Khilafat Movement

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# Reasons:

## The Arrest of Muslim leaders:

* During World War 1, the British imprisoned many Muslim leaders in order to prevent conflict against the war against the Ottoman empire
  + These included Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and his brother, Maulana Shaukat Ali
* This fostered further mistrust against the British

## Protection of Islam:

### Preservation of Muslim Political Importance:

* If the Caliphate, the major Islamic institution, fell, Muslims would lose political importance throughout the world
  + “Every instance of a collapse of the Muslim powers of the world is bound to have an adverse influence on the political importance of our community” Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq
  + “If Turkey is conquered that will be a great grief, for she is the last of the great powers left to Islam. We are afraid that we shall become like the Jews, a people without a country of our own” Sir Syed Ahmed Khan
* Muslims feared that the British were trying to reduce Indians’ political power by creating conflict between them and Hindus
  + Due to this, there were calls for Hindu-Muslim unity, which were acted upon during the Khilafat Conferences

### Mistrust of the British :

* The precedent set by the treatment of Afghanistan and Persia (both Muslim countries) by Russia and Britain convinced Muslims that little attention was paid to their views
* The Ottoman Empire contained many holy places, such as Madinah, which Muslims were unwilling to see fall into the hands of the British non-Muslims

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## Protection of the Caliphate:

### World War 1:

* During WW1, Muslims had only fought for the British after they had received reassurance that the rights of the Caliphate would be respected
  + Despite this, there were still many desertions by Muslim forces who were unwilling to fight fellow Muslims in the Ottoman Empire
* After the war, seeing the breakup of the German and Austrian Empires, Muslims began to fear that the same thing would occur to the Ottoman Empire
  + They even sent the Khilafat delegation, to which they got the response that Lloyd George felt that the Turkish Empire should meet the same fate as their allies in World War 1

### Importance of the Caliphate:

* The Caliphate was essentially the centre of Islam and the sign of the Muslim Ummah
  + The Khalifa was viewed as the worldwide leader of the Muslim community
* Furthermore, it held its roots in the Rashidun Caliphates, due to which Sunni Muslims held it in high regard
* Due to this, Muslims viewed it as very important and were unwilling to see it broken up

# Hijrat Movement:

* A call for migration was given to the Muslim populace. India was also declared as Dar ul Harb by Fazl ul Haq and Abul Qari and Muslims were told to migrate to Afghanistan, where their religion was safe

## Reasons:

* Since culture, religion and language were the same
* It was the nearest bordering Muslim country
* Muslims were promised religious freedom and vast, fertile, farmable land

## Failure:

* Many people living near the border in NWF and Balochistan immediately migrated as they didn’t have much distance to travel.
* The Muslims of Sindh, however, had a longer distance to travel. They carried with them all they could and left the rest behind/sold it. By the time they reached, the Afghani government had turned hostile and refused to take any more refugees as:
  + The number of refugees was increasing and going beyond control
  + The British government might have threatened them
* On the long journey back to Sindh, thousands died due to exhaustion, disease, and starvation/dehydration. Those that were able to reach were homeless and jobless, which extremely dispirited them from continuing the movement.

# Khilafat Conferences:

There were two in 1919 and one in 1920

## First Conference:

* The first one was called in Delhi to try to convince the British to keep their promises about maintaining the Turkish Empire.
  + They resolved to send a delegation to Britain

### Khilafat Delegation:

* Muslims sent a delegation to Britain to remind Lloyd George to remind him of his promises.
  + The British PM responded negatively, saying that as Germany and Austria had received justice, they would, too.
* The delegation consisted of Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Maulana Shaukat Ali Jauhar, Maulana Abdul Bari, and Maulana Fazl ul Haq
* However, while the conference was still in Britain, the treaty of Sevres was announced

### Treaty of Sevres:

* Allied powers took control of the Ottoman empire. Different parts would be given to various countries
* Allied powers took control of finances and the army
* Its terms were made public before it was signed, which sparked protests in India
* It was signed by the Allied Powers and Turkey in 1920
* Indians were concerned about this as:
  + Indians were partly responsible for it as they had fought against them
  + Thus, great opposition to the British was kickstarted

## Second Conference:

* In the second meeting, Gandhi joined the movement.
* They also added the objective of self-rule (swaraj) into this so that they could collectively work for these causes.

### Advantages of Gandhi Joining the Movement::

* The movement gained extensive support of all Hindus in India
  + What was at first a Muslim movement was now a national movement
* Increased pressure on the government, putting them in a better position to negotiate

### Disadvantages of Gandhi Joining the Movement:

* The objective became less clear
* As both parties were working for different objectives, there was no unity

## Non-Cooperation Movement:

* In 1920, Gandhi started a non-cooperation movement
* Many actions against the British government were taken during this, including:
  + Burning of British cloth and the encouragement of hand-spun/woven Indian cloth
  + Titles were returned
  + Resignations of jobs:
    - Teachers leaving Indian schools and setting up their own institutions
    - Lawyers leaving their practices
    - Eventually, even the police and military officers quit
  + Refusal to pay taxes

### Elections of 1920:

* Elections were held in 1920 for the councils. Due to the non-cooperation movement, both the ML and the INC boycotted it
* A faction of Congress defied this and contested it. They, called the National Liberals, won a few seats. Soon, it was realised that they were neither popular nor powerful in influencing the British to enforce self-rule. Thus, they were proven useless

## Jinnah and the Khilafat Movement:

* Jinnah was not in favour of this movement. If Muslims in India were not able to get their own rights protected, how could they petition for the safety of others.
  + Furthermore, it was bound to become violent, after which Muslims would be blamed. This is why he believed that religion and politics should be kept separate. This catalysed his exit of the Congress
    - Due to his expression of these opinions, he was called a ‘kaffir’ by many other Muslim leaders.

# Decline of the Movement:

## Arrest of Leaders:

* After the INC joined the movement, the widespread arrest of leaders was initiated.
  + The Ali Brothers, Gandhi, and Nehru were all imprisoned

## Moplah Uprising:

* Mowplahs were Arab traders who settled on the Western coast (Malabar)
  + Some traded, some were landowners, some worked under Hindu landlords
* Hindu landlords tried redistributing their land, which led to the annexing of some Mowplahs, which led to a conflict
  + Mowplahs killed a few Hindu landlords in this uprising; some British policemen were also killed.
  + Therefore, the British sent a regiment and killed 4000 Moplahs and arrested thousands
* Hindus and Congress criticized the killing of Hindu landlords.
  + After saying that Muslims killed Hindu landlords, Hindus started killing Muslims
  + This dismayed Hindu-Muslim unity, which was badly needed

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### Moplah Train Tragedy:

* They transported the arrested Moplahs in an airtight freight train
* By the time they reached, most had died of suffocation
  + 66 were found dead and the remaining 34 on the verge of collapse

## Chory Chora Incident:

* Chory Chora was a village in the United Province. Over here, a demonstrating mob set fire to a police station where 21 police officers burned alive, including a British officer.
* Gandhi, who was currently in jail, unilaterally called off the non-cooperation movement and withdrew his and Hindu support for the Khilafat Movement
  + Thus, Muslims were left alone to face the consequences.

## Elections of 1923:

* In 1923, the Congress participated in the elections under the name of the Swaraj Party.
  + The Muslim League did not participate as they were still in the Khilafat Movement
* After they won, there was a major change in their policy. Congress started criticizing:
  + The right of separate electorates for Muslims
  + Provincial autonomy
  + Protection of the rights of minorities
    - Thus, they had formally negated the Lucknow Pact

## Hindu Extremists:

* By 1924, Muslims were not on good terms with the British or Congress. The Muslim League was alone, with neither Congress nor the British looking to protect Muslims. During this time, the activities of extremist Hindu groups upset Muslims
  + Forceful conversions
  + Planned attacks
  + Mass killings
  + Abductions

### Arya Samaj

* Founded in 1877, it was a Hindu extremist group
* It had strongholds in western and northern India
* Aimed to purify Hinduism from impure practices
  + Aimed to reconvert Hindus who had converted to Christianity
* Power agent for the spread of educational and social reforms
* It carries out militant activities that strained Hindu- Muslim relationships

### Hindu Mahasabha:

* In Punjab, HIndu Sabhas had been involved in politics in Punjab since the 1890s
* 1923: Congressman Pandit Mohan Malaviya brought a number of them to form a political party- the Hindu Mahasbha
* It contested the elections first in 1926
* It had little influence till 1947, when the charismatic U.D. Savarkar became president
  + He was later accused of the assassination of Gandhi in 1948

# Successes and Failures:

## How successful was the Khilafat Movement?

### Successes:

* Muslims realized how important they were. The largest political party in India joined hands with us for self rule, which reflected Muslim political importance
* Muslims realized that both British and Hindus were not trustworthy. In order to gain anything, they had to work solely by themselves.
* The political experience Muslims gained while working with the INC was very important. It made Muslims wiser in the years to come; Muslims could now see and predict what political strategies Congress was using.

### Failures:

* Muslims could not achieve their basic aim- to protect the Caliphate
* Economic losses to Indians due to the non-cooperation Muslim
  + They left their schools and jobs
  + Hijrat Movement
* The end of the movement negatively affected Hindu-Muslim unity, leading to more communal riots
* As the major Muslim institution fell, Muslim power globally took a blow

## Reasons for the Failure:

* Failure of the Hijrat Movement
* Failure of the Khilafat Delegation
* Chory Chora incident
* Gandhi joining the movement
  + See the heading ‘Disadvantages of Gandhi joining the movement’
* Moplah uprising
* Lack of leadership (leaders were arrested)
* Establishment of nationalist government in Turkey
  + In 1922, Mustafa Kamal Pasha Ataturk abolished the caliphate
  + The last caliph, Mehmet VI, was exiled to Italy in 1924
* Activities of Hindu extremist groups- Arya Samaj, Shuddi Sangatun- strained Hindu-Muslim relations
  + It aimed to reconvert Hindus who had converted and committed many forceful conversions