equatorial Africa (Algeria, Morocco...) and the Indochina Peninsula in Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia).

Other Empires

Some former colonial powers like Spain in North Africa; Portugal in Africa; and the Netherlands in the Antilles, the Caribbean, and Indonesia remained remnants of its once vast empires. New countries like Germany and Italy struggled to get a place, mainly in Africa, in the grand colonial division that was alive across the globe.

At the end of the nineteenth century, two non-European powers joined the small group of colonist countries. The United States annexed the Philippines and Puerto Rico, while maintaining an indirect domination over Cuba after beating Spain in 1898; and Japan annexed Taiwan and Korea after defeating China in 1898 and Russia in 1904-1905.

Conflicts between the Empires: the Scramble for Africa and the carve up of Africa

Tensions between European powers were not new. However, after 1870, the colonial powers threw themselves into an unprecedented career expansionism that spawned multiple tensions in parts of the world.

The principle central conflict was Africa. After various frictions, the powers, led by German Chancellor Bismarck, decided to meet in order to establish general rules that would give order to the colonial race. In the Berlin Conference of 1885, it was agreed that a country would have rights to a territory it should have explored it completely. This resolution further accelerated the colonization process.



The resolutions of the Berlin Conference did not end tensions. The two great empires, the British and the French, fought to extend their influence and were about to go to a general war over an incident in Fashoda (Sudan), in 1898. However, London and Paris reached an

agreement in the early twentieth century and began a lasting friendship, the *Entente Cordiale*, which eventually led to a military alliance.

There were also the expansionist ambitions of Germany, which had more serious consequences. Their frictions with France in Africa were very important and were key elements in the road to the First World War.

An example of brutal colonialism: Belgian colonization in Congo

The invention of the inflatable tire for J.B. Dunlop in 1887 and the growing popularity of automobiles greatly increased world demand for rubber. King Leopold of Belgium did not hesitate to implement a brutal system of forced labor on the Congolese population. The tribal leaders were forced to organize work in their villages and black workers were brutally exploited. To ensure discipline, Belgian colonial agents were holding women and children of the tribe until the men returned with the amount of rubber that had been assigned. Those who refused or failed saw their villages were burned and their children as punishment were amputated.



3. The Consequences of Colonization

The consequences of Western imperialist expansion are complex and it is very difficult to simplify.

Conquest and occupation were based on violence and the colonial system was based on racial oppression and discrimination. In some cases the economic effects were harmful and indigenous people saw as a foreign culture imposed on their own.

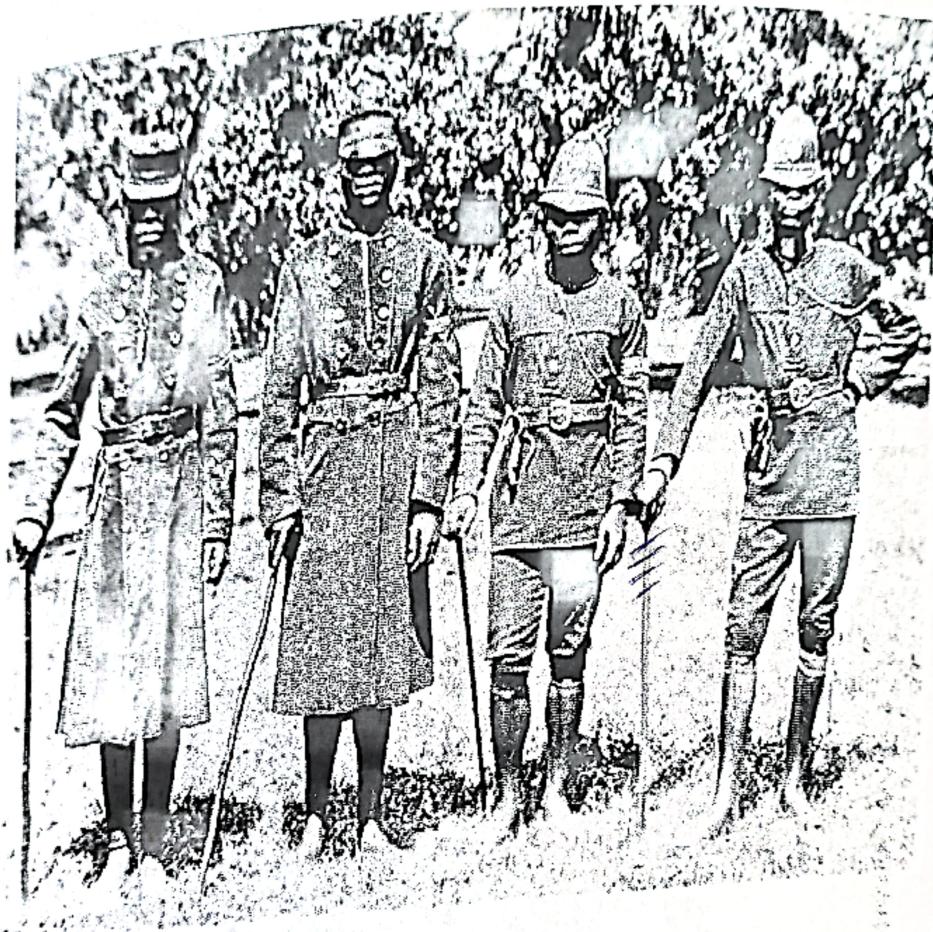
These were some of the most harmful consequences of European colonization:

- Economic exploitation

- Subjection to a foreign control
- Foreigners became the dominant social class
- Loss of its own culture

On the other hand, the Western scientific and technological progress contributed directly or indirectly benefited the colonized populations. We could say that to some extent there were positive consequences:

- Improvement of health conditions
- Access to education for the native elite
- Construction of railways, ports...



Colonialism in Sub-Continent

If looked at the brighter side, even something as out rightly barbaric as colonialism stands a chance of being justified. Apologists for colonialism often use this trademark approach to sweep the British colonial atrocities under the carpet – upon which, then, they construct their sandcastle of ‘advantages of colonialism’.

Ascribing advantages to a policy that was premised on oppression not only downplays the endless sufferings that were endured by the millions but also undermines rational thinking. If we start measuring even the most heinous of the acts in terms of the accidental benefits that they might have delivered, as in the case of colonial rule of India, we lose the yardstick to differentiate between the good and bad. But since possessing any such yardstick was least of their concerns, the colonists, and later their apologists, mustered the gall to claim benefits out of the Britain’s sordid rule of the subcontinent.

Economy:

The process of colonial rule in India meant economic exploitation and ruin to millions, the destruction of thriving industries, the systematic denial of opportunities to compete, the elimination of indigenous institutions of governance, the transformation of lifestyles and patterns of living that had flourished since time immemorial, and the obliteration of the most precious possessions of the colonised, their identities and their self-respect. In 1600, when the East India Company was established, Britain was producing just 1.8% of the world's GDP, while India was generating some 23% (27% by 1700). By 1940, after nearly two centuries of the Raj, Britain accounted for nearly 10% of world GDP, while India had been reduced to a poor “third-world” country, destitute and starving, a global poster child of poverty and famine. The British left a society with 16% literacy, a life expectancy of 27, practically no domestic industry and over 90% living below what today we would call the poverty line.

The India the British entered was a wealthy, thriving and commercialising society; that was why the East India Company was interested in it in the first place. Far from being backward or underdeveloped, pre-colonial India exported high quality manufactured goods much sought after by Britain's fashionable society. The British elite wore Indian linen and silks, decorated their homes with Indian chintz and decorative textiles, and craved Indian spices and seasonings. In the 17th and 18th centuries, British shopkeepers tried to pass off shoddy English-made textiles as Indian in order to charge higher prices for them.

The story of India, at different phases of its several-thousand-year-old civilisational history, is replete with great educational institutions, magnificent cities ahead of any conurbations of their time anywhere in the world, pioneering inventions, world-class manufacturing and industry, and abundant prosperity – in short, all the markers of successful modernity today – and there is no earthly reason why this could not again have been the case, if its resources had not been drained away by the British.

If there were positive byproducts for Indians from the institutions the British established and ran in India in their own interests, they were never intended to benefit Indians. Today Indians cannot live without the railways; the Indian authorities have reversed British policies and

they are used principally to transport people, with freight bearing ever higher charges in order to subsidise the passengers (exactly the opposite of British practice).

Railways:

The construction of the Indian Railways is often pointed to by apologists for empire as one of the ways in which British colonialism benefited the subcontinent, ignoring the obvious fact that many countries also built railways without having to go to the trouble and expense of being colonised to do so. But the facts are even more damning.

The railways were first conceived of by the East India Company, like everything else in that firm's calculations, for its own benefit. Governor General Lord Hardinge argued in 1843 that the railways would be beneficial "to the commerce, government and military control of the country". In their very conception and construction, the Indian railways were a colonial scam. British shareholders made absurd amounts of money by investing in the railways, where the government guaranteed returns double those of government stocks, paid entirely from Indian, and not British, taxes. It was a splendid racket for Britons, at the expense of the Indian taxpayer.

The railways were intended principally to transport extracted resources – coal, iron ore, cotton and so on – to ports for the British to ship home to use in their factories. The movement of people was incidental, except when it served colonial interests; and the third-class compartments, with their wooden benches and total absence of amenities, into which Indians were herded, attracted horrified comment even at the time.

And, of course, racism reigned; though whites-only compartments were soon done away with on grounds of economic viability, Indians found the available affordable space grossly inadequate for their numbers. (A marvellous post-independence cartoon captured the situation perfectly: it showed an overcrowded train, with people hanging off it, clinging to the windows, squatting perilously on the roof, and spilling out of their third-class compartments, while two Britons in sola topis sit in an empty first-class compartment saying to each other, "My dear chap, there's *nobody* on this train!")

Nor were Indians employed in the railways. The prevailing view was that the railways would have to be staffed almost exclusively by Europeans to "protect investments". This was especially true of signalmen, and those who operated and repaired the steam trains, but the policy was extended to the absurd level that even in the early 20th century all the key employees, from directors of the Railway Board to ticket-collectors, were white men – whose salaries and benefits were also paid at European, not Indian, levels and largely repatriated back to England.

Racism combined with British economic interests to undermine efficiency. The railway workshops in Jamalpur in Bengal and Ajmer in Rajputana were established in 1862 to maintain the trains, but their Indian mechanics became so adept that in 1878 they started designing and building their own locomotives. Their success increasingly alarmed the British, since the Indian locomotives were just as good, and a great deal cheaper, than the British-made ones. In 1912, therefore, the British passed an act of parliament explicitly making it impossible for Indian workshops to design and manufacture locomotives. Between 1854 and 1947, India imported around 14,400 locomotives from England, and another 3,000 from Canada, the US and Germany, but made none in India after 1912. After independence, 35

years later, the old technical knowledge was so completely lost to India that the Indian Railways had to go cap-in-hand to the British to guide them on setting up a locomotive factory in India again. There was, however, a fitting postscript to this saga. The principal technology consultants for Britain's railways, the London-based Rendel, today rely extensively on Indian technical expertise, provided to them by Rites, a subsidiary of the Indian Railways.

Democracy and Rule of Law?

Britain did not work to promote democratic institutions under imperial rule, as it liked to pretend. Instead of building self-government from the village level up, the East India Company destroyed what existed. The British ran government, tax collection, and administered what passed for justice. Indians were excluded from all of these functions. When the crown eventually took charge of the country, it devolved smidgens of government authority, from the top, to unelected provincial and central "legislative" councils whose members represented a tiny educated elite, had no accountability to the masses, passed no meaningful legislation, exercised no real power and satisfied themselves they had been consulted by the government even if they took no actual decisions.

As late as 1920, under the Montagu-Chelmsford "reforms", Indian representatives on the councils – elected by a franchise so restricted and selective that only one in 250 Indians had the right to vote – would exercise control over subjects the British did not care about, like education and health, while real power, including taxation, law and order and the authority to nullify any vote by the Indian legislators, would rest with the British governor of the provinces.

Democracy, in other words, had to be prised from the reluctant grasp of the British by the nationalists. It is a bit rich to oppress, torture, imprison, enslave, deport and proscribe a people for 200 years, and then take credit for the fact that they are democratic at the end of it.

A corollary of the argument that Britain gave India political unity and democracy is that it established the rule of law in the country. This was, in many ways, central to the British self-conception of imperial purpose; Kipling, that flatulent voice of Victorian imperialism, would wax eloquent on the noble duty to bring law to those without it. But British law had to be imposed upon an older and more complex civilisation with its own legal culture, and the British used coercion and cruelty to get their way. And in the colonial era, the rule of law was not exactly impartial.

Crimes committed by whites against Indians attracted minimal punishment; an Englishmen who shot dead his Indian servant got six months' jail time and a modest fine (then about 100 rupees), while an Indian convicted of attempted rape against an Englishwoman was sentenced to 20 years of rigorous imprisonment. In the entire two centuries of British rule, only three cases can be found of Englishmen executed for murdering Indians, while the murders of thousands more at British hands went unpunished.

The death of an Indian at British hands was always an accident, and that of a Briton because of an Indian's actions always a capital crime. When a British master kicked an Indian servant in the stomach – a not uncommon form of conduct in those days – the Indian's resultant death from a ruptured spleen would be blamed on his having an enlarged spleen as a result of

malaria. Punch wrote an entire ode to The Stout British Boot as the favoured instrument of keeping the natives in order.

Political dissidence was legally repressed through various acts, including a sedition law far more rigorous than its British equivalent. The penal code contained 49 articles on crimes relating to dissent against the state (and only 11 on crimes involving death).

Language and Culture:

Of course the British did give India the English language, the benefits of which persist to this day. Or did they? The English language was not a deliberate gift to India, but again an instrument of colonialism, imparted to Indians only to facilitate the tasks of the English. In his notorious 1835 Minute on Education, Lord Macaulay articulated the classic reason for teaching English, but only to a small minority of Indians: "We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect."

The language was taught to a few to serve as intermediaries between the rulers and the ruled. The British had no desire to educate the Indian masses, nor were they willing to budget for such an expense. That Indians seized the English language and turned it into an instrument for our own liberation – using it to express nationalist sentiments against the British – was to their credit, not by British design.

This is why Britain's historical amnesia about the rapacity of its rule in India is so deplorable. Recent years have seen the rise of what the scholar Paul Gilroy called "postcolonial melancholia", the yearning for the glories of Empire, with a 2014 YouGov poll finding 59% of respondents thought the British empire was "something to be proud of", and only 19% were "ashamed" of its misdeeds.

And, Certainly, it does not take much of a rigorous inquiry to conclude that under the garb of democracy, bureaucracy and railways were instruments with which the contours of a totalitarian regime were traced; while some mechanisms were meant to perpetuate the British in power, others were intended to satiate their imperial ambitions. No wonder why the apologists are fond of quoting these 'advantages' in isolation from their context. For, once the context is established, this sandcastle of 'advantages' crumbles, unveiling an era riddled with murder, plunder and occupation.

Week :2,3,4

2:War of Independence

3:Historical Background of Muslim Nationalism

4:Jinnah and Iqbal

Chancery
area under British paramountcy until 1847. The British sent Maharaja Duleep Singh to England in 1854, where he was put under the protection of the Crown.

R.B.W.
When the foreign minister of Ranjit Singh's court, Fakir Azizuddin, met the British Governor-General of India, Lord Auckland, in Simla, Auckland asked Fakir Azizuddin which of the Maharaja's eyes was missing. Azizuddin replied:

"The Maharaja is like the sun and sun has only one eye. The splendor and luminosity of his single eye is so much that I have never dared to look at his other eye."

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The governor-general was so pleased with this reply that he gave his gold watch to Azizuddin.

VII. THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (1857)

The War of Independence broke out in January and March 1857. This eruption in which both Hindus and Muslims rebelled against the British did not occur as a result of one specific event or cause; it was an accumulation of several events, involving diverse political, economic, military, religious and social causes over time resulting in its eventual outbreak.

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The anti-British sentiment had been growing for decades in reaction to the increasing British interference in the local socio-economic system and its indifference to local religious and cultural sensitivities. The Doctrine of Lapse, part of the British policy of expansionism, was also greatly resented. If a feudal ruler did not leave a male heir through natural process, i.e. his own child, not an adopted one, the land became the property of the British East India Company. Within eight years, Lord Dalhousie, the then governor-general of India, annexed many kingdoms including Jhansi and Oudh.

Nobility, feudal landholders, and royal armies found themselves unemployed and humiliated. Even the jewels of the royal family of Nagpur were publicly auctioned in Calcutta, a move that was seen as a sign of abject disrespect by the remnants of the Indian aristocracy. In addition, the Bengal army of the East India Company drew many recruits from Oudh, they could not remain unaffected by the discontent back home.

Indians were unhappy with the Draconian rule of the British which had embarked on a project of rather rapid expansion and westernization, that were imposed without any regard for historical subtleties in Indian society. Changes introduced by the British, such as outlawing *sati* (the ritual burning of widows) and child marriage, were accompanied with prohibitions on Indian religious customs, seen as steps towards a forced conversion to Christianity.

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The justice system was considered inherently unfair to the Indians. In 1853, the British Prime Minister Lord Aberdeen opened the Indian Civil Service to native Indians; however, this was viewed by some of educated Indians as an insufficient reform. The official Blue Books — entitled *East India (Torture) 1855–1857* — revealed that the Company officers were allowed an extended series of appeals if convicted or accused of brutality or crimes against Indians. The Company also practised financial extortion through heavy taxation. Failure to pay these taxes almost invariably resulted in appropriation of property.

Another important reason for the rebellion was the attitude towards the Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar. Lord Dalhousie, the governor-general of India at the time, had insulted the emperor by asking him and his successors to leave the Red Fort, the palace in Delhi. Later, Lord Canning, the next governor-general of India, announced in 1856 that Bahadur Shah's successors would not even be allowed to use the title of the king. Such discourtesies were resented by many of the people and the Indian rulers.

By 1848, however, the Company's financial difficulties had reached a point where expanding revenue required expanding British territories in South Asia massively. The Company began to set aside adoption rights of native princes and began the process of annexation of more than a dozen independent *rajas* between 1848 and 1854.

There was also fierce resentment over the discriminatory procedures and preferences for recruitment into the British army. The sepoy were a combination of Hindu and Muslim soldiers. Just before the Rebellion there were over 200,000 Indians in the army compared to about 40,000 British. There were also grievances over the issue of promotions, based on seniority. This as well as the increasing number of European officers in the battalions made promotion process for Indian officers very slow.

The sepoy had their own list of grievances against the Company Raj, mainly caused by the ethnic gulf between the British officers and their Indian troops. The British had issued new gunpowder cartridges that were widely believed to be greased with cow or pig fat, which insulted both Hindus and Muslims. Other than Indian units of the British East India Company's army, much of the resistance came from the old aristocracy, who were seeing their power steadily eroded under the British.

There was also a rumour that the British were contaminating the sepoy's flour with ground-up pig and cow bones (despite the fact that it was produced by native contractors). Another rumour that spread was an old prophecy that the Company's rule would end after a hundred years. Their rule in India had begun with the Battle

of Plassey in 1757. Chapatis and Lotus flowers began to circulate around large parts of India, quoting the famous line "Sub jat ho ya hai" (everything has become red), passed around by people from town to town and village to village, as a symbol of the prophecy and a sign of the coming revolt.

The final spark was provided by the reaction of the Company officers to the controversy over the ammunition for new Enfield rifle. To load the new rifle, the sepoy had to bite the cartridge open. It was believed that the paper cartridges that were standard issue with the rifle were greased with lard (pork fat) which was regarded as unclean by Muslims, or tallow (beef fat), regarded as anathema to Hindus. The soldiers refused to use these cartridges.

After an uprising in Meerut, soldiers in the British army in Bengal launched a full-scale mutiny against the British. This mutiny spread swiftly across the subcontinent. The British quickly realized their mistake and tried to assure the sepoy that they would not have to use cartridges greased with beef or pork fat. But the sepoy distrusted their British officers. Rumours quickly spread from one regiment to another that the British were insulting the Hindu and Muslim religions by issuing the new greased cartridges.

In April 1857 at a military post near Delhi, 85 sepoy cavalrymen refused to use the new cartridges when ordered to do so. The British court-martialled and sentenced them to prison. After the sentencing, the British humiliated them by stripping off their uniforms and shackling their ankles in front of 4,000 sepoy troops. Shocked by what they had seen, the troops mutinied. They quickly overwhelmed the British and released the sepoy prisoners.

As the sepoy entered Delhi, the people of the city joined them in seeking out the old Muslim king. Both Hindus and Muslims respected him as a symbol of the traditional way of life. At first reluctant, Bahadur Shah II, "King of Delhi," finally agreed to take up the sepoy cause. He called for all Hindus and Muslims to unite. "May all the enemies of the Faith be killed today," he said, "and the [foreigners] be destroyed root and branch!" Shocked by the capture of Delhi by sepoy mutineers, the British began to disarm the East India Company Sepoy regiments. When the sepoy mutiny first erupted, the British had only 23,000 regular British army troops in India to restore order.

Eventually, the British had to bring in troops from all over their empire to fight the rebels. Civilian rebels soon outnumbered the sepoy. The mutiny grew into a general uprising against the British across northern and central India. sepoy regiments, together with farmers, villagers, government workers, dispossessed estate owners, and bands of robbers looted and burned British homes, churches, missions, and East India Company property. They also hunted down

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and killed any British people they found. Initially, the Indian soldiers were able to push back the British forces.

The British army was driven out of Delhi and the Indian soldiers took control of the city. Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal King, was compelled to lead the freedom fighters. In Bahadur Shah Zafar, the rebels found a symbol of freedom, but a mere symbol was all he was. Wanting to spend his days writing poetry, the man was in no way even a remnant of the glory of his forefathers. He proclaimed himself the emperor of the whole of India. The civilians, citizens and other dignitaries took oath of allegiance to the emperor. The emperor issued his own coin and appointed his sons to key posts.

The initial success of the freedom fighters gave a boost to the War of Independence. The Indian army captured the important towns of Haryana, Bihar and Mahdya Pardesh. However, the British forces at Meerut and Ambala put up a resolute resistance to the royal army and held them back for several months. The British proved to be a formidable foe with their superior weapons and better strategy. The freedom fighters badly lacked in adequate resources and their planning proved to be extremely brittle. The royal forces were finally defeated.

British army units began their own war of vengeance. On their way to recapture Delhi, British soldiers randomly tortured, shot, and hanged hundreds of Indian people. The British executed many sepoy mutineers they captured by lashing the victim to the muzzle of a cannon and blasting him to pieces. The British army entered Delhi and the Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar went into hiding. The British quickly regained control of Delhi, and took revenge in the most gruesome manner by killing innocent people indiscriminately. A large-scale massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi was carried out to avenge the killings of the British soldiers.

The Mughal emperor was captured from his sanctuary, the tomb of Emperor Humayun on September 20, 1857. The emperor's sons were slaughtered in cold blood. Their bodies were beheaded and their heads were presented to the aging emperor in prison. Bahadur Shah was imprisoned in Rangoon, Myanmar, where he breathed his last in 1862.³⁷

Muslims in the Aftermath

The failure of the War of Independence had disastrous consequences for the Muslims as the British placed all responsibility for this event on them. They attributed the 1857 uprising to the Muslims alone who were considered the "main culprits" and thus bore the brunt of British wrath. Determined to prevent recurrence of any uprising, the British deliberately followed a repressive policy

³⁷ www.storyofpakistan.com (Website)

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against the Muslims subjecting them to indiscriminate seizures, confiscations and executions.

After 1857, the British administrators deliberately followed a discriminatory policy against the Muslims, even in filling minor jobs. They were kept out of all responsible government posts. Advertisements inviting applications for government jobs specifically mentioned that Muslims would not be eligible. Conscious efforts were made to close all avenues of honest living for the Muslims. The attitude of the British rulers towards the Muslims was that of antipathy.

According to William W. Hunter, a prominent historian who served in the Indian Civil Service during those years, "The Muslims of India are, and have been for many years, a source of chronic danger to the British power in India." No wonder, practically every measure taken by the British, from the Battle of Plassey in 1757 till the end of the nineteenth century, affected Muslims for the worse. Without free access to government employment, the Indian Muslims had neither social status nor honourable means of subsistence.²¹

The newly-introduced English system of education had many drawbacks for the Muslims, mainly because it made no provisions for religious education. As a result, they stayed away from it. Thus, within a few years of loss of political power, the Muslims lost all avenues of employment, were dispossessed of their estates and deprived of the benefits of education. A highly-cultured community turned into a backward and poor people. In their place British-educated Hindus began to occupy positions in governments offices formerly held by the Muslims.

Again, W. W. Hunter admits, that the exclusion of the Muslims was so complete that in the government offices of Calcutta they could not expect a post higher than that of a porter, messenger, filler of inkpots and mender of pens. If this situation had prolonged, it would have done the Muslims an irreparable damage. The British replaced *shariah* by what they termed as the Anglo-Mohammedan Law. English became the official language. These developments had a deep socio-economic and political impact on the people of India, particularly the Muslim community which became more retrogressive in its outlook and shunned western way of life.

Hindu majority adjusted itself with the new socio-economic dynamics and started acquiring the benefits of their numerical majority. By a series of revenue and financial measures, the British smashed the political and social position of the Muslims. In the province of Bombay, the government appointed "Inam Commission"

²¹ *The Emergence of Pakistan*, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali; Columbia University Press, New York (1967).

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to inquire into the land grants of the Muslim rulers. The Commission took away 30,000 estates from the Muslims and thus ruined many families and institutions of the community. Muslim society in the decades following the events of 1857 presented a picture of desolation and decay. The Muslim response to this situation also aggravated their plight. They refused to learn English and to associate with the British.

The Muslims kept themselves aloof from western education as well as government service. But, their compatriots, the Hindus, did not do so and accepted the new rulers without reservation. They acquired western education, imbibed the new culture and captured positions hitherto filled in by the Muslims. This was a severe drawback for the Muslims. Hindus, on the other hand, were forging ahead in all fields. They formed a new middle class which assumed a leadership role in the new India that was taking shape under British rule. In 1878, for example, "there were 3155 Hindus as against 57 Muslims holding graduate and post-graduate degrees."⁶ Out of 600 graduates from the universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, only 19 were Muslims.

As the ideological divide between the Muslims and the Hindus of India was deepening, strong feelings of nationalism in India, communal conflicts and movements based on religious affinities rather than class or regions caught strength. Some people felt that the very nature of Islam called for a communal Muslim society. Added to this were the memories of power over the Indian subcontinent that the Muslims held on to, especially those in the old centres of Mughal rule. These memories might have made it exceptionally difficult for Muslims to accept the imposition of colonial power and culture.

VIII. IMPACT OF ISLAM IN INDIA

It was in the early thirteenth century that the foundations of the Muslim rule over India were laid with extended boundaries and Delhi as the capital. The economic, political and religious institutions developed by the Muslims bore their unique impression. The law of the State was based on *shariah* and in principle the rulers were bound to enforce it. Any long period of laxity was generally followed by reinforcement of these laws under public pressure. It reflected a Persianised Islam represented by the Turks which dominated the political and social scene in India for centuries. Turko-Persian administrative institutions were introduced which also became the basis of the Delhi Sultanate and later to some degree of the Mughal empire.

⁶ *Indian Muslims: A Political History*, Ram Gopal, Bombay (1959).

Chapter Two

The Development of Indian Muslim Nationalism (1877-1919)

I. Introduction: Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was an important figure for the early development of Indian Muslim Nationalism and the westernization of Muslims. He was an elitist however, and has been described as "an aristocrat deeply hued in the traditions of medieval feudalism; that on political issues his outlook was medieval".⁵⁰ Supposedly, he did not believe in the fundamentality of wealth and power, believing instead that those who are in control and maintain the power (e.g. administrators and soldiers) were more important than the businessman.⁵¹ His efforts to win over British favor and to westernize Indian Muslims were geared strictly towards Muslim elites. It is also important to note that not all Indian Muslim elites responded to Sir Syed's efforts, that many supported the growth of nationalist identities.⁵² Sir Syed, while considered by some scholars as the father of the idea of Pakistan, was not a nationalist and did not believe in an independent India. He believed Muslims needed reform to advance under British rule, and to do this he created a threefold program for Muslims: "social reform within Islam, acceptance of western education, and friendship with the British".⁵³

Sir Syed deserves to be discussed in detail because he played a significant role in early Muslim political activities, and he brought a renaissance, so to speak, to the Muslim population, educating them and setting up the Aligarh College for that purpose.⁵⁴ Another reason he is important is that scholars

⁵⁰ Choudhary, 53.

⁵¹ Ibid., 53-54.

⁵² Ibid., 54.

⁵³ Sir Frederick Puckle, *The Pakistan Doctrine: Its Origins and Power*, (Muslim India Information Centre, January 15, 1947); MSS Eur F158/615: 1942-1947.

⁵⁴ Khairi, 77.

disagree on his value, and how much he actually did for the Muslim community. Some believe that he deserves a lot of credit for the work he did, and interpret his motives as unifying India, while others look to his opposition to demands made by the INC for more representation in India and wider recruitment to government service of Indians (through open competition), fearing Hindu domination over Muslims.⁵⁵ There are good arguments for both cases, one saying that he was an elitist and believed in loyalty to the British but not dividing India, the other saying that he feared Hindu rule, knowing that Muslims were not ready for open competition. I believe it comes down to the fact that he was clearly very loyal to the British, and that he opposed the INC based on politics because he did not support nationalism. I believe he was more likely a blend of those two arguments, rather than clearly one or the other.

As noted in the previous chapter, Sir Syed wrote *The Causes of the Indian Revolt* in response to the British blaming Indian Muslims for the Indian Uprising in an attempt to promote Muslim loyalty to the British, and to explain in mild terms why Indians were upset with British rule, and what the British did not necessarily understand about India. Accordingly, in order to westernize Indian Muslims, some of Muslim elites began to reproduce the achievements in science and technology in the Western world in Urdu (the most prominent "Muslim" language in India), under the Delhi "Urdu Revival", a revivalist phase at the end of the nineteenth century that sought to bring western scientific/technological achievements to the Muslim community.⁵⁶ For example, the Muhammadan Literary Society, founded in 1863, was another early attempt to start westernizing Muslims.⁵⁷ The most successful of these attempts was the Aligarh Movement, largely organized by Sir Syed. The Movement was able to spread throughout the Muslim middle classes, bringing Muslims more up-to-date like Hindus. However, the movement itself arguably slowed the progress of Indian nationalism, as this Movement claimed to be

⁵⁵ Aziz, 29.

⁵⁶ Choudhary, 52.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 52.

loyal to the British. Sir Syed had made no secret of the fact that he was suspicious, if not hostile, towards the Indian National Congress, viewing it as a party of nationalists.⁵⁸ Importantly, Sir Syed noted that this was merely a political matter, not one based on religion, and his disapproval of the Congress "did not affect his social contacts with Hindus".⁵⁹ This sentiment is significant to this thesis' argument that the creation of Pakistan was a political move, not one based on religion. I would argue that this sentiment demonstrates that these early divisions between Muslims and the INC were based on different political goals, rather than theological differences as Sir Syed explained that his issues with the INC stem from them taking a more nationalist tone, where he supported working with the British Raj.

II. The Aligarh Movement

The important thing to note about the Aligarh Movement are its motivations, intentions, and goals. Originally, it was founded in large part by Sir Syed. The motivation behind creating this, and several other Muslim organizations that appeared at this time, was to respond to an increasingly apparent need that Muslims needed to westernize in order to progress under British rule. However, one scholar has disagreed with the idea that the Aligarh Movement was created for the Muslims, in the way that Sir Syed had been defending Muslim interest for years. He argues that it was based on the interests of the aristocracy rather than the Muslims, pointing to Sir Syed's attempts to rally Hindu elites to join his attack on the INC, which we do see as the Movement developed.⁶⁰ This argument too demonstrates the controversy over this character, and in this case, supports my earlier suggestion that Sir Syed's issue with the INC to be political rather than religious.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 53.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 53.

⁶⁰ John R McLane, *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), 108.

By this time, when Sir Syed and other elite Muslims set about creating the Aligarh Movement, the myth of Muslim loyalty had taken a hold of some British citizens, and their sympathies provided Sir Syed with funding for the Aligarh College.⁶¹ The Aligarh College was an institution established to fulfil the goals of the Aligarh Movement, to westernize Muslims and impart on them a western education. Some of the Muslim League founders were educated under this system, including Mohammed Iqbal (who will be discussed further in chapter four). In Sir Syed's view, the movement's goal was to permeate through Indian Muslims,

All good things, spiritual and worldly, which should be found in man, have been bestowed by the Almighty in Europe, and especially on England... The natives of India, high and low, merchants and petty shopkeepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the English in education, manners, uprightness, are as like them as a dirty animal is to an able and handsome man.⁶²

In this quote that Sir Syed wrote to the Scientific Society at Aligarh on a journey to Europe, his elitism is demonstrated through his love for the British and the western world. One can also understand why he felt so strongly that it was important for Muslims to embrace British rule. He believed, in part, the "liberal" British view of empire, and the importance of being like the British to reclaim some control for Muslims in India, under British rule.

While these may have been the intentions and motivations for the creation of the Aligarh Movement, it quickly grew into a political movement, opposing the Indian National Congress. This is not surprising seeing as Sir Syed had made it clear that he did not support the rise of Indian Nationalism. The INC, he felt, "was not loyal enough to the temporal powers for his liking", since he believed (as mentioned in the last chapter) that being opposed to British rule was why Muslims had suffered following the Uprising, which is also why he felt Muslims had to prove through their words and actions

⁶¹ Aziz, 29.

⁶² Raja Rao & Iqbal Singh, ed., *Changing India, An Anthology of Writings* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1939): 50-52.

that they were completely loyal to the British.⁶³ Thus demonstrating this was, again, a political divide because, politically, Sir Syed thought it was better to be on the side of the British, rather than creating a separate nationalism, because being with the British could protect their interests.

The Aligarh Movement was an elitist group. Notably, some Hindu landholders were on the side of the Aligarh Muslims, demonstrating that these communities could put theological differences aside in the political realm. For example, in 1888, they (Aligarh Muslims and some elite Hindus) argued that the "Congress's brand of democracy was unsuited to India's aristocratic and caste-based social structure".⁶⁴ Sir Syed in particular argued that "the Congress demand for elections to the legislative councils should be opposed because men might be elected who were of such inferior social stature that mixing with the British and Indian nobility on the councils would be awkward".⁶⁵ This was the early stage of politics for the Aligarh Muslims, after all "for all its opposition to 'political agitation,' [it was] a political as well as a cultural movement".⁶⁶ Eventually, this would feed into the creation of the Muslim League.

III. The Creation of the All-India Muslim League

At the time of the creation of the All-India Muslim League in 1906, a united India was already something Indians and some British viewed with skepticism. Ramsay MacDonald, a British Labour Party member who would become Prime Minister in the 1920s, noted that the "hope of a united India, an India conscious of a unity of purpose and destiny, seem[ed] to be the vainest of vain dreams".⁶⁷ The Indian National Congress did not seem to do much in the way to challenge these sentiments. Nor did

⁶³ Choudhary, 53.

⁶⁴ McLane, 107.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 107-108.

⁶⁶ Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982): 8.

⁶⁷ J.R. MacDonald, *The Awakening of India* (1910): 105, 180-4, in K.K. Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India: A Study of British Public Opinion vis-à-vis the Development of Muslim Nationalism in India, 1857-1947* (London: Heinemann, 1963): 62.

the Muslims as they were still promoting their loyalty to the British, assisting them in suppressing anti-partition (of Bengal) propaganda.⁶⁸ It should be noted, that the partitioning of Bengal that happened at this time was an attempt by the British to thwart the INC's efforts for Indian independence, and was considered a "divide and conquer" tactic.⁶⁹ So with the INC becoming increasingly, in the eyes of Muslims, in demanding an independent state and self-government in a militant manner, Muslims continued to feel that the INC did not represent all Indians.⁷⁰ Supposedly there were certain Muslim and Congress leaders who were hoping to change this, hoping to breach the widening gap between the two groups, to help the INC realize how important it was for them to gain the confidence of Muslims.⁷¹ However, their wants and aspirations in the political realm were not those that these Muslims wanted.⁷²

For Muslims, in the early years of the twentieth century leading up to 1906, it became very clear that the Congress would not represent the Indian Muslims interests, or at the very least not deal with them in a manner suitable to Aligarh Muslims.⁷³ As will be discussed in the next section, from the time of the creation of the INC, there had been several instances of beliefs that had been unattractive to Muslims, with the rise of some extreme and militant nationalists by 1906 finally bringing Muslims to the conclusion that they needed a separate organization to represent their interests.

In response, Muslim leaders came to an agreement that they needed to create an organization that would be recognized by the British politically as a "nation within a nation".⁷⁴ By the end of 1906, Muslim leaders met in Dacca and passed a resolution creating the All India Muslim League. For the most part, its establishment went unnoticed in Britain. The Times picked up the development and

⁶⁸ Aziz, 54.

⁶⁹ Rahman, 7.

⁷⁰ Aziz, 55.

⁷¹ Ibid., 62.

⁷² Rahman, 7.

⁷³ Aziz, 62.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 62.

expressed that this was "an inevitable outcome of the Congress movement and an exposure of the hollowness of the pretensions of Congress to speak for India".⁷⁵ At the same time, another issue was being discussed with Muslims in parallel with their decision to form their own organization. This issue would come up again and again throughout the first half of the twentieth century, playing a central role in the growing gap between Hindus and Muslims.

This issue was that of a separate electorate for Muslims. In 1892, representation and elections had been established in the Councils Act.⁷⁶ Now there had to be an extension of these provisions established in the Councils Act to incorporate the Muslim League. At what became known as the Simla Deputation, Muslims made two points of policy in accordance with this Act. For one, they demanded that in all elections at all levels, that Muslims had to be separately represented and elected by Muslim voters.⁷⁷ Secondly, they demanded that their representation not only correlate numerically with the Muslim population but also their importance in Indian politics and their contribution to defend the empire.⁷⁸ These demands were accepted by the Viceroy at the time (Minto), arguably out of the belief in Muslim loyalty that would keep the British in power in India.⁷⁹ Between the British partitioning Bengal into Muslim and Hindu majority regions, and then providing Muslims with reforms meeting their demands officially in 1909, they further divided Muslims and Hindus, deepening the communal problem and triggering a breakout of Muslim-Hindu riots.⁸⁰

IV. The Indian National Congress

⁷⁵ Ibid., 63.

⁷⁶ Rahman, 12.

⁷⁷ Azz, 65.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 65.

⁷⁹ Rahman, 25-26.

⁸⁰ Minault, 10.

The Indian National Congress was originally organized not as a Hindu party, but rather as an organization to help bring Indians into the government. Until about 1905, the INC had tried to keep Hindu culture out of the organization, for fear of alarming Muslims.⁸¹ However, due to the difference in educational levels of Muslims and Hindus, Hindus had made up the majority of the INC since its creation. While, much like the Aligarh Muslims, the INC had been more of an elitist organization, due to those who could afford education, it became increasingly apparent that the indifference, or lack of political emotions (a lack of unity behind a political platform), was becoming an issue as nationalists increasingly sought to advocate for an independent India. If the INC wanted to influence what India would look like as an independent nation, they had to appeal to the people and create a sense of patriotism. In effect, this ended up leading to the "Hinduization" of the INC, as they attempted to create more of an emotional connection to the nationalist cause.⁸²

The INC nearly failed during its first two decades of existence due to its internal divisions, its lack of Muslim support, and its lack of action regarding the aspirations of nationalists.⁸³ Its elitism gave it a narrow group of support, and attempts made to expand its support among Indians, by Allan Hume (a British official and one of the founders of the Indian National Congress) and some INC members were criticized by other INC leaders.⁸⁴ And while attempts were made to draw in Muslim support, Hindu leaders of the INC resisted them or at the very least would not give any assurance to Muslims in regards to their fear as a minority in a representative system. INC demands for competitive examinations for positions in the civil service and school were something to be feared, as Muslim leaders felt that would favor Hindus since Muslim leaders were still trying to westernize Indian Muslims.⁸⁵ Another issue was

⁸¹ McLane, 5.

⁸² Ibid., 5-6.

⁸³ Ibid., 93.

⁸⁴ Rahman, 5.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 5.

the INC refused to discuss with Muslims about Muslim concerns regarding the cow protection movement, where Hindus were demanding that slaughtering cows should be made a crime in India which would hurt Muslim butchers since Islam does not prohibit eating cows.⁸⁶ In 1889, again, the INC failed to calm Muslim sceptics by not partaking in Muslim and British discussions on how to best have Muslims represented in government.⁸⁷ These failures were part of what had kept Muslims skeptical of the INC, giving them grounds for wanting to create a Muslim organization.

In the period between 1889 and 1906, the Congress did not make an effort to obtain Aligarh Muslim support. This was not surprising considering the Aligarh Muslims opposed the Congress, and the Congress believed that the Aligarh Muslims were only representative of elite, autocratic Muslims, and therefore not the opinion of the "politically conscious Muslim".⁸⁸ However, considering that the Aligarh Muslims were very well organized, and thought to be a "secular Westernized Aligarh intelligentsia", the INC isolating them in this manner, rather than trying to negotiate with them, contributed to this sentiment that they could not trust the INC and therefore had to create their own political party.⁸⁹ Another concern was that few INC leaders "were in touch with the areas of Indian life which gave rise to Muslim fears of Hindu communalism".⁹⁰ These INC leaders believed instead that "by building elaborate safeguards into India's constitution in order to alleviate Muslim minority fears, they would institutionalize religious differences. They looked to elective procedures, 'without distinction of race, creed, caste, or colour,' as a means of overcoming bias, of training people to think of themselves

⁸⁶ McLane, 111.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 111.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 112-113.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 113.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 112.

as part of a single political community".⁹¹ Muslims feared that this belief by INC leaders would only aggravate the communal problem should their actions reflect this belief.

V. Conclusion: The Revival of the Communal Problem

With the growing divisions between Muslims and Hindus, the communal problem made its entrance into Indian nationalist politics. As pointed out in the last chapter, this was an old problem, and therefore could not be attributed solely to British rule in India. All parties, including British, Muslims, and Hindus, contributed to its rise in the political sphere. Muslims, by resisting westernization, put themselves behind Hindus politically under British rule. Consequently, Muslims lacked the representation they wanted and felt they needed to protect Muslim interests. Hindus did not do much to alleviate the Muslim concerns of the INC being a Hindu organization, prioritizing Hindu interests. Any attempts made to bring Muslims into the INC were made without active cooperation from INC Hindus, causing these attempts to fail. The British also used this to their advantage, in a game of divide and conquer. The myth of Muslim loyalty also contributed to this problem. In short, there were many factors that brought the revival of the communal problem, and no one party is responsible for the scale that it escalated to.

It was inevitable that the communal problem played a significant role in Indian politics. The question if this issue had been avoidable seems to be unnecessary to ask. This had been a problem in India for centuries, and happened to be dormant, maybe, when the British came to India. But starting with the British attempts to anglicize Indians, it was predictable that it would again become a problem for Indian politics. As Muslims fell behind politically under British rule, Hindus started filling those gaps, bringing them British favor. With the spread of the myth of Muslim loyalty, the roles did not really change, but the British came to believe that to maintain control in India they needed Muslims, they

⁹¹ Ibid., 113.

needed their loyalty. Arguably, this was the British using divide and conquer tactics, which is what British liberals felt. However, even when the British liberals were in power, they still worked with Muslims, granting them their demands for "fairer" Muslim representation in 1909.

Hindu and Muslim riots in the early 1900s, following the partition of Bengal (a clear example of the British using divide and conquer to rule India), demonstrated the significance of the communal problem. This problem would come to a head following the Nehru Report, a report outlining a potential form of independence for India, in 1928, and the Round Table Conferences, conferences set up by the British Government to discuss constitutional reform, in the early 1930s. As we will see, at these conferences the communal problem, or lack of its discussion, was part of the reason that Mahatma Gandhi (an Indian political and spiritual leader for the Indian independence movement) refused to attend the first conference. This problem was a crucial issue in the division of India, of what an independent democratic India would look like, of why it would be so difficult for the unity of an independent India.

As some Indian political leaders believed, the separation of the India into a Muslim and Hindu state was inevitable considering the history of the communal problem and in parallel the divisions the British used to their advantage. And while the communal problem was heavily connected with religion, it was a political problem. The obvious differences between the religious ideologies, helping to define the divisions, covered the politics that really divided the two groups: who had the political power to protect their interest. It was the fear both groups had of being ruled by the other, and that should this happen it would prevent the other group from being able to adequately represent their values. And while cooperation seems like a simple solution to this fear of their values being disregarded under the rule of the other, a series of events such as the cow protection movement, the disagreement of nationalism

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Review of History and Political Science
June 2014, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 131-148
ISSN: 2333-5718 (Print), 2333-5726 (Online)
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Published by American Research Institute for Policy Development

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the Identity Formation of Indian Muslims through Education

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Abstract

The study places Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan as the central figure in the emancipation of South Asian Muslims of India after they were annihilated as a nation, politically, economically and morally by their defeat at the hands of the British colonists. Sayyid saw their plight and managed to bring the two communities together by removing their misunderstandings about each other. By his pragmatic vision and untiring zeal he convinced the Muslims to come out of their isolation and gain modern western education without compromising their religious and cultural identity. The study offers insights into situations where teaching of foreign languages and culture raise concerns about national identity and subject construction of learners. It points directions for curriculum designers and for critical linguists.

Keywords: British colonists, Muslim identity, War of Independence, western education, policy of reconciliation

1. Introduction

This study reviews the achievements of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98), the central revolutionary figure in the emancipation of the Muslims of India. After the foiled bid to gain independence from the British colonists in 1857, the Muslims had fallen on bad times.

Because of the vengeful policies of the British, and their own religious susceptibilities, they had become isolated politically and economically, from the mainstream affairs of the state.

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Educationally and morally they were backward and conservative. Sir Sayyid foresaw that if this continued they would be annihilated as a nation, forever. Because of his relentless efforts and his vision to keep a balance between modern education and the ethnic identity of the Muslims, the community rose to be highly literate and could later on compete with the British and Hindus on many fronts. The study is relevant in all those situations where English teaching has caused concerns about the subject construction and identity of non-native learners. It also points directions for language policy makers and critical linguists.

2. Background

A reformer and visionary, Sir Sayyid, can be regarded as the pivotal figure for regenerating the Indian Muslims at a time when they were economically, morally and educationally at their lowest. Nazrul Islam says: "Sayyid Ahmed Khan, was one of the leading spirits of (this) Muslim revival" (1990). In order to truly appreciate his achievement one has to see Sir Sayyid against the background of the time in which he worked and lived. Following the British control of India, the Muslims had been vanquished by the combined might of the British and Hindus. They wallowed in poverty, cultural stagnation, illiteracy and self-pity till the time that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who had observed with anguish the Muslim's plight, appeared as a savior on the scene. He resolved to help the Muslims out of this quagmire. For this, he had to face many challenges - the combined hostility of the British and Hindus, the criticism of his political and religious detractors, and most of all the extreme backwardness of the Muslims. Anyone with an average level of commitment would have backed off in the face of such formidable odds, but though Sir Sayyid shared the Muslims' sense of deprivation and injustice, he did not agree with their pessimism, despondency or fatalism. He resolved to face the challenge of emancipating his community from their educational backwardness, moral decadence and defeatism.

The British East India Company had been operating in India for almost a century before the British government officially took control of the Indian subcontinent by taking over power from the last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar. The decline of the Mughal Empire had given a chance to the company to increase their strength in 1764, and by 1818 they were firmly in command of India (Ali 1993).

After the War of Independence of 1857, which the British termed a revolt, and the bloody reprisals which came in its wake, the condition of the Muslims had undergone a drastic change. From the position of rulers they had been reduced to the position of paupers (Hunter 1876). Their fiefs had been confiscated and they were deprived of their position as leaders and landowners. The British were openly hostile and suspicious of the Muslims and deliberately kept them out of government jobs. Although the Hindus had fought alongside the Muslims to cast off the colonial yoke, the British regarded Muslims as their sole enemy since they had wrested power from the Muslims.

The Muslims had been in power in India for almost two centuries and had evolved a system of education which worked essentially on a system of self help and addressed the needs of the people. Every influential person used to hire teachers from his own pocket for the education of his children and the poor children of his community. Adam says: "It was rare thing to find an opulent or head of a village who had not a teacher in his employment for that purpose. That class, however is alleged to have dwindled away and scarcely any such schools are now found to exist" (in Thorpe 1965). The British after gaining control of India from the Mughal Empire had abolished this system, which was suited to the genius of the people, saying in the words of the President of the Board of Control, of the East India Company, "we have a great moral duty to perform in India" (Spear, in Ali 1994). Gradually Western style education was implemented and English was made a prerequisite for certain kinds of jobs. After the replacement of the official language Persian with English as the official language, in 1837 by Lord Bentinck, the Muslims had become virtually unfit for any government jobs.

Rahman (1996) says that "Along with Persian, the cultural ascendancy of Muslims too melted away". Persian was not only the elite language; it was also a symbol of Muslim identity. Stripped of its elite status, power and cultural ascendancy, it dwindled into oblivion. Its economic utility as a language of employability was finished in a single 'crowning stroke' (Shah 1990). As McCully remarks: "When economic trend and official policy join together they are formidable indeed" (in Thorpe 1965). These measures added to the economic and cultural downfall of the Muslims, which had deteriorated steadily after the War of Independence, so that this indigenous system of education went into oblivion.

As a reaction against the ruthless policies of the conquerors, the Muslims withdrew into a self induced isolation, refusing any contact with the British. The educational reforms introduced by the British were regarded with suspicion as attempts to anglicize them. As the traditional system of education was abolished by the British under the plan to reform Indian education, they gradually fell into a state of ignorance and cultural backwardness. It seemed that this once highly literate community would be lost in ignorance, despondency and pessimism. Sir Sayyid shared their sense of deprivation and injustice, but not their pessimism, despondency or fatalism, and linked the Muslim malaise to their educational inferiority. He was convinced that education was the only panacea for the problems of Muslims. Sir Sayyid felt the plight of the Muslims and resolved to convince the Muslims that their survival lay in embracing the education offered by the British. This was an arduous task as distrust ran deep on both sides. The scars of the brutalities unleashed by both sides on each other were hard to forget. The British held the Muslims as the sole proprietors of the 1847 Mutiny and the Muslims regarded themselves as victims of British oppression, and saw the activities of the British missionaries as a ploy to convert the Muslims into Christianity. Far sighted as he was, Sir Sayyid realized that the Mughal era was gone for good, and to survive in the new age the Muslims had to shake off their despondency and avail themselves of the new scientific education offered by the British. These educational reforms were implemented after Britain gained political stability. Kazi (1994) opines that under the guise of philanthropic motives they were basically for the control of the natives. The influence of these measures is still a major influence in education policies in the area now comprising Pakistan and India, ex-colonies of the British.

3. Education for Control

After establishing its political control over India, the next logical step for Britain was to create a situation in which the vanquished people should willingly accept their inferior position, whereby making the job of administration easier for the colonial power. Education is the foremost instrument to control a colonized people. It was the creation of a situation which the Marxist critic, Antonio Gramsci (1971) has called "submission by consent", in which the subjugated people concur in their own subjectivity by accepting their inferiority before the imperial power. Domination achieved by combining acceptance and coercion is more effective and lasting because the dominated is willing to cooperate with the colonizer in furthering the state of affairs.

This "hegemony", to use the term as Gramsci used it in the 1930s, is best achieved by interpellation of the native by using such ideological state apparatuses as education, church and the media (Althusser 1992). Education particularly, is very effective in influencing assumptions, beliefs and values. Thus, "domination by consent" is achieved through what is taught to the colonized, how it is taught and the subsequent emplacement of the educated subject as a part of the continuing imperial apparatus (Ashcroft 1995). The British had been involved in education before the East India Company became formally established as a political power in 1765. Thorpe says that missionaries were working, "indirectly through the missionary clause of the Charter Act of 1698 whereby it was necessary for the company to transport missionaries to India for proselytizing purposes" (Thorpe 1965). The *Calcutta Madrasah* for Muslims was established in 1781 by Warren Hastings and a similar one for Hindus, the Benares Sanskrit College in 1791 with a view to provide classical and practical education to the diverse Indian society.

However because of the pressure from missionaries and the negative results of the Industrial Revolution in England, the British now included English literature in the curriculum, as it combined both the benevolent aspects of Christianity and of liberal education (Viswasnathan 1995), and would be effective for maintaining control of the Indian subjects. So although the British outwardly professed not to carry out any proselytizing activities, yet the natives saw in English teaching an ulterior motive of the colonists to convert them to Christianity. However the British felt confident that the Indians could be expected to have intellectual curiosity towards an education that had led the British to progress and would readily accept British education to "freely learn". Shah believes that the locals were intellectually and politically, if not superior, at least at par with the British colonialists (Shah 1990). Similarly Graham claims that the Indians' "intellectual sinews were fortified by the social bond of caste, seemed to withstand the philosophy, if not the technology of the Industrial Revolution" (Graham 1970). Macaulay's famous minutes of 1835, established the teaching of western education through the medium of English. He emphasized the superiority of English literature, as being "Superior to all the literatures of Europe" and asserted that this education would produce "a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in intellect". But cautions Thorpe, this was not the only factor in deciding the fate of English in India. The economic factor too was important here, since the British had made English a prerequisite for government employment.

Gradually the locals came to see the economic benefits of acquiring English language and education. To create a westernized elite, the "Chief's Colleges" (Rahman 1999) were established, where sons of local chieftains were educated to create a sympathetic pro Raj elite. The Hindus readily accepted the education of British just as they had imbibed the Muslims education centuries ago. The Muslims after initial reluctance ultimately did accept it under the guidance of Sir Sayyid.

4. Results of the British Policies

British administrative policies were significant and far-reaching. The following were the results of the British Policies:

4.1 Alienation of Muslims

Although the Hindus, the other major community of India, had participated along with the Muslims in the bid for independence, their role was dismissed by the British as a temporary 'aberration'. The Hindus were quick to realize that their survival lay in cooperating with the British. They embraced the educational reforms introduced by the British and became close allies of the new rulers. "Persian or English it hardly mattered to them", and under the influence of Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) they availed all the opportunities offered by the British (Muhammad 2002). The Muslims on the other hand, were held responsible for orchestrating the whole movement. The British had wrestled power directly from them and were suspicious that they still harbored political ambitions. Thus their wrath was directed mainly towards the Muslims. The revengeful measures taken by the British resulted in disempowering the whole community, economically, morally and politically. These measures as well as their own religious susceptibilities, led the Muslims to remain aloof from the conqueror's sphere. Thoroughly discouraged and humiliated, the whole community withdrew into isolation. The British education system and the activities of the missionaries were taken as a British ploy to convert them to Christianity.

4.2. In the second place, the substitution of Persian with English as the state language had been an economical calamity for the Muslims. Persian was not only a source of income for them, but also an identity marker, the court language, symbolic of their glorious past. Automatically they were thrown out of jobs in which Persian was the requirement. Persian had "ensured a continued livelihood for the Muslim and Hindu service gentry, certainly in Northern India" (Bose et al 1998).

The Hindus were quick in their response to switch from Persian to English "in order to find continued service in government", but "the vast majority of Muslims remained aloof from the new Western educational institutions. Smarting from the loss of sovereignty and state power, Muslims, especially in urban centers, resented the imposition of English" (ibid). The substitution of Persian with English as the state language had been a calamity for the Muslims' employability but also for their education. Qureshi (in Thorpe 1965) points out that this measure reduced the otherwise well-educated Muslims to the level of illiterates: "This served the double purpose of seeking to make the English language popular and striking at the root of Muslim influence" (Qureshi, in Thorpe 1990). This measure further deteriorated the already impoverished Muslims to more penury and economic destitution. It was also a blow to their self-concept of their identity as a nation.

4.3 Thirdly, both by its policies and by their implementation, the British educational plan disturbed the indigenous system of "self-help" prevalent in India for centuries, and which suited the genius of the people. The system of paying the schoolteacher from the revenue collected from villages, was abolished, and these funds were diverted to "selected government schools in urban areas for providing 'modern' education" (Baqir 1997). With the deterioration of the general economic condition of the Muslims after the war and neglect of the British government, the traditional system of education could not continue. These measures acted to further impoverish the Muslim community. Hunter (1964) argues this point well: "A hundred and seventy years ago it was impossible for a well-born Muslim in Bengal to become poor; at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich".

In the long run, the British policy resulted in marginalizing from the main stream national affairs and alienating them from the educational opportunities offered by the rulers. "growth of illiteracy which turned an educated community into one of the most illiterate in the world" (ibid). Baqir deplores the deliberate destruction of this traditional system, which led to the collapse of universal literacy: "The areas that constitute Pakistan had in place a very sound and firm tradition of providing education on the basis of self-help by beneficiary communities, a little more than a hundred years ago. This system provided universal education to males and females..." (Baqir 1997). He cites Leitner as forewarning that: "If the community-based system of education was demolished under the pretext of modernization of education, literacy would be wiped out from the Punjab" (Baqir 1997:181).

Baqir finds that this prediction came to be prophetically true. Later on, Quaid-a-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, was to level his greatest criticism of the British on these grounds, as "one of the greatest reproaches against the British is the neglect of elementary education in the country" (Jalil 1997:33).

4.4. Another result was the creation a class system which created polarity in Indian society. The British educational system, based on utilitarian objectives, focused the urban elite and middle-classes and ignored the masses. What was wanted was a class of people who could serve as intermediaries between the ruled and the rulers (Macaulay 1995). It was hoped that this cadre of westernized, educated elite would in turn educate the masses through the theory of 'downward infiltration', but this could not happen due to the paucity of funds. Of more significance is the fact that the British education policy favored elitist patterns that have persisted to this day. Jinnah had foreseen that such educational policies would produce patterns of inequality in society. Jalil states: "Jinnah criticized elite concepts and institutions like the public schools and appreciated the need for mass and non-elitist elementary education", which he saw as the basis for creating a "viable social infrastructure in the long run" (Jalil 1997). Even in pre-partition Pakistan this policy of differentiated education had divided the society into roughly two strata - the westernized, English educated elite and the uneducated, vernacular-taught masses. This measure was significant because language had now become a means of not only defining ethnic linguistic groups but also of conferring economic, social and political privilege.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan had told the British about the shortcomings of their education system and that it would remain ineffective until some changes were introduced. In his memorandum – '*Strictures upon the Present Educational System in India*', in 1869, he based this argument on his paradigm of progressive education. It envisaged a truly progressive system, productive of three educated strata. The top most strata comprised of the intellectual elite or the creative scholars. The teachers stood in the middle, and transmitted to their fellowmen the knowledge thus acquired by them. The third layer of the pyramid was divided into three subdivisions: the professionals, the administrators and managers and then the working classes, all of whom were to be literate.

When the accomplishments of the indigenous system of education are compared with the British educational system, Sir Sayyid maintained that the former had excelled as compared to the latter, in producing many creative scholars of the top and middle strata. This number bore a just proportion to the existing population of India.

However those belonging to the lowest strata were very few and this he admitted was a great deficiency of the traditional education system. As compared to this, nearly after a century in operation, the modern system had not produced one learned person who could be considered a member of the highest or the middle class. The modern system, Sir Sayyid maintained had produced only letter writer, copyist, signalmen and railroad ticket collectors (Malik 1988) or as Quddus says, "Clerks and subordinates necessary for carrying on the administration of the country in English under the British masters" (Quddus 1979). The number of the very few who had reached the highest strata bore no sensible proportion to the whole population of the country.

5. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan had not only to convince the Muslims that Lack of Education was the Main Cause of their Backwardness, but also to Address the Problems in these three Areas

- a. To remove the mistrust between the Muslims and British.
- b. To convince Muslims that their salvation lay in acquiring modern scientific education.
- c. To bring all sections of society to participate in the educational emancipation.

5.1 Policy of Reconciliation

With his farsighted vision, Sir Sayyid saw that if the standoff between the Muslims and British, continued, the Muslims would be further marginalized. Sir Sayyid's remorse was of a dialectic nature, simultaneously reflecting love for the Muslim nation and loyalty to the British. It is in this context that his policy of reconciliation with the British can be understood. For a man born in a feudal family, who had personally experienced the trauma of the declining Mughal Empire, he was highly pragmatic in his outlook.

He feared that if the Muslims did not change their attitude they would be completely annihilated, culturally, economically and politically by the combined power of the British and the Hindus. Henceforward all his endeavors were directed towards the educational emancipation of the Muslims and removing the mistrust between them. As Malik states: 'It could be said that Sir Sayyid emerged from the ordeal of 1857 not only as a loyal employee of the British Government, but traumatized into a staunch Muslim nationalist (Malik 1989).and the British. His policy of reconciliation with the British can thus be seen as a historical necessity, imperative for his mission of Muslim emancipation.

Cooperation with imperial Britain was a practical necessity to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. He wrote his pamphlet titled '*Causes of the Indian Revolt*', which was accepted by the British as a friendly and sincere attempt. He pointed out that the Mutiny was actually triggered by the Muslim and Hindu soldiers' revolt against the use of beef and pig grease in the cartridges of guns which was repugnant to both religions. Bose et al (1998) report that this practice was "widely seen as an insidious plot by the infidels to pollute Indians before forcing their conversion to Christianity". Therefore the whole Muslim community should not be penalized for what was a lone act of a disgruntled group. In fact some Indians, including Sir Sayyid, had fought the battle on the British side, rescuing several Englishmen from rioters. Seeley points out that "The Subcontinent was conquered by Indian arms, Indian men and Indian resources" (in Shah 1990). This effort and others like, '*The Loyal Mohammedans of India*', *Tabqīq hifz nāzirah*, (*The Commentary on the Bible*), and his review on W.W. Hunter's '*The Indian Mohammedan*', went a long way in removing misunderstandings and misconceptions which the British and the Muslims harbored against each other. Bose et al (1998) point out that the "reform-oriented current within Indian Islam was led by Sayyid Ahmed Khan, who sought to alter British conceptions about inherent Muslim loyalty and urged his co-religionists to accept Western education but not necessarily all its ideals".

5.2 Steps to convince Muslims to Participate in their own Emancipation

The greatest hurdle in the way to achieve emancipation of the Muslim community was to bring them out of the isolation in which they had withdrawn. Sir Sayyid linked the Muslim malaise to be the result of their educational inferiority and backwardness. The curriculum at that time was composed of logic, syntax, rhetoric, philosophy, mathematics, scholasticism, Islamic jurisprudence, mathematics and commentary of the Qur'an. (Thorpe 1965).

Believing that the future of Muslims was threatened by the rigidity of their orthodox outlook and obsolete education system, Sir Sayyid feared that if they continued to boycott modern, scientific education they would be left behind economically and politically. He was convinced that modern education was the only panacea for their problems. He thought, "All socio-political ills of India may be cured by this treatment. Cure the roots and the tree will flourish" (Hali 1994). Henceforward all his endeavors were directed towards the educational emancipation of the Muslims.

The aftermath of the harsh reality after the War of Independence resulted not only in the loss of political and economic influence, but also degeneration of the Muslim society (Ali 1994). Muhammad points out that, "The Muslims had fallen to many vices and their society was in a state of decay" (Muhammad 2002). Shah Waliullah (1703 – 65) was the last Muslim reformer who had attempted to rid the Indian Muslims from their dogmatic, superstition ridden orthodoxy. However, by Sir Sayyid's time, society had again relapsed into moral decrepitude, and Islam had been reduced to mere ritualistic observance by a majority. "The Muslims were strangled in superstition and conservative ideas which prevented them from availing the advantages beneficial to them. Their rigidity and fanaticism were a stumbling block in their way to success" (Muhammad 2002). Bose et al find that, "It was religious narrow-mindedness which, according to him, had prevented Muslims from taking advantage of the new education".

5.3 Educational Projects of Sir Sayyid: Scientific as well as Moral

Sir Syed wrote extensively with a view to change the thinking of society. The *'Tabqibat-al-Akhlaq'* was started to instill in the Muslims the crucial importance for acquiring western knowledge. This journal was an interpretation of Islam, rightly named in English as 'Mohammedan Social Reformer'. Sir Sayyid instituted his Scientific Society in 1863 in Ghazipur to create a scientific temperament among the Muslims by translating western classics into Urdu, thus making Western knowledge available to Indians in their own language. It was "an important device for opening the Muslim minds to the wider experiences of mankind in all branches of learning" (Thorpe 1965) and went a long way in bringing awareness about the importance of scientific education in the traditional Muslim society.

However, Bose et al (1998) observe that Sir Sayyed's rational approach to Islam and western education brought him into conflict with the more dogmatic and conservative faction of Muslim Ulema, especially the *Deoband* and *Farangi Mahal* ulemas. The Muslims had turned "with much greater enthusiasm to reformist movements, seeking an internal regeneration of Islam", mainly because of the repressive measures by the British. Usmani quotes Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal observation that "the real greatness of Sir Syed consists in the fact that he was the first Indian Muslim who felt the need of a fresh orientation of Islam and worked for it--- his sensitive nature was the first to react to modern age" (Usmani)

5.3. Initial Ventures: A Vernacular University

Although Sir Sayyid knew that modern scientific knowledge was only available in English but in the beginning he had not espoused the cause of English as a medium of instruction. He believed that modern education could be acquired only through the mother tongue and promoted the adoption of Urdu as the lingua franca of all Indian Muslims. In 1863, he spoke to the Mohammedan Society in Calcutta about the unsuitability of English as a medium of instruction:

No prohibitions stand in the way of learning a language spoken by any of the many nations of the world. But learning a language is one thing and, to make it the medium of instruction is another (Hali, 1994).

He thought Urdu was a must for the identity of the Muslims and to foster a Muslim "sense of community" among them.

In 1867, Sir Sayyid developed a plan for a truly national and vernacular university, and entered into a dialogue with the government on this crucial issue. However Bayley, the Secretary of the Government of India, discouraged his plan on academic grounds, by making the distinction between the vernacular as a necessary medium of instruction for education of a popular kind and the English language as an essential prerequisite for education of a higher kind, since the 'object of university education is to prepare and fit the mind for the pursuit of knowledge in the wide sphere of European science and literature...only through the medium of English language' (Malik 1989). He also emphasized the non-availability of scientific texts and literature in the Indian vernacular, as a reason against the local languages.

Sir Sayyid's idea for a vernacular university was strongly opposed and even detested by the British. Being a pragmatist and looking at the ground realities, keeping in view the strong nationalistic element in Hindu community, he abandoned his commitment to a vernacular university. He realized that English was the only via media for Muslim education and with time this conviction made him a supporter of education through English. When the proposal for the University College came up with the stipulation that English teaching would be a prominent feature, but the medium of instruction as well as the examination system would be based on the vernacular, Sir Sayyid opposed it vehemently. He, along with other reformists, criticized it as an attempt to 'keep us in slavery'. Rahman (1996) states:

By this time (1881), Sir Sayyid regarded the teaching of traditional subjects in the vernaculars as a conspiracy against the Muslims in particular...since English, being the language of power, made the vernaculars ghettoizing.

5.6 Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College

Sir Sayyid's greatest contribution to Muslim education was the establishment of the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College (M.A.O. College) in 1875, at Aligarh, which developed into the Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) in 1920. It was envisaged on the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge universities which Sir Sayyid had visited in 1869. The experimentation for this great edifice of human struggle and will power began as early as 1859. In that year, Sir Sayyid established the *Murād ābād Puncā'īti Madrasah*: Hindu and Muslim students were taught Urdu, Persian and Arabic along with English. The school functioned without government help as Hindus and Muslims financed it themselves. This school reflected Sir Sayyid's perception of modern education as catering to mass education and social equality. In 1864 Sir Sayyid graduated to a still higher conception of higher education when he established an English high school in Ghazipur, which was subsequently christened as High Victoria School. The College was affiliated with the Allahabad University for Arabic, Science and Law. Because of the efforts of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his colleagues, the number of Muslim students as opposed to Hindu students was greatly increased. Hali states: 'In a very short space of time the college had done much to raise the standard of Muslim education' (Hali 1979).

Through the efforts of Sir Sayyid and his friends, among whom Shibli Nomani, Altaf Hussain Hali, Maulana Mohsinul Mulk and Maulvi Abdul Haq are noteworthy, the M.A.O. College came to acquire the symbol of Muslim friendship and cooperation, and was not just a center of learning. It created a new value system among the Muslim students. It instilled a consciousness of Muslim solidarity, nationality and social obligation. Moin ul haq says that the object of the college was thus not purely educational in the narrow sense of the term. 'The college was much more than a seat of learning; it soon became the centre of the political, cultural and literary life of the Indian Muslims' (in Thorpe 1965). It was an effort for national regeneration in all its aspects.

The M.A.O. College was not just a centre of learning but in time it came to symbolize Muslim friendship and cooperation, and their separate national identity. The college soon became the centre of political, cultural and literary life of the Indian Muslims. The mission of the college was thus not purely educational in the narrow sense of the term. It was an effort for national regeneration in all its aspects – educational, moral and cultural. The M.A.O. College became the fountainhead for most of the future leaders and intellectuals. The alumni introduced liberal thoughts in their teaching and gradually radical thoughts were also introduced, which gave impetus to nationalist ideas. When the Muslims of India demanded a separate homeland based on identity and culture, it was the students of Aligarh who provided the main impetus to the movement.

They were to hold important posts in Pakistan afterwards. A few leading names are: Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Dr. Zakir Hussain, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Hasrat Mohani, Abdul Majeed Khwaja, Zafar Ali Khan, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim. Together they developed organizations such as the Urdu Defense Association and the '*Anjuman tarraqqi urdu*', committed to the perpetuation of Urdu. All these efforts led to the adoption of Urdu as the official language of the Hyderabad State and as the medium of instruction in the Osmania University the Muslims in northern and western India. When the time came to mobilize Muslims to demand a separate homeland, Urdu came to symbolize and become an integral part of political and cultural identity of the Muslims of India. To meet the need for the Muslims to have capable leaders and followers, Sir Sayyid established the Mohammadan Educational Congress in 1886.

6. Criticism Against Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan

Sir Sayyid has been criticized by his detractors for being a partisan of the British and for creating a westernized elite and neglecting the education of women. Some view Sir Sayyid's educational philosophy as replicating the British policy of ignoring the masses of India and serving education for the urban elite. However, the fact is that nearly one-third of the student's population at M.A.O. College was supported by scholarships. Public funds were allocated for the underprivileged students of the college, so that the students belonging to the middle class could get financial support by these funds. So besides being the educational centre for modern education and a brain trust of Indian Muslim politics, Malik (1989) says that 'the M.A.O. College became an instrument of vertical social mobility for the sons of lower and middle classes'.

Another common misconception is that Sir Sayyid ignored Oriental Studies in forming the curriculum at MAO College. But the fact is that while he fully appreciated the need of imparting instruction based on western learning, he was not oblivious of the value of oriental learning and wanted to preserve and transmit the rich legacy of the Muslim past to future generations. Documentary evidence establishes the fact that the Aligarh Muslim University was established with a view to bring the Indian Muslims educationally at par with the rest of the world. For this, the students were given modern scientific and technological education through the medium of English, in an 'in-house' school system which was essentially based on western lines. The fact that these students were later to become the greatest force in the Pakistan Movement, which led to the creation of the Muslim state of Pakistan, confirms the fact that their English education did not construct their subjectivity or influence their identity. This was due to the fact that Ethics and Urdu were important subjects at Aligarh, and there was a strong stress on religious observance. Besides this '*Diniyyat*' i.e. religious studies, were an essential part of the courses taught at the university, and the day's proceedings started with the recitation of the Holy Quran. Although the English courses at M.A.O. College included the usual heavy dose of classical works of English literature, which are also part of the English courses in the elite schools today. This emphasis on traditional education sustained and kept alive the ethno-linguistic vitality of the learners. The education thus did not cause a disjunction between the basic philosophy of their socio-cultural reality and the school's ethos, although it was closer to Macaulay's dictum of creating an anglicized elite, in time, space and political sphere.

The university's ethos created a new value system and instilled a consciousness of Muslim solidarity, national identity and social obligation.

If this is compared with the elite system of education currently prevalent in Pakistan, as in most post colonies, we find that the immersion pedagogies of teaching English and ideological texts interpellate students to forgo their identities and subscribe to the texts underlying messages. In elitist schooling in Pakistan, English teaching includes cultural teaching through the overt and covert curriculum. Language *per se* cannot affect the identity of foreign language learners, but ideological and cultural content influence subjectivity of learners (Waseem 2009). The M.A.O. College offers a perfect paradigm of how a prestigious foreign language can be used effectively for practical purposes and yet ethnic identity can be maintained and culture kept intact. But one has to keep in mind that Sir Sayyid had emphasized the teaching the local languages and religious education in the curriculum and had always heeded the socio-cultural realities of the Indian society. He had decided to keep a fine balance between Western education and oriental learning.

The greatest allegation against Sir Sayyid is that he had ignored the education of women. But his reason for this again establishes him as a pragmatist of the highest order. He held a strong view that given the state of Indian society, which was extremely decadent and conservative, educated women would only cause a breakdown in the traditional power dynamics of the family structure. The uneducated male head would never accept the educated female and this would cause a rift in the family structure, disrupting the whole fabric of society. Only after two generations of males have been educated, would they become liberal enough to accept an educated female.

7. Conclusion

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was a pivotal figure in the Indian Muslim renaissance. His life shows how the dedication, hard work and clear vision of a single man can change the destiny of a whole nation. It can be said that it was due to his extraordinary vision that the Muslims of India could regenerate after lapsing into moral despondency, cultural lethargy and educational backwardness. Without him, it might have taken another few centuries for the Indian Muslims to come out of their medievalism to modernism. He sought to reconcile modern scientific thought with religion sensibility and rationalistic interpretations.

His educational reforms addressed the problem of the illiteracy of the Muslims creating in them a sense of national pride and identity as well as creating a society in which the masses were given some degree of equal educational opportunities. Although he wanted Muslims to adopt western education and scientific outlook, but he was never ready to compromise with the high ideals and values of Islam and on their Muslims national identity. Thus, he elaborated his educational philosophy in the following words, "Philosophy will be in our right hand and natural science in our left. And the crown of, 'There is no God but Allah' will adorn our head". Today the whole educational structure of Pakistan owes its beginning to the foundation laid by Sir Sayyid who had envisaged the need for scientific and technological education for the progress of the Indian Muslims. The study is useful in situations where teaching of a foreign language causes concerns about the subject formation of learners. It also points directions for curriculum designers to include local knowledges and perspectives in curriculums designs to counter the emphasis on English, so that learning foreign languages and concepts does not compromise local knowledges and identity construction of learners.

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Muslim Predicament and Syed Ahmed Khan

Questions:

1. What was the Muslim predicament that Syed Ahmed Khan had to cope with in the later half of the 19th Century?
2. What were the ground realities existing in the post 1857 era under which Syed Ahmed Khan had to perform the visionary task he had enjoined upon himself?

The Scenario::

1. At the time of Syed Ahmed Khan's appearance on the scene, the unfortunate position (predicament) of Muslims was at its peak. The failure of uprising in 1857 and final take over of India by the British Crown under the Parliamentary Act of 1858 had left the Muslims of the subcontinent into gloom and despair. As descendent community of the past rulers, it was difficult for them to reconcile to the new political order. Unlike Hindus, Muslims were reluctant to readjust and reconcile to the new ground realities.
2. Hindus seized the moment and took the prospering path. For them, it was a switch over from one to another ruler. Besides, Hindus were in advantageous position as they already had exposure to British education, culture, liberal ideas and above all the English language. The colonialism had entered into India from the predominantly Hindu-populated cities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. The first educational institutions based on British pattern were opened there. No wonder, even the first three universities were established by the British India government in the same cities in 1858.
3. Hindus found it easier to switch over from Persian, the official language of Mughal courts, to English, the new official language. With the disappearance of Muslim rulers, the system of education with Persian as the medium of instruction was unhelpful to them for obtaining administrative or clerical jobs.

Muslims could not perceive the need for a paradigm change. This educational and intellectual imbalance was largely responsible for conflict and tensions that took place between the two communities.

4. Past is only one step behind the present and it goes along with the future. Muslim-Hindu tensions existed in the past only sparsely surfacing because of Muslim rule. The orthodox Hindus did not reconcile to conversion of Hindus to Muslims. The hidden hate and agony of Hindus against Muslims surfaced in the aftermath of events of 1857 would occasionally surface.

The fact that Akber, the Mughal king, proclaimed a new religion called Deen-e-Elahi was intended to reconcile the underlying Hindu-Muslim tensions. But Aurangzeb's attempt to Islamize the Marathas and the Sikhs actually alienated them towards the end of his rule. During the rule of later Mughals who were weaker, hate and reaction against Muslims emerged more vigorously.

Once a final stamp was fixed, by the British Parliament Act of 1857, to end the remains of Mughal Empire, Hindu fanaticism emerged with greater fervor. The Arya Samaj, a Hindu movement, was established in 1877 to reconvert the Hindus who had been converted to Islam and Christianity.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, an extremist Hindu nationalist, made the Hindu revivalism to bear upon politics. He spoke of purging the sacred soil of India of the foreigners, Muslims and Englishmen. The heritage of Tilak polarized the Indian National Congress into pro-Hindu and secular factions.

The partition of Bengal (1905) was annulled in 1911 due to the efforts of anti-partition and pro-Hindu agitation led by Tilak. Much later, even the so called tolerant Gandhi once said: "How can a body of converts be called a nation."

5. As a reprisal for Muslims participation in the 1857 uprising (labeled as mutiny), the British India Government deprived the Muslims as a community from economic means. Feudal structure of Muslim society and Muslim aristocracy was made to disintegrate. Their lands were confiscated particularly in Delhi and surrounding areas. The placement of Persian by English (1835) as a language of education and administration had drastically crippled the economic survival of the downtrodden Muslims.
6. The well-known Hindi-Urdu controversy of 1867 served as another prompting factor for Muslims to realize the reluctance of Hindus to accept Muslims' legitimacy. In Benaras, Urdu with Persian script as a court language was substituted by Sanskrit (pure Hindi) With Devanagri script. This particular event opened the eyes of supporters of Hindu-Muslim unity and rapprochement.

Constitutional Developments:

The constitutional developments from 1858 to 1892 have had their own impact on the politics of inter-communal relationship. In particular, the 1892 Act had implications for Muslims as a community.

The 1857 Act of the British Parliament provided for direct rule by the British Crown replacing the East India Company for all practical purposes. India was now to be ruled by a Secretary of state for India along with a Council consisting of 16 members. This opened the way for the gradual introduction of the British democratic institutions in India.

The 1861 Act provided for a legislative council wherein 6 to 12 members were to be nominated by the Governor-General of India from within India. There was a chance of one or two members from Muslim community as well. In fact Syed Ahmed Khan was nominated. The function of the legislative council was to make law and regulations. Similar setup was provided for presidencies (big provinces) and provinces

The 1892 Act, though emended the 1861 Act, was of much significance for it provided a turning point for the Muslims politics. It enlarged the membership of Legislative Council of Governor-General from 6 to 12, to a greater number viz., 10 to 20. Similarly, the total membership of Council of governors (presidency) and of Lt. Governor (provinces) was increased. Beside, some of the non-official seats of the Legislative Councils were to be filled by simple nomination, but for the majority of the "recommendations" were to be made by religious communities, municipalities, universities, chambers of commerce and the like.

The enlarged membership no doubt opened the way for appointment of Indian residents. As a member of Governor General's Legislative Council from 1878 onwards, Sir Syed had successfully campaigned for separate nominations of Muslims to the local self-government institutions.

But having worked with the Legislative Council, he concluded that "if the representative government were to expand, its election process would be counter-productive for Muslims because of the majority principle."

It was against this scenario that Syed Ahmed Khan emerged on the scene to determine the direction of political pathway for the then Muslim India.

Q: What was Syed Ahmed Khan's purpose, strategy and techniques to rescue Muslim community from unfortunate situation?

Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-98) a man of original vision and perceptive wisdom, emerged as a guide and rescuer to Muslims of subcontinent. He initiated a movement to rescue Muslims.

The Purpose: The intended purposes of his movement were:

1. To minimize all grounds of animosity which the Muslims were likely to harbor against the British;
 2. To remove all doubts from British mind that Muslims were not loyal.
- He wanted to persuade the British to change their policy of hostility towards the Muslims on one hand and infuse a sense of profound loyalty among the Muslims to the British. He pleaded with his community to remain loyal to British. His argument was that by doing so, they could ensure peace and religious freedom for themselves. Muslims of India were not subjects of Sultan Abdul Hamid, king of Turkey nor would he be able to help them from such a far-fetched place. There is a sharp contrast here in his policy of Muslim India and Turkish Khilafat. The Muslims supported him on the first but didn't on the second.

As a result, the British attitude started changing in the 1870s through 90s. William Hawker in his book "Indian Musalmans" wrote in 1872 that the government was determined to see that no legitimate grievances went unattended. As a result of Sir Syed's campaign with Englishmen of importance, Lord Randolph Churchill visited the Secretary of State for India in 1885 to apprise him of Muslim predicament. This visit mattered and marked a turning point in the official policy towards Indian Muslims. Syed Ahmed Khan successfully raised the tolerant and respectful image of Islam towards other religions.

The Strategy.

Sir Syed's major technique was urging the Muslims to acquire education with emphasis on learning English language and science.

- a. It was in their worldly interest to do so. English would enable them to be good and efficient clerks and administrative officers.
- b. Command over English language would enable them to defend their religion and their legitimate position.
- c. Equipped with education and command over language, they would be able to discharge their social obligations and political responsibilities and work for the progress and welfare of their community.
- d. The learning would enable young Muslims to be rational so that they could show that every doctrine of Islam could measure up to all principles of science, reason and common sense (rationalism).

Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh established in 1875 by Syed Ahmed Khan became main vehicle of Muslim education. He synthesized the English and oriental subjects, modern as well as Islamic education at the MAO college. He was able to produce graduates as good as those

of Oxford who would talk about Socrates and Aristotle, Plato and Hippocrates while wearing ichken with a turban on his head. Syed tried to marry reason with religion at Aligarh.

Syed Ahmed's was the seedtime and he did the excellent sowing for the nursery of future Muslim leadership. Syed Ahmed's reason for opposition to Muslim's joining the Indian National Congress (1885) was based on his empirical study of Hindu mentality and the nature of political institutions of representative kind as he was himself a member of Governor General's legislative Council.

Syed Ahmed's Political Stand Point:

From Hindu's Benaras campaign for the substitution Sanskrit with its Devanagri script for Urdu as court language, Syed Ahmed had learnt that the rapprochement between the two communities was a far cry. They had a diametrically opposed vision of nationalism. Syed Ahmed's arguments were:

- i. Democracy pre-supposed homogeneity whereas India consisted of heterogeneous communities. Therefore democracy of the western kind with majority rule as its basic principle would be disastrous for Muslims. They would not be able to have representation equal to their proportion. Even if they do get the right proportion, they would not be able to affect the decision-making. Congress's objective of representative government meant that the Hindu majority would swamp Muslims.
- ii. The Congress with its Hindu and Muslim membership might agitate on issues of politics. The logical outcome would be violence in which Muslims would bear the brunt of the consequences. Even if the British had withdrawn as a result of political upheaval launched by the Congress, it would have ushered in an era of chaos and turmoil for Muslims.
- iii. There was a risk involved in politically immature and unprepared participation of Muslims in politics at this stage. It would have been detrimental to the political and economic interest of the Muslims.
- iv. Divergent interests would have adequate representation only through their own representatives of the communities, and not through a single political organization called Indian National Congress.

Practical Political Steps:

To counteract the effects of the Congress, Syed Ahmed Khan took four concrete steps. He founded (i) the Indian Patriotic Association, (ii) the Mohammadan Educational Conference, (iii) Mohammadan Defense Association of Upper India, and (iv) the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental Defense Association of Upper India. These were the semi-political forums, which provided representation of Muslim viewpoint in the face of Indian National Congress. These four forums also served as the groundwork for the eventual creation of Muslim League

Sir Syed was as such the first modern and genuine exponent of two-nation theory. He was advancing the same views that Quaid e Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah got himself associated with 50 years later.

The demand of Simla Deputation (1906) for separate electorate, the birth of Muslim League (1906) to safeguard Muslim interest and in consequence thereof Minto-Morley Reforms (1909) providing separate representation, separate electorate and weightage were the logical outcomes of the movement that Syed Ahmed Khan set in motion.

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Quaid-I-Azam M.A. Jinnah's Politics As Nationalist Muslim and as Muslim Nationalist

How did various factors prompt M. A. Jinnah to abandon his demand for Home Rule (Self-Government) and struggle for a separate homeland for Muslims?

A nationalist Muslim was the one who believed in Indian nationalism meaning loyalty to the nation of India without regard for Muslim separateness. It reflected a sense of belonging to Indian society and soil. Muslim nationalist was the one who considered himself a Muslim first and Indian afterwards. He believed in separateness of Muslims as a nation. In nutshell it was "one nation versus two nation commitment."

Jinnah's launching into Politics:
Jinnah launched himself into politics as an ardent nationalist having no communal feelings in view of his rational, liberal, pragmatic and democratic outlook. Eager to give his input to politics, he joined the Congress Party, the only one available, in 1903. He chose not to join the Muslim League at the time of its creation because he was then opposed to separate representation for Muslims which he thought was dividing the nation. Besides, he was then (1905) elected to the Imperial Legislative Council against the constituency for Muslims from Bombay as a Congressman.

His Romance with Hindu-Muslim Unity:

As nationalist Muslim, he stood for Hindu-Muslim understanding and cooperation. He made overtures to Muslim League by attending its Council meeting in Bankipur in 1912. The League adopted a resolution of 'self-government suitable to India' as its new ideal. This softened the way for Jinnah to join the Muslim League in 1913, while retaining his Congress membership.

His passion for Hindu - Muslim unity received impetus when the Congress and Muslim League in Bombay sessions in 1915. Meanwhile in fact, he was instrumental in hammering out the ground for this collaborative arrangement. The repeal of partition of Bengal had also created a ground reality which prompted Muslim leadership to go for a collaborative stance for the next installment of the constitutional reforms.

Largely due to the Quaid's initiative, the Congress and League held its next annual sessions jointly in Lucknow in 1916. The two parties concluded the famous Lucknow Pact. Jinnah earned the reputation and title of 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity' on this success (Poetess Sarojini Naidu used the phrase in her foreword she wrote for a collection titled "Jinnah's Speeches in the Central legislative Council" published in 1919).

Muslims earned recognition as a separate community as a result of the acceptance of their demand for separate electorate previously opposed by Congress. Muslim League was recognized as the authoritative representative of Muslims. By implication of the Lucknow Pact, the Muslim League was now accepted by the Congress as the sole representative of Muslim community. Muhammad Ali Jinnah demonstrated great sense of justice and wisdom when he resigned from the central legislature in protest against the so called Rowlatt Act. This draconian law titled "Anarchical & Revolutionary Crimes Act 1919" was endorsed by the official majority of British government in the legislature. The Hindu-Muslim unity, however, remained at the level of leadership only. It failed to reach the grass-root level. The masses remained unaffected.

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The Paradigm Change:
The paradigm change in Jinnah was not sudden. The process of learning and unlearning about the Hindu mindset was gradual and unconscious. The first glimpse of recognition of reality surfaced in 1917 when legislative measures affecting Muslim position were being brought without taking the Muslims point of view into consideration. Jinnah warned that "If seventy million people do not approve the measure, do you think that it can be enforced". This was the first glimpse that Jinnah reflected about his rethinking. The academic debate about the Swaraj (self-rule/ self-government) since Lucknow entente centered around its face value. Jina as well as the Muslim League discovered its practical implications. The actual experience of Swaraj (self-rule) by Hindu majority, at provincial level and for a limited period of time, while the British authority was still intact, crystallized what Swaraj would mean to Muslims. The question at Jina's tongue was "what will be the Muslim future in a self governing India".

Despite his concern for Turkey, Jina remained aloof from Khilafat when non-cooperation movement started by Maulana Mohammad Ali and Gandhi. He did not think they would succeed because Jina as a realist knew the pitfalls of such unnatural collaboration. The Moplas rising and subsequent clashes of Muslims with British and Hindus alike proved Jina's point.

Jina's commitment to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity was intended to get maximum benefits for both the communities as a result of self-government for India to be granted by the Britishers. But soon after the 1919 Act, the Congress's attitude disappointed him. He was compelled by this Hindu intransigence to leave Congress and Home-Rule League in 1920. He saw little chance of united stancé on some kind of agreed Constitutional Formula in the future.

The Nehru report of 1928 further alienated him. The rejection of his 14-points by the Congress led him to part ways with the Congress's leadership.

The decade of 1930s was a period of transition and change for the political direction of Jina.

At the second Round Table Conference (1931), Jinnah made it clear to the British and Hindus alike that:

"A community of Muslims that of India alone must be numbering more than 70 million cannot be called a minority, the way Europeans are habitual to consider European minorities".

He settled in London after the 1931 Round Table Conference. But in 1934, Jinnah was persuaded by friends, in particular by the remarkable communication from Muhammad Iqbal and personal requests of Liaqat Ali Khan, he returned to the subcontinent. Jinnah assumed the leadership of Muslim League and stewardship of Muslim community.

Factors causing shift in Jina's nationalism:

Jinnah was the voice of secular Muslims until his face to face experience with Hindu leadership at the Round Table Conferences(RTC). He stood for solving communal problems through providing political safeguards to minority communities. Jinnah's rapprochement gestures were met with hostile Hindu mind and attitude. He received the shock of his life when Gandhi brought religion into politics at the RTC and remained adamant to Jinnah's reasonable proposal for communal safeguards, Jinnah concluded that there was no hope of Hindu-Muslim unity and it was parting of the ways.

Meanwhile, Iqbal had done some spadework in unifying Muslims of minority as well as majority province. Iqbal's views about constitutional problem facing India led Jinnah to the same conclusion. Two-Nation theory of Iqbal received acceptance by Jinnah. Jinnah's own political experience of the early 1930s had convinced him of the relevance of the term Muslim nation instead of Muslim minority. Yet Iqbal's theory of two-nation became better established after its adoption by Jinnah. This was a conversion of thought in Jinnah, although it was centered on Islam as a moral and political force to unify Muslims. The transformation was gradual though, yet it was

definite from a secular Muslim to Muslim nationalist, no more a nationalist Muslim. He was now a Muslim Nationalist. With new vision, he turned the League into self-conscious mass organization. He became the champion of Muslim cause. Led by him the nation of Indian Muslims cast their eyes on a separate landscape for Muslims and marched to its destiny as sovereign status.

How Nehru and his Congress Party moved Jinnah to ideological conversion? Gandhi, Nehru and Congress had always considered and described communal problem as cultural and economic one. They did not consider communal problem as important as to recognize Muslims as one of the party in Indian politics. They claimed Congress and British government as the only two parties in the country. Jinnah responded that there is a third party too, namely the Muslims ready to work as equal partners. The ruthless rule by Congress from 1937 to 1939 convinced Jinnah that Muslim's interests could be safeguarded from now onwards by the Muslim League alone without seeking Congress's cooperation. It was clear now that Hindustan is for Hindus since their governments in six provinces had shown, by their words and deeds that Muslims cannot expect justice or fair play from them.

The only settlement and solution was possible, in Jinnah's view, on the basis of ground reality that there were two nations in India. His tireless and vigorous campaign to safeguard the interest of Muslim Nation through the creation of Pakistan was a testimony to his faith in Muslim Nationalism.

His speech of 11 August 1947 to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan reflected a balanced, liberal pragmatic view of the future shape of Pakistan's political system. An excerpt from his speech is reproduced below.

"You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go your mosques or to any other place of your worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any Religion or caste or creed; that has nothing to do with the business of the State."

This was Quaid's pledge, to make Pakistan a safe place for all Pakistanis including the minorities, without any discrimination on the basis of caste, colour and creed. It was in fact in the spirit of liberal, pragmatic and democratic perceptions of Quaid-Azam that he said so. It was not a question of Pakistan being a secular state or theocratic state. It was simply Quaid's expression of and prescription for a liberal, tolerant, democratic and egalitarian Pakistan of the future.

The controversy ignited by pro-secular and pro theocracy and the pro-liberalism over the August-11 speech has confused the minds of young generation. The excerpt from the said presidential address of Quaid was intended for the promotion of material advancement and peaceful living of all citizens of Pakistan without distinction of religion. Jinnah embraced the qualities of modern state not in the irreligious sense of secularism but in the political sense of Islam. He did not in any way stand for fusion or synthesis of secularism and Islam. He saw Pakistan as an Islamic state that will be true to Quran's spiritual (universal) principles of justice, liberty and socio-economic equality. Quaid recognized that Quran is a book that emphasized deed rather than idea which means there is no dichotomy between matter and idea (spirit) as both are inextricably linked.

As Deen (Quranic Credo) provides ethics to Politics. It does not ignore the mundane political and sociological dimensions of human life.

The universal principles are applicable to the entire humanity and transcend nations of different religions, creeds or races. Pakistan's polity is to be based on this conception because Pakistan is neither founded on nor projects the personal viewpoint of any particular sect of Muslims of the subcontinent.

Allama Iqbal's Nationalism and Vision about Muslim State

Nationalism demands loyalty to a society, to religion, to the soil, to language, singly or collectively. Indian Nationalism was based on loyalty to the soil and to the Indian Society.

Iqbal was Indian Nationalist before his visit to Europe (1905-1908). Expressed his feelings of patriotism he construed India superior to the rest of the World when in his Tiran-i-Hindi, he said

بِلَّهِ وَلِلّٰهِ فَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَّهٗ إِلَّا مَا خَلَقَ

He also spoke of the inculcation of the communal harmony when he said. "No religion preaches hatred and that everybody living in this country is Indian and India is his land."

How did the change occur?

After his visit to Europe, he underwent a paradigm change. He found that Nationalism was contrary to the fundamentals of Islam. He thought Nationalism divided Muslims from their fellow Muslims within the Ottoman Empire. It negated universal oneness of Muslims, which recognized no race, language or geographical distances. He also concluded that the concept of Nationalism served the imperialistic design of Europe.

Europeans used it as an effective weapon and propagated the conception of Nationalism to shatter the unity of Islam (the Millat or Ummah). Iqbal became Pan-Islamist and he exhorted to build up a single Millat or Ummah. The message to Muslims was conveyed in his poetry to unite for the defense of Baitul Haram from the banks of Nile to the frontiers of Kashgar.

ایک اسلامی جماعت کے لئے بھرپور امداد اور تعاون کا شکر

But this was his ideal. His zest for a Pan-Islamic society was not practicable after the World War-I. Many Muslim countries stood for Nationalism. Nationalism with territorial boundaries and racial and linguistic unity was a ground reality in almost all Muslim countries after 1920's. Nationalism became a fact of life in the Muslim World. Muslim Nationalism was now confined to one country.

Meanwhile, Iqbal's temporary zeal for a composite Hindu-Muslim Indian Nationalism collapsed in shreds after 1908. He was a changed man after 1908, more aware of what nationalism meant to different countries in different circumstances & in different contexts.

Iqbal was pragmatic (fact-oriented, practical) despite his ideals. He recognized Nationalism in one Muslim country for facility of reference. The Muslim countries need to find Nationalists solutions to their desperate problems of their respective countries. But that should and would not stop them from wider unity among Muslim countries. The door of cooperation and cohesion, however limited or lose it may be, should remain open to all Muslim countries. The ethos would remain essentially Islamic despite their racial, linguistic and geographic distinctions. The social horizon of the whole community should remain intact because Nationalism of a single Muslim country does not restrict Muslims from coming together as community (Ummah).

The Purpose:

The purpose of Iqbal's thought was rehabilitation of Muslims in the contemporary world. On one side, there were the realities of politics, national and international, on the other side, there was the reconstruction of religious thought. He wanted to produce a blue print for a tolerant, democratic

and just human society based on the spirit of Islam. His well-known 6 lectures on Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Iqbal laid the ideas regarding how best Muslims as community can re-construct itself in the new circumstances.

Iqbal's Prescription: Concept of Ijithad (Reinterpretation of Islam)

His prescription to achieve this purpose was Ijtihad (reinterpretation of Islam) to meet the requirement of modern world. There was a need to reinterpret the Islamic laws and ethos to make them compatible with the modern world. That is why he supported the authority of Turkey's Grand Assembly in its endeavor to reinterpret Islamic laws and ethos for modern Turkey.

Back home, he provided intellectual foundation of Muslim India. As a liberal thinker, Iqbal favoured the liberal and tolerant tradition that Indian Islam had nurtured so assiduously in contrast to its Arabian counterpart. Iqbal was in favour of ridding Islam of the stamp of Arabian imperialism. Iqbal was in favour of mobilizing Muslim law, education and culture to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.

His greatest political contribution was that of making Muslims conscious of their separate national and cultural identity. Western nationalism was territorial and racial. Iqbal built up Muslim nationalism in the subcontinent based on geographical and ideological. The destiny of Muslims was based on the ideological legacy of Indian Islam. Iqbal's demand for "The creation of autonomous states" on the basis of unity of religion, language, history and geography and of identity of economic interest was in fact the manifestation of Muslim Nationalism in India.

Iqbal's Conception of Muslim State in North-Western India:

The suggestion contained in his presidential address at the All India Muslim League session at Allahabad in 1930, for the setting up of a "Consolidated Muslim State" in India was not only visionary and creative but also pragmatic. He presented his historical address prescribing his conceptual scheme in these words:

"I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state, self-governing within the British Empire or without the British Empire The formation of a consolidated North West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North West India."

Iqbal's scheme was conceptually clearer in the sense that it was based on both geographical and ideological factor for present day Pakistan. Iqbal was thinking of only North West India and not for Bengal as the future Pakistan. He even suggested exclusion of Ambala Division and the districts where non-Muslims predominated could be excluded from the proposed Muslim state.

Iqbal was thus clearer than the formulators of the Lahore Resolution of 1940.

Iqbal's liberal and flexible views should have been convincing to alleviate Hindu fears of Muslim state. He declared that autonomous Muslim state will not have a kind of religious rule. Such a state, Iqbal explained, will provide security and peace to India resulting from internal balance.

A highly revealing part of Allahabad address, but not highlighted, was related to his conception of Islam which was different from the one held by the traditionalist. He was in favour of Muslim India continuing in the liberal and tolerant traditions that Indian Islam had nurtured in contrast to the Arabian counterpart. On the basis of this viewpoint, it is

(2) not difficult to demonstrate that Iqbal's conception was different from that of some Indian Islamic scholars who in their zeal to purify Islam of Mughal or Indian impurities, wanted to cast it in rigid Arabian mould. Iqbal stood for ridding it of Arabian stamp and wanted to mobilize Islamic law, culture and education to bring into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.

A sad fact about Allahabad session is that it did not even have its quorum of 75 members and poet Hafeez Jallandhari was asked to read his *Shahnama-i-Islam* to keep those who were present entertained while the organizers were busy enrolling new members in town. The feudal, mullahs and the pirs who formed a link in the prevailing system of indirect rule of British in Panjab and elsewhere did not cooperate at that time.

Iqbal's difference of opinion with Jinnah.

Iqbal differed with Jinnah on his plan to weld the different classes and sections in the Muslim community into a united and monolithic organization. Muslim community was divided into different economic, religious, ethnic and provincial groups. Jinnah wanted to bring them together on a broad common programme so that Muslim League becomes strong as apolitical force and is treated with respect. For this very purpose, he entered into a pact with Unionist Party leader Sikandar Hayat Khan to involve them into Muslim League. Iqbal resisted the move by writing to Jinnah: "I cannot take the responsibility of handing over League to Sir Sikandar and his friends. The pact had already damaged the League in this province and the tactics of Unionists may damage it still further".

Jinnah had to follow dictates of politics. He allied with the Unionists in the larger Muslim interest he was playing his political game on chess-board. In order to strengthen Muslim solidarity, he continued with the pact. He had appointed some members to the Central Parliamentary Board which were suggested by Sikandar Hayat. But Jinnah assured Iqbal that he was determined to appoint some members representing Panjab which were to be suggested Iqbal and other Muslim League leaders from Panjab. As a strategist, Jinnah had made compromises with non-League Muslim leaders to build up strength and power for Muslim League. Iqbal wanted Jinnah to concentrate on North West India, but Jinnah did not want to ignore Bengal and Muslim minority provinces.

Iqbal's Relevance to Contemporary Muslim World.

Iqbal's thought is relevant to even today's Pakistan and to the contemporary Islamic world. The 9/11 episode in the recent history brought into focus, beside other aspects, the concept of clash of civilizations, resurgence of Jehadi Islam, so called terrorism. This has alarmed the Western World and caused concerns to Muslim community as a whole. The current real world challenges have again called for the reawakening of the Muslim community. Given the loose and weak organization of the Muslims called Organization of Islamic Conference, the new challenges have not been taken collectively. The need and awareness for one is there though.

In contemporary world configuration, Pakistan in particular and Islamic World in general need to develop and demonstrate the softer image of Islam to the World. The new reality that had emerged after the 9/11 (2001) event, and the recent upsurges in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Jordan, Syria, Algeria, Morocco and elsewhere in 2011 demands redefining of Islam in the present day context without compromising on the fundamentals of Islam.

Iqbal's theory of Ijtihad has relevance to the contemporary Islamic world for it will enable them to reconstruct their societies. It will mobilize Muslim law, education and culture not only in the original spirit of Islam but also bring compatibility with the modern world by nurturing the liberal and tolerant traditions of Islam.