



Choudhary Rahmat Ali and his Political Imagination

Pak Plan and the Continent of Dinia

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Introduction

Rahmat Ali (1897-1951) is mentioned in the history textbooks circulating in Pakistan only briefly. His coining of the name for a separate Muslim polity, Pakistan, and the publication of the pamphlet *Now or Never*, which he wrote in 1933, are the reasons that Rahmat Ali found a marginal niche in the collective historical imagination of the Pakistani laity. In the Pakistan Studies books for undergraduate students, sponsored by the University Grants Commission, Rahmat Ali's description begins and ends in one line: 'Choudhary Rahmat Ali had started his struggle for a separate state for Muslims in 1933.'¹ Why Rahmat Ali's other works, comprising ten pamphlets of varying size and scope, are not mentioned in Pakistani national discourse is a pertinent question that has not yet been framed. Similarly, his thoughts are conspicuously barred from circulation in the media as well as in educational institutions. Despite a sizeable corpus of literature in Urdu that underscores Rahmat Ali's role as a thinker and political visionary, including Khurshid Kamal Aziz's adulatory biography, Ali has remained a peripheral figure in the annals of Pakistani political history. The lack of interest in Rahmat Ali exhibited in the Pakistani national narrative could be due to his disdain for Muhammad Ali Jinnah, obvious in his writings. Rahmat Ali derisively branded Jinnah '*Quisling-i-Azam*',² instead of *Quaid-i-Azam* (The

¹ Azhar Hameed, *Mutaliya-i-Pakistan: Degree Classes Kay liye* (Islamabad: Allama Iqbal Open University, 1981), 87.

² Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *The Greatest Betrayal, the Millat's Martyrdom & The Muslim's Duty* (Cambridge: The Pakistan National Liberation Movement, 1947), 6. Vidkun Quisling was the head of a puppet regime installed in Norway by Nazi occupation

Great Leader), his customary epithet in Pakistan. Similarly, his well-known repugnance for the idea of Pakistan as a nation state was explicitly articulated in a pamphlet *The Greatest Betrayal*, which he wrote after Pakistan's creation in 1947. This evolution in Rahmat Ali's political imagination will be the central focus of this chapter, in order to make sense of Rahmat Ali's virtual banishment from Pakistan's history, along with his thoughts and the history and evolution of the Pakistan National Movement that he founded in 1933. The Pakistan National Movement was later transformed to the All-Dinia Milli Movement in 1940. Thus Ali's political vision went through various phases of evolution: starting with the Pak Plan in 1933, it was transformed into the concept of the Continent of Dinia, and eventually culminated in the *Cultural Orbit of Pakasia*.³

The sources employed for this study comprise the original writings of Choudhary Rahmat Ali, stocked as part of the Foster papers at the Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge. For biographical details, I have depended on the biographical account put together by Khurshid Kamal Aziz. Additional vernacular sources are also used to demonstrate that Rahmat Ali has not been omitted altogether from Pakistani national discourse, but instead has remained present on the margins of our political narrative. In order to contextualize Rahmat Ali's political thought, it is imperative to furnish a brief biographical sketch. Historians such as Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi and even Khalid bin Sayeed have considered the formative phase of Rahmat Ali's life a 'closed book.' Communal antagonism, which was a recurring feature of the Punjab from the 1880s, had a bearing on his political imagination. Similarly, pan-Islamism permeated Rahmat Ali's ideology, indicated by his frequent use of the political category '*millat*' to describe Muslims instead of 'the nation.'

Communal strife, pan-Islamism and Rahmat Ali's early career

At the time of Rahmat Ali's birth in 1897 the Punjab was engulfed by communal strife. Traditionally the Punjab has been a diverse region unsurpassed in the rest of the subcontinent. Three religions – Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism – co-existed uneasily with three languages – Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi, each with

forces. Labelling Jinnah as 'the great Quisling' amounts to deriding him as the greatest traitor or collaborator of an enemy regime.

³ For details about the Continent of Dinia, see Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *The Millat and Her Ten Nations: Foundation of the All-Dinia Movement* (Cambridge: The All-Dinia Milli Movement, 1944).

its own script.⁴ Despite the British administration's claims of impartiality, communal fissures started appearing in the wake of 1857. Modern modes of communication, institutions and the aggressive mode of proselytization by Christian missionaries exacerbated communal tension. British administrative policy added fuel to the fire.⁵ N. Gerald Barrier maintains that by the 1880s, the Punjab Government had rescinded its general policy of communal impartiality. However, he rules out religion as the factor employed to set one community against the other when Lord Ripon promulgated reforms in 1882, by virtue of which the power of the municipal committees were extended and nomination was replaced by election.⁶ Satya M. Rai, arguing to the contrary, traces the roots of communal antagonism to these reforms, as electioneering was organized along communal lines.⁷ Barrier also refers to the British making 'two significant contributions to the [communal] conflict,' by introducing 'new arenas of power and competition and inadvertently [creating] a political context which permitted and even invited communal agitation.'⁸ The lower rung of the bureaucracy and municipal committees in particular became the focus of religious antagonism. Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims fought hard for control of the new structures.⁹

The missionaries and their aggressive method of proselytization triggered the impulse of reformism in all three religions. By the 1880s, 'a network of missions covered the Punjab, from Delhi north to Simla, from Ambala west to Peshawar, from Lahore south to Multan, and from Peshawar south along the border to Dera Ghazi Khan.'¹⁰ The missionaries introduced the printing press in the province, and deployed 'the tract, the pamphlet, and the religious newspaper' to good effect.¹¹ As a consequence, reform movements like the Arya Samaj among the Hindus, the Singh Sabha among the Sikhs, and the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam among the Muslims sprang up with their respective agendas of the others' exclusion. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the

⁴ Kenneth Jones, 'Communalism in the Punjab: the Arya Samaj Contribution,' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 28, no.1 (November 1968): 40.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ N. Gerald Barrier, 'The Punjab Government and Communal Politics, 1870-1908,' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 27, no.3 (May 1968): 527.

⁷ Satya M. Rai, *Legislative Politics and the Freedom Struggle in the Punjab: 1897-1947* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1984), 5-7.

⁸ Barrier, 'The Punjab Government and Communal Politics,' 529.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Jones, 'Communalism in the Punjab,' 42.

¹¹ Ibid., 43.

Arya Samaj orchestrated condemnatory campaigns not only against Christians but also against Muslims and Sikhs.¹² Thus the atmosphere in which Rahmat Ali grew up was charged with communal antagonism. His antipathy for Hindus was deep-seated primarily because of the Arya Samaj's aggression and condemnation of Muslims.

After Rahmat Ali completed his matriculation he came to Lahore, where he lived until 1930. In Lahore, he chose Islamia College at Railway Road and stayed there in Rivaz Hostel's room number 12 until 1918, the year of his graduation. He took six years to complete his graduation, which was generally supposed to take four years. It is probable, as K. K. Aziz has surmised, that Rahmat Ali had to suspend his studies several times because of financial constraints. In the intervening period he worked as a journalist to supplement his income at the Lahore-based Urdu daily *Paisa Akhbar*, earning 25-30 rupees per month.¹³ Despite these constraints of varying nature, his stint at Islamia College was extremely productive; he was not only the editor of the college magazine *Crescent*, but also secretary of the College Debating Union and Vice President of his tutorial group.¹⁴ During his student years in Lahore he used *Azad* as his *nom de plume*, as he is rumoured to have tried his hand at composing poetry. However, none of Rahmat Ali's poetry could be found to corroborate this conjecture.¹⁵

While at Islamia College, Rahmat Ali founded an organization by the name of *Bazm-i-Shibli* in 1915. Rahmat Ali's vision did not have any correspondence with that of Shibli Naumani (1857-1914), who was a great laureate and historian.¹⁶ Naumani's vision, according to the conclusions drawn by Amir

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Rahmat Ali was born on 16 November 1897 in a village by the name of Balachaur, Tehsil Garhshanker in the Hoshiarpur district. His father Shah Muhammad, despite being a person of modest means and religious disposition, had a forward-looking nature. Rahmat Ali's religious instruction began at a very early age at home. After completing his primary schooling in his village he proceeded to Rahon, a neighbouring town, and took his English-language middle school certificate from the Municipal Board Middle School probably in 1910. He did his matriculation from Saindas Anglo-Sanskrit High School, Jullundur. K. K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987), 5.

¹⁴ Ahmed Saeed, *Islamia College Ki Sad Salla Tarikh, Vol. 1, 1892-1992* (Lahore: Idara-i-Tehqiqat-i-Pakistan, Danishgah-i-Punjab, 1992), 348.

¹⁵ Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 5.

¹⁶ As Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan points out in his PhD dissertation, Naumani later emphasised a patriotic impulse among the South Asian Muslims that was unequivocally embedded in Indian soil and culture. Muhammad Amir Ahmed Khan, 'Rhetorics and

Ahmed Khan, was diametrically opposed to the views that Rahmat Ali came to uphold. It is true that Naumani produced biographical literature in a huge quantity, the tangible bulk of which was about Muslim personalities from beyond the Indian subcontinent. But beyond such conjectural inferences, there is nothing concrete that suggests the influence of Naumani on Rahmat Ali's political imagination. *Bazm-i-Shibli* as an organization, however, provided the initial articulation of Rahmat Ali's political thought, which continued evolving over time and attained maturity by 1933, when he wrote *Now or Never*. The role of *Bazm-i-Shibli* in the formulation of Rahmat Ali's vision will be elaborated more fully later.

K. K. Aziz contends that, after graduation, Rahmat Ali wanted to study law but, again, financial constraints probably prevented him at that time. For some time, he worked on the editorial staff of various newspapers owned by Muhammad Din Fauq.¹⁷ After a while he found a tutorship at Aitchison College, Lahore, with the help of the Principal of Islamia College, Henry Martyn. His stint as a tutor at Aitchison College spanned five years (1918 to 1923). Immediately after his appointment, he was chosen as the tutor to the son of the Nawab of Bahawalpur, a princely state in the South of Punjab. When in 1919 his princeling tutee left for England, Rahmat Ali was assigned to supervise the sons of the Mazari Nawab (the Mazari tribe was part of the Punjabi aristocracy of South Punjab). Such connections as he managed to forge at Aitchison College helped him in many ways, including the fulfilment of his desire of going to England. He then entered the Punjab University Law College (1923-1925), but it is uncertain whether or not he completed his degree. Concurrently he was appointed private secretary of Sardar Dost Muhammad Khan, the Mazari *tamundar* (the title used for Baloch tribal leader) of Rojhan in district Dera Ghazi Khan. However, he was stationed at Lahore, first as 'the family's authorized representative to look after the Mazari family's interests' in the law courts. Subsequently he was promoted to private secretary 'at a good salary and with all expenses paid'.¹⁸ Rahmat Ali kept working in this capacity

Spaces of Belonging among North Indian Muslims, 1850-1950' (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2015).

¹⁷ Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, xii.

¹⁸ 'Once he joined the service of the Mazaris his salary was fixed at Rs.700 a month, a handsome amount in those days. In addition, he was paid house rent (and later provided with a free bungalow), and all travelling and other expenses.' See Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 9.

until early 1930. Importantly, in the 1920s the Mazari estate became a subject of litigation and Rahmat Ali was able to provide some useful legal advice. As luck would have it, the Mazaris won the legal battle and their title to ancestral land was confirmed and recognized by the court. Rahmat Ali, in lieu of his services, received a hefty honorarium of Rs. 67,000, which he decided to invest in the pursuit of higher studies in England.¹⁹ Thus, Rahmat Ali departed for England on 30 or 31 October 1930, and reached England by mid-November.²⁰

In England, Rahmat Ali joined the Inner Temple Inn, but it took him 12 years to be admitted to the bar, until 26 January 1943. In London, Rahmat Ali stayed at the residence of Sir Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana (1874-1944),²¹ a distinguished member of the landed aristocracy from Sargodha District in the Punjab who at that time was a member of the Secretary of State's Council and lived in an elite neighbourhood opposite Regent Park. Tiwana knew Rahmat Ali from back home, probably because of the Aitchison College connection, which was also the former's *alma mater*. Tiwana not only provided residence to Rahmat Ali in London but also wrote him a testimonial to gain admittance into Emmanuel College, Cambridge. With the help of reference letters from India and the influence of Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, Rahmat Ali secured admission as an affiliated student from the University of the Punjab on 26 January 1931.²² At Emmanuel College, Rahmat Ali took the Law Tripos, Part II, in June 1932 and received his Bachelor's degree on 29 April 1933; he received his Master's degree in 1940.²³ Rahmat Ali passed both of his University exams in the third division, which suggested an unenviable academic record. His poor academic showing was echoed in his professional career as a lawyer: he barely eked out a livelihood from his law practice. Throughout his stay in Cambridge, he never fully integrated into the intellectual milieu, remaining at the periphery. Thelma Frost reveals that he was destitute, forlorn and lonely when he breathed his

¹⁹ K. K. Aziz, ed. *Complete Works of Rahmat Ali*, vol. 1 (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1978), xii.

²⁰ Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 26.

²¹ Nawab Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, CIE, CBE, KCIE, GBE; member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1910; member, India Council, 1929-34; president, Falconers Club, England. For further details, see Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana, The Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India* (London: Routledge, 2013), 36-50.

²² Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 46.

²³ Waheed Ahmad, 'Choudhary Rahmat Ali and The Concept of Pakistan,' *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 3 (January 1970): 11.

last.²⁴ Similarly, as Pauline Hunt wrote in the Cambridge Evening News, he 'became a lonely figure, quarrelling over his principles, often moving from one set of lodgings to another, frequently using Emmanuel College as an address.'²⁵

The genesis of Rahmat Ali's political vision

As already underlined, meetings under the auspices of *Bazm-i-Shibli* provided the early signs of the peculiarity of Rahmat Ali's political vision. Extremely significant was his inaugural address to the audience of *Bazm-i-Shibli*,²⁶ which reflected the initial delineation of the Pakistan scheme, eventually culminating into a much grander idea of 'the Continent of Dinia.' In this address he stated that

[the] North of India is Muslim and we will keep it Muslim. Not only that; we will make it a Muslim State. But this we can do only if and when we and our North cease to be Indian. For that is a pre-requisite to it. So the sooner we shed 'Indianism,' the better for us all and for Islam.²⁷

In his work *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, Rahmat Ali himself reveals that it was between 1909 and 1915 that the future of the Indian Muslims

²⁴ Choudhary Rahmat Ali, Memoir by Miss Frost, by Thelma Frost, 8 April 1989, Box 2, Miss T. Frost, Item 9, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK. Frost gives graphic details about Ali's personality: 'Rahmat Ali was demanding and not easily satisfied either with his own work or that of other people. His papers were revised and re-revised countless times. His English was excellent but he never tired of trying to improve it. He was a devout Muslim with an absolute faith in his religion; his copy of the Qur'an always with him. But he respected other religions. He lived simply but seemed to feel it absolutely necessary to appear before "lesser" folk as though he had money. In fact, he seemed to be short of money most of the time. Rahmat Ali was a heavy smoker, though every now and then he would burn his whole stock of cigarettes and give it up, only to start again. His few clothes had to be good and well-fitted. His finickiness over detail exasperated printers, bookbinders, tailors – anyone who came up against it. He couldn't tolerate any kind of noise that might interfere with his concentration, but he had that "oriental charm of manner" which inveigled people into doing the impossible.'

²⁵ Pauline Hunt, 'City tribute to the man who named Pakistan,' *Cambridge Evening News*, 23 February 1989.

²⁶ For details see Saeed, *Islamia College Ki Sad Salla Tarikh*, 431.

²⁷ Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation* (Lahore: Book Traders, n.d), 214.

became 'the dominating passion of my life.'²⁸ As he points out in the same piece, the separatism that he so passionately espoused and advocated was a reaction to the negotiation between Hindu and Muslim leaders that aimed to find some consensus 'on the basis of the national unity' which subsequently culminated in the Lucknow Pact of 1916. Rahmat Ali called that pact 'perilous.'²⁹ However, the particular reasons that had made him so terribly acerbic, to the point that he was not even ready to countenance any negotiation with Hindus, seems to be the outcome of the communal tension that Punjab had witnessed at the time when Rahmat Ali was growing up.³⁰ The sheer inflexibility in his position regarding Hindus drew him apart from the Muslim League, producing a discord that he harboured throughout his life. His years at Aitchison College, as demonstrated above, established a certain level of affinity between him and the leaders of the Unionist Party, which was known for its pro-British leanings and its representation of Punjabi landowners. As mentioned above, the Punjabi landowner Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana played a significant role in getting him enrolled at the University of Cambridge. However, Rahmat Ali's thinking eventually turned to one of deep-seated disdain, which offered no hint of accommodation to either the Hindus or the British. Pan-Islamism was the second major influence that he imbibed, which steadily snowballed into the major postulate of his political imagination. The political category of *millat* and the geographical expression of the Continent of Dinia as an alternative imagined space to that of India reflected the impact of pan-Islamism on Rahmat Ali.

The ultimate objective of pan-Islamism was the 'realization of the Islamic ideal, the unity of the world in Islam, [and] the central direction under a leader (*imam*) of the world community.'³¹ The basic concept from which thought and corresponding action emanated, was that religion transcended racial and national

²⁸ Ibid., 213. Noted in Aziz, ed. *Complete Works of Rahmat Ali*, xi.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Rahmat Ali's enunciation – couched in a speech in which he says to the Hindus, 'Friends! If my views are unacceptable to you, we had better part. In doing that, let everyone of us keep true to his pledges, to the ideals of revolution; let everyone of us serve the cause of freedom according to his faith. You go your way and I will go my way. You work for your Indian revolution but I will work for my Islamic revolution. At the end, we shall see who creates the most dynamic and creative revolution in India' – can hardly be contextualised. Ali is not succinct about the real cause for his intense alienation from the Hindus, when rapprochement between the two communities had materialised. See Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 214.

³¹ Dwight E. Lee, 'The Origins of Pan-Islamism,' *The American Historical Review* 47, no. 2 (1942): 279.

ties. Albert Habib Hourani and Thomas W. Arnold think that pan-Islamism came about only when Abdul Hamid II used it 'to enhance his prestige and power through emphasis upon his headship of the Islamic world by virtue of the title of caliph'.³² The dwindling state of the Ottoman sultanate strove to re-invent itself as an Ottoman caliphate in its bid for sustenance. Pan-Islamism was thought by the Sultan to be the most effective tool to do it.

The Muslims of the Indian subcontinent became cognisant of the decline of Islam as a world power in the 1860s. The growth of *hajj* and more general travel in the Middle East, and then the remarkable growth of the Urdu vernacular press, brought Indian Muslims into contact as never before with the wider Muslim world.³³ Jamal ud Din Afghani (1839-97) was a particularly influential individual, about whom Albert Hourani writes that

it would be truer perhaps to speak of a person than a movement; for this revolutionary pan-Islamism, this blend of religious feeling, national feeling, and European radicalism was embodied in the strange personality of a man whose life touched and deeply affected the whole Islamic world in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.³⁴

Indian Muslims in general drew inspiration from Afghani, who epitomized the transnational Muslim outlook. He was particularly concerned about the grim situation besetting the Muslim countries. The Mughal empire in India had been abolished in 1857 and the Ottomans in Turkey were long past their prime. The Safavids of Iran, contemporaries of the Mughals and the Ottomans, had been supplanted by the Zands (1750-94) and then the Qajars (1785-1925). Territories belonging to them for centuries were steadily escaping their control and these empires were barely holding themselves together against fissiparous tendencies. Mushirul Hasan gives an elaborate description of the dismal state that Muslim countries were in at the time Rahmat Ali was growing up: 'Such currents, which gripped the Muslim countries from North Africa to SE Asia, left their mark on an influential section of the Indian Muslim intelligentsia. They were most clearly reflected in Altaf Hussain Hali's lamenting the "ebb"

³² Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 73-74; Lee, 'The Origins of Pan-Islamism': 278-87.

³³ K. H. Ansari, 'Pan-Islamism and the Making of the Early Indian Muslim Socialists', *Modern Asian Studies* 20, no.3 (1986): 510.

³⁴ Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age: 1798-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 108.

of Islam in the famous *Musaddas*, in Shibli Naumani's pan-Islamic anguish in the topical poem on the "Trouble in the Balkans," and in Muhammad Iqbal's nostalgic ode to once-Arab Sicily. The intellectual content to many of these themes was given in the works of Ameer Ali, Syed Ahmad Khan, and Naumani, while their political expression was reflected in the pan-Islamic concerns of MA Ansari, Abul Kalam Azad, Mohammed Ali, Abdul Bari, the *Shaikhul Hind* Mahmud al Hasan, and a whole generation of young Muslim leaders.³⁵ Rahmat Ali used the pan-Islamist impulse as his most potent instrument to completely dismiss 'Indianism'.

The Pakistan National Movement and the fetish of 'Indianism'

Now or Never: Are we to live or perish for ever? was the first circular that Rahmat Ali produced in January 1933. It was published under the auspices of the Pakistan National Movement, an organization established in 1933 at Cambridge, Rahmat Ali being its founder-President and the only prominent member. Rahmat Ali's role was central, since

every idea, suggestion, statement, leaflet, declaration, pamphlet or demand came from one individual. The organization and its variants notwithstanding, the man and the movement were literally the same thing.³⁶

An introduction to the Pakistan National Movement can be gleaned from another of Rahmat Ali's pamphlets, *What does The Pakistan National Movement Stand for?*, published in synchrony with *Now or Never*. In it, Rahmat Ali establishes the primacy of what he calls 'Indianism' as 'one force' which had dominated and suppressed the people of South Asia and 'defeated their efforts to improve the lot of their countries'.³⁷ Other than that, Rahmat Ali does not provide any concrete definition of Indianism.³⁸ However according to his works caste Hindus, their abode and their culture are the primary and essential constituents of Indianism. His condemnatory tone and tenor is quite categorical

³⁵ Mushirul Hasan, 'Pan-Islamism versus Indian Nationalism? A Reappraisal,' *Economic and Political Weekly* 21, no.24 (14 June 1986): 1074.

³⁶ Aziz, ed. *Complete Works of Rabmat Ali*, xxvii.

³⁷ Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *What Does the Pakistan National Movement Stand For?* (Cambridge: The Pakistan National Movement, 1942), 3.

³⁸ In contrast, he was very specific about his vision for Pakistan. For the detailed account of his vision for Pakistan, see Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan*.

and uncompromising. According to his scheme of territorial re-arrangement, the North-Western part of the subcontinent has a separate geographical and cultural identity from 'Hindustan,' a tract of land that limits to the centre of the Ganges-Yamuna valley. The rest of the landmass that is stretched around 'Hindustan' is, according to him, non-Indian, which has been subjected to the fetters of subjugation by Indianism for centuries.

He asserts this while excoriating Indianism in the strongest possible terms, describing it as a phenomenon that from the dawn of history has destroyed and victimized 'men and *millats*, crippled creeds and countries, and enslaved at least half the continent of Asia.'³⁹ Then he notes with concern the way Indianism has not only sustained itself but has consolidated itself 'under the auspices of British imperialism and through the hands of a British citizen in the service of that imperialism.'⁴⁰ He calls that 'collusive mutuality' between the caste Hindus and the British an 'Anglo-Hindoo Entente.'⁴¹ He cites the example of the All-India National Congress, brought into existence in 1885, whose name implied that it represented all the lands of South Asia incorporated into the British Empire.⁴² In this model, 'non-Indian nations' were denied the right to their distinct nationhood. Lastly, Indianism asserted its 'pretentious claim to stamping Indian nationality on the people living in those lands which through such dubious devices have been made known to the world as the "subcontinent of India."'⁴³ Curiously enough, Rahmat Ali enunciates that the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Marathas, 'Akhoots' (Achuts, or untouchables),⁴⁴ and the Rajputs are in fact non-Indians, on whom the fetters of 'Indianism' were fastened by imposing on all of them this 'preposterous prefix of All-India.'⁴⁵ He also criticizes the notion of the unity of 'the country of India'; instead, he considers it a continent with a wide variety of nations, ethnicities and religions.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *India: The Continent of Dinia or The Country of Doom* (Cambridge: The Dinia Continental Movement, 1945), 4.

⁴² Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 212.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Rahmat Ali referred to *achut* or untouchables as 'Akhoots' to play on the word *akhuwwat* which means brotherhood; thus, hinting at a more conciliatory approach towards them and treating them differently from the Hindus.

⁴⁵ He gives such examples as the All-India Muslim League, the All-India Sikh Conference and the All-India Rajpoot Conference, and so on. In all these cases, 'All-India' meant that 'though they were Muslims, Sikhs or Rajputs, [...] they all were primarily Indians,' which to Ali was a contradiction in terms. Ibid., 3-4.

Rahmat Ali similarly derides the constitutional principle of 'one country, one nation' which he thinks is not suitable to the subcontinent. He instead invokes the category of *millat* in juxtaposition to nationalism. Although the concept of *millat* throughout carries a strong imprint of pan-Islamism, it retains a restrictive locus on South Asia. These points will be subject to investigative focus in the section on the Continent of Dinia below. Here we turn our gaze to Rahmat Ali's critique of federalism.

Rahmat Ali is vociferous in his rejection of the proposal to implement a federal structure at the All-India level, as it had been envisaged in the proceedings of the Round Table Conferences. He sees the proposal for a federation, as passed by the British parliament, as a machination of Indianism that was hand in glove with British imperialism. This was thwarted only, as he claims somewhat bizarrely, 'by the forces of opposition, inspired, fostered and led by the Pakistan National Movement.'⁴⁶ Thus to ward off any prospect of a federation at an All-India level, Rahmat Ali founded the Pakistan National Movement, with its programme consisting of seven cardinal principles and aims. These principles, according to Rahmat Ali, 'symbolize the seven dirges of the doom of Indianism and the seven trumpets of the dawn of Asianism.' The fundamental aims of the organization were to counter Indianism effectively and to strive for the liberation of Muslims and the other 'nations of South Asia' from its hegemony. These aims are described briefly as:

Spiritual liberation from the secular thraldom of Indianism; Cultural liberation from its barbarian influence; Social liberation from its caste tyranny; Economic liberation from the impoverishing capitalism of Indianism; National liberation of the people of South Asia from its destructive domination; The inter-national consolidation of the nations of South Asia against the de-nationalizing dangers of Indianism; The creation of a new order of 'Asianism' to take the place of the old order of 'Indianism' in South Asia.⁴⁷

Thus, Rahmat Ali's simplistic panacea to South Asia's ailments was to extirpate the 'curse' of Indianism so that the dignity of non-Indians could be restored. None of the schemes for the territorial alteration of the subcontinent put forward by various individuals – whether it be Muhammad Iqbal, M. H. Gazdar or even those propounded by Dr Sayid Abdul Latif (between 1938 to 1943)⁴⁸ – exhibited as much antipathy for what Rahmat Ali called 'Indianism,'

⁴⁶ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁷ These principles are given in brevity. For their full text, see Ibid., 4-8.

⁴⁸ For these schemes of territorial re-arrangement, see K. K. Aziz, *A History of the Idea of Pakistan, Volume 2* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987).

or, in other words, the Hindus. Rahmat Ali's overall ideology was anti-Hindu, and his weariness with Hindu majority rule was at the heart of his vision and political action. The pamphlet discussed above and the pamphlet *Now or Never*, the first publication under the auspices of The Pakistan National Movement, share a temporal context. A detailed analysis of Rahmat Ali's vision can be complete only through an examination of *Now or Never* in the following section.

Now or Never and Pakistan as a political imaginary

As stated in the previous section, *Now or Never: Are we to live or perish for ever?*⁴⁹ was the first circular that Rahmat Ali produced in January 1933 and published yet again in the next year. It was authored by Rahmat Ali himself. However, at the very end of that pamphlet, the names Muhammad Aslam Khan (Khattak), Sheikh Muhammad Sadiq (Sahibzada) and Inayat Ullah Khan (of Charsaddah) are also mentioned along with Rahmat Ali.⁵⁰ K. K. Aziz notes that to make the declaration 'representative,' Rahmat Ali searched for more than a month, for people who would endorse it. Eventually he stumbled upon three young men in London, ready to lend support to the declaration. Aslam Khan Khattak was a student at Oxford; Sahibzada Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq was reading for the bar in London; and Inayat Ullah Khan was a student of engineering in London.⁵¹ Khattak signed the document as the President of the Khyber Union and Inayat Ullah as its secretary.⁵² Soon afterwards Khattak rescinded his support and Rahmat Ali was left on his own to rudder and anchor the ship of the Pakistan National Movement in the alien environs of England.

In the content of their demands, these students from the Punjab and the North Western Frontier under the leadership of Rahmat Ali made a radical departure from several proposals that had already been floated by people like Hasrat Mohani, Lala Lajpat Rai, or Iqbal's scheme enshrined in his famous Allahabad Address in 1930. Rahmat Ali and his companions propounded a

⁴⁹ Rahmat Ali, *Now or Never: Are we to live or perish for ever?* (Cambridge: The Pakistan National Movement, 1933), 8.

⁵⁰ Rahmat Ali describes Inayat Ullah Khan reading veterinary science in his publication *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 227. Aziz disputes this; he claims to have met Khan and says that he studied engineering and not veterinary science. See Aziz, *A History of the Idea of Pakistan, Volume 2*, 385.

⁵¹ Ibid., 344.

scheme of 'an Islamic state cut on the Indian soil entitled Pakistan'.⁵² The eight-page pamphlet was written during (or just before?) the roundtable conferences.⁵³ Therefore it was addressed and sent to the British and Indian delegates participating in the deliberations at the parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform during 1933-34.⁵⁴ Rahmat Ali was trenchantly critical of the delegates of the first and second Round Table Conferences who by accepting 'a constitution based on the principle of an All-India Federation' had committed 'an inexcusable blunder and an incredible betrayal'.⁵⁵ More importantly, it was in this pamphlet that a name close to that of Pakistan appeared for the first time, spelled *Pakstan*.⁵⁶ *Now or Never* was meant to represent 'the thirty million Muslims of Pakstan, who live in the five Northern Units of India-Punjab, North-West Frontier (Afghan) Province, Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan'.⁵⁷ It sought the 'recognition of their national status, as distinct from the other inhabitants of India, by the grant to Pakstan of a separate Federal Constitution on religious, social and historical grounds'.⁵⁸

In his later and much more elaborate publication *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation* (1946), Rahmat Ali not only expanded upon his earlier description of Pakistan but also introduced some noticeable changes to the original plan. He marked out three regions for the minorities who intended to continue living in Pakistan, but in exchange for six similar regions to be given to the Muslims namely Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan and Maplistan. The first enclave, which he called *Sikbia*, consisted of the Sikh principalities of Patiala, Nabha, Jind and Faridkot. These principalities

⁵² Waheed Ahmad, 'Choudhary Rahmat Ali and The Concept of Pakistan,' 20.

⁵³ In its original (hand-written or typed and then cyclostyled) format, the pamphlet was four pages in its length. The version found in the Foster Papers housed at the Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge, is eight pages long. See *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Rahmat Ali, *Now or Never*, 2.

⁵⁶ It should be mentioned here that Rahmat Ali is not the only one who is credited for coining the name Pakistan. S. M. Ikram, on the authority of Mian Abdul Haq, claimed that the name Pakistan was first coined by Khawaja Abdur Rahim. Ikram got another confirmation for this claim from Dr Muhammad Jahangir Khan who was Rahim's contemporary in Cambridge. Cited in S. M. Ikram, *Indian Muslims and Partition of India* (Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 1992), 178. But the popular view in Pakistan still credits Rahmat Ali for coming up with the name 'Pakistan.'

⁵⁷ Rahmat Ali, *Now or Never*, 1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

had a total area of 8,825 square miles and a population of 2,837,398, of which 41.4 percent were Sikhs, 30.7 percent were Hindus, 22 percent were Muslims and 5.9 percent were followers of other religions. In the event of its creation, Muslims living there were to be exchanged for Sikhs living in the rest of Pakistan. The other enclave on the eastern part of Rahmat Ali's conceived 'Pakistan' was to be the habitat of the caste Hindus, which he calls *Hanoodia*. It was roughly the area that 'lies along the southern bank of the Yamuna River from Agra to Allahabad in the United Provinces'.⁵⁹ If this enclave of the caste Hindus were created, all Muslims residing there would be swapped with caste Hindus from the rest of Eastern Pakistan. A similar sort of an enclave was named *Handika*, which in the imagination of Rahmat Ali lay between the 'southern half of Kathiawar and the Rann of Kachch for the caste Hindus'.⁶⁰ An exchange of the two communities was to take effect there too.

He calculated that Pakistan, with an area of 521,000 square miles, would cover about five percent of the total territory of the Muslim world, and therefore would be the seventh largest Muslim state in the entire world. Its population would be fifty-five million among the world total of 400 million Muslims which would make it the second largest Muslim country, the first being Bangistan (Bengal) with a population of seventy million.⁶¹

Rahmat Ali proclaimed Urdu as the national language of Pakistan and renamed it 'Pak.' He positioned Urdu, or Pak, as the language of the whole *millat* and, 'in fact, the *lingua franca* of the whole Cultural Orbit of Pakasia and one of the most extremely understood languages in the neighbouring Continent of Asia'.⁶² Such a claim about Urdu as the *lingua franca* of the whole 'Cultural Orbit of Pakasia' hardly held any water. The Muslims of Bengal and Assam, and those living in South India, did not understand Urdu. Therefore, Rahmat Ali's exaggerated claim about the status of Urdu in the continent of Asia was farcical to say the least.

In Rahmat Ali's vision, Muslim laws would be the national laws of Pakistan predicated on the *Qur'an*, *hadith*, *fiqh*, *ijma* (the consensus of legal scholars), and the *rai* (the scholarly opinion of jurists). From these sources, Muslim jurists have, over the course of centuries, put together a comprehensive legal system, the *sharia*. Two distinctive features of the *sharia*, according to Rahmat Ali were that

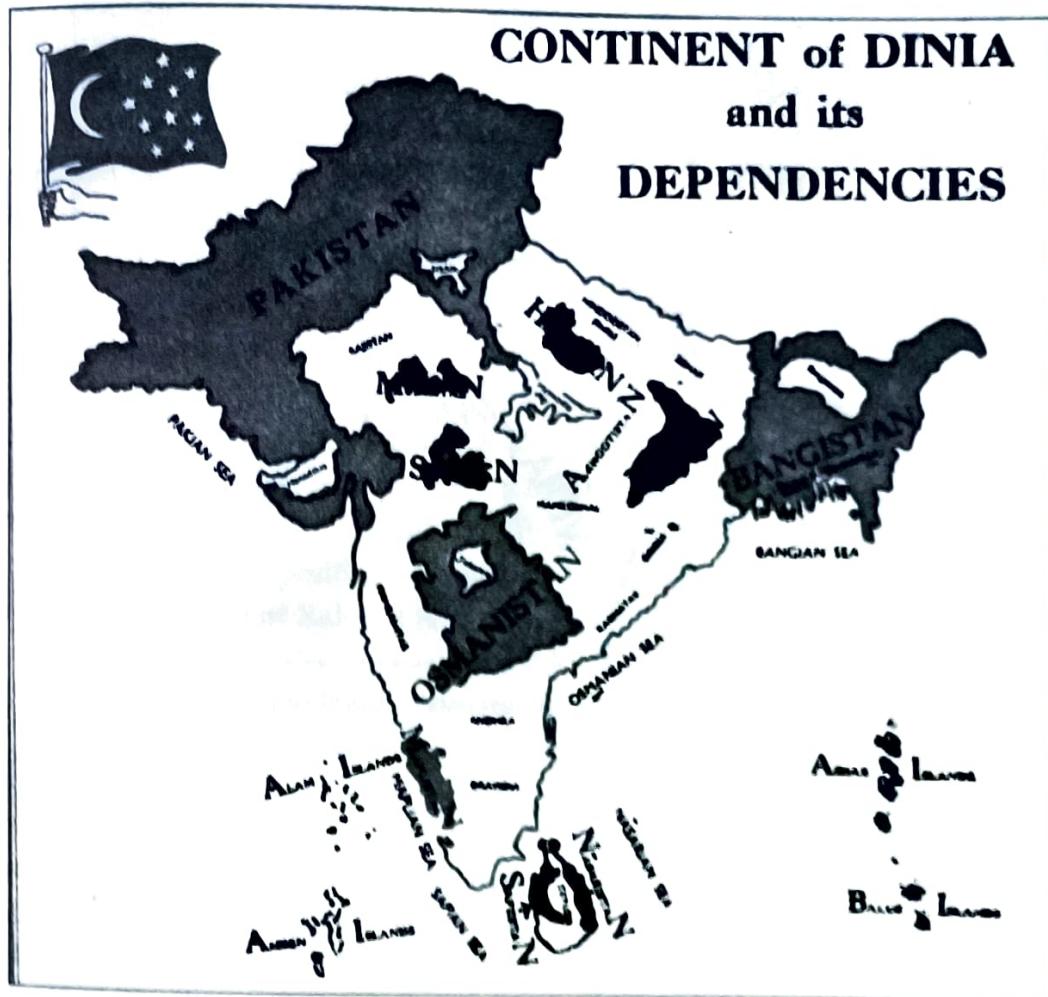
⁵⁹ Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 123–24.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 124.

⁶¹ Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 274.

⁶² Ibid., 272.

'it is the only system of law in which sovereignty belongs to Allah, and human allegiance is therefore due only to him.' Secondly, according to him, it was not a collection of commands enforced by the sanction of the state; rather, in this system the commands were only an element of a wider scheme which were 'concerned first and last with the relation between God and the human soul.'⁶³



Source: The Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge

Rahmat Ali talked of the national code of honour, comprising a list of virtues and values. These are: *izzat* (honour); *azadi* (freedom); *bahaduri* (bravery); *wafa* (faithfulness); *panah* (protection of the weak); and *tawazo* (hospitality).⁶⁴ Rahmat Ali also prescribed the national courtesy titles befitting the Paks (people of Pakistan). The proud courtesy title for Paks, according to Rahmat Ali, was

⁶³ Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 161.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 162.



Source: The Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge

Khan, 'an ancient honorific which has been immortalized by poets, ennobled by kings, and honoured by the world.'⁶⁵

As Waheed Ahmed infers, Rahmat Ali's expressions like 'grim and fateful struggle,' 'political crucifixion,' and 'complete annihilation' were symptomatic of an exaggerated reaction to a situation characterized by communal tension.⁶⁶ Ahmed, drawing on an inference from his conversation with Choudhary Zafarullah Khan on 22 May 1970, said

The British were still in firm control in India and, even to the most farsighted, a withdrawal of British authority from India in the near future did not appear likely. As such any scheme of substantial transfer of power to the Indian hands or Indian Balkanization was not practical politics.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Waheed Ahmad, 'Choudhary Rahmat Ali and The Concept of Pakistan,' 14.
⁶⁷ Ibid.

Regardless, Rahmat Ali continued to contest quite vehemently the status of India as a single country or the home of a single nation. It was, in his view, 'the designation of a State created by the British for the first time in history.'⁶⁸ It included peoples who previously had never formed part of the Indian nation at any period of its history and they had retained their distinct identity from the dawn of history until the establishment of British rule. More details about Rahmat Ali's deconstruction of India as a country is given in the section on 'the Continent of Dinia.' It is noteworthy that Rahmat Ali's demand for Pakistan did not include Bengal. Subsequently, however, he mentioned it as an integral part of 'the Continent of Dinia,' with the name Bang-i-Islam; later on it became Bangistan.⁶⁹

Rahmat Ali stated that the total number of Muslims in India was eighty million, and the constituent areas of his proposed Pakistan contained just thirty million Muslims. He proclaimed in no uncertain terms about his aim to save all Muslims inhabiting the subcontinent from impending Hindu rule. But while propounding his Pakistan scheme, Rahmat Ali's plan left a clear majority of the Muslims under the Hindu Raj. It was much later that he made an amendment by his imagining of 'the Continent of Dinia,' the scheme, which despite its flaws, was thorough in its political scope and imagination.⁷⁰

Another aspect of Rahmat Ali's demand enshrined in *Now or Never* was his enunciation of the Muslims as a separate nation. K. K. Aziz correctly states that 'none before him had announced this [the call for a separate nation for Muslims] so clearly, so insistently and so rationally.'⁷¹ Rahmat Ali's statement that Muslims constituted a separate nation would later on become part of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's presidential response to the Pakistan Resolution on 23 March 1940 in Lahore. Ironically no reference to Rahmat Ali was made during the entire event, nor was the word 'Pakistan' uttered even once. Rahmat Ali's statement is as follows:

Our religion and culture, our history and tradition, our social code and economic system, our laws of inheritance, succession and marriage are fundamentally different from those of most peoples living in the rest of India. The ideals which move our people to make the highest sacrifices are

⁶⁸ Rahmat Ali, *Now or Never*, 4.

⁶⁹ For his political imaginary and its evolution, see Rahmat Ali, *The Millat & Her Ten Nations*.

⁷⁰ Aziz, *Complete Works of Rahmat Ali*, xxii.

⁷¹ Ibid.

essentially different from those which inspire the Hindus to do the same. These differences are not confined to broad, basic principles. Far from it. They extend to the minutest details of our lives. We do not inter-dine; we do not inter-marry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress are different.⁷²

One could argue that this statement later on became the foundation of the two-nation theory. The divergence between the two major communities of India had never been articulated before in such a succinct manner. The irony, however, was that while the ideology of Rahmat Ali had been appropriated by the Muslim League, its original exponent was quite conveniently flung to the margin of Pakistani national discourse. An interesting aspect of Rahmat Ali's political imagination was its evolution, which eventually culminated in the idea of 'the Continent of Dinia,' spreading across the entire Indian subcontinent. Its final manifestation carried a very evident tinge of pan-Islamism. Rahmat Ali unveiled the second part of the Pak Plan in 1940, which included Bang-i-Islam and Usmanistan. In 1942 he inaugurated an additional five parts to his plan in a pamphlet entitled *The Millat and the Mission: Seven Commandments of Destiny for the Seventh Continent of Dinia*. This will be the focus of the next section.

Arguing for the Continent of Dinia

As described above, Rahmat Ali propounded the Pak Plan in 1933 in *Now or Never*. In that plan he proposed a separate Muslim federation of at least five predominantly Muslim units: Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (which he also called Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan.⁷³ By contrast, Iqbal, in his Presidential Address to the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930, proposed the amalgamation of four out of these five provinces into a single state within an all-India federation.⁷⁴ Thus, unlike Rahmat Ali, Iqbal kept the all-India federation structure intact. Rahmat Ali extended the frontiers of Pakistan to the Yamuna river, incorporating Delhi and Agra within its geographical reach.⁷⁵ Hence Iqbal's proposition was fundamentally

⁷² Rahmat Ali, *Now or Never*, 4.

⁷³ Ibid., 5-6.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 6.

⁷⁵ 'Bani-i-Pakistan,' *Daily Hayat* (Karachi), Eid edition 1943, 3.

different from what Rahmat Ali prescribed three years after the Allahabad Address. However, Rahmat Ali would go on to present all the phases of his plan, considerably different from Iqbal's proposal, in which India and its various parts were reconfigured and re-designated in one of his several pamphlets, *The Millat and Her Ten Nations* being the prelude. But before embarking on an analysis of the way that Rahmat Ali envisaged the re-configuration of India, it will be pertinent to zoom in on his re-designation of India and his decision to call it instead 'the Continent of Dinia.' Information regarding 'the Continent of Dinia' given in the following paragraphs has been gleaned from *India: The Continent of Dinia or The Country of Doom?*

In *India: The Continent of Dinia or The Country of Doom?*, Rahmat Ali laid out 'The Two Supreme Facts.' The first, as also mentioned above, was that India was not a country but a continent, not only in terms of its geography but in terms of history too. It was not a 'fair-sized, politically demarcated area of land that possesses some individual characteristics,' thus it is not a country.⁷⁶ Quite conversely, like a continent, it was a 'huge, continuous mass of land that is bordered by mountain chains or high seas, or partly by one and partly by the other.'⁷⁷ A country, in his estimation, was 'a respectable-sized unit of territory' that was 'uni-lingual, uni-cultural, uni-national and uni-statal.'⁷⁸ A continent, on the other hand, contained an aggregation of such territorial units, which were 'multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-national and multi-statal.'⁷⁹ India therefore had all the qualifications to be designated as a continent and not a country. Rahmat Ali turned to history to prove his point. In its essentials, the history of India was a narrative of 'many separate countries which have, throughout the ages, been inhabited by many distinct people, with different languages, philosophies and civilisations, and organized for the most part into sovereign states, ruled by their own kings or emperors.'⁸⁰ In the particular context of the rise of the nation state in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Rahmat Ali was essentially subscribing to and promulgating the dimensions and characteristics of the nation state in order to undermine its relevance for India, which was a perceptive and novel line of argument.

⁷⁶ Rahmat Ali, *India: The Continent of Dinia or The Country of Doom?*, 7.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 8.

The second 'Supreme Fact' was about the re-designation of what was erroneously known as India: 'the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos is creedally, as well as humanly, Dinia.'⁸¹ Ironically, as Rahmat Ali himself states, the word Dinia is composed of the same letters as India. He just juggled the letters by transposing "d" to the first place to make it Dinia. The word Dinia has its origin in Arabic, and its usage in Urdu signifies the land of *dins* (multiple religions). Thus, unlike India, the land defined as an exclusive domain of the caste Hindus, the word Dinia characterized these lands as the joint domain of all the religions and their adherents like Islam and Muslims, Sikhism and Sikhs, Christianity and Christians, and Zoroastrianism and Parsis. It also acknowledged, according to the proponent of Dinia, 'the existence and share therein of them all, and describes them as the peoples of the lands of religions – without reference to any particular religion or fraternity.'⁸² Rahmat Ali described the reason for defining these lands with the word Dinia was because he saw religion as the most prominent feature of all the people inhabiting a country or continent. He was extremely emphatic in asserting that religion defined national entities, 'inspires their national ideologies, shapes their national histories and sustains their national hopes.'⁸³

To ensure that the proposition of the Continent of Dinia came to fruition and the member 'nations' in what Rahmat Ali called the Pak Commonwealth were better coordinated, he proposed setting up an *All-Dinia Milli Movement* (ADMM). The three aims of the ADMM appeared in *The Millat & Her Ten Nations: Foundation of the All-Dinia Milli Movement* and are reproduced in Appendix A. Rahmat Ali then went on to declare seven commandments of the destiny of the Continent of Dinia in a pamphlet, *The Millat & The Mission: Seven Commandments of Destiny for the 'Seventh' Continent of Dinia*. The commandments are summarized in Appendix B.

Rahmat Ali died in a nursing home in Cambridge on 3 February 1951, a victim of that year's influenza epidemic, with no one at his bedside. The Master of Emmanuel College arranged for his last rites and burial at New Market Road cemetery. In 2004, an initiative was taken by Choudhary Shujat Husain, the then president of the Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-i-Azam Group), to bring the remains of Rahmat Ali from England to be buried in Pakistan. This led to a controversy and debate about the role played by Rahmat Ali in the

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

creation of Pakistan and the rationale for honouring him as a hero. A leading opponent of this initiative denounced Rahmat Ali as a *gustakh* or insulting of Quaid-i-Azam.⁸⁴ That the person credited with suggesting the nomenclature for a state demanded for the Muslims of South Asia was himself at odds with the Muslim League's campaign for Pakistan throughout the 1940s, points towards the internal inconsistencies and ambiguities of the idea of Pakistan. Rahmat Ali's own radical interpretation of the Muslim *millat* and the future he envisaged for it was also inconsistent with what was being demanded by the League and articulated by Jinnah. Like other essays in this volume, this chapter has detailed the alternative conceptualization of Muslim subjectivity in India and the political project emanating from such a concept.

Conclusion

Retrieving the past glory of the Muslims was the prime objective of Rahmat Ali, a unique if quixotic thinker. Not only was he disgusted with British rule, but he also remained wary of Hindu rule. In his political ideology, there was hardly any room for co-existence. His political ideology evolved from the idea of Pakistan in 1933 to the Continent of Dinia in the 1940s. Pan-Islamism and antipathy for Hindus, which may have emanated from the communal tension prevalent in the Punjab, provided the context for Rahmat Ali to formulate his ideology. Rahmat Ali's political imagination was completely out of sync with existing political realities. Many Pakistanis may still express sympathy with aspects of Rahmat Ali's thought, while acknowledging that his vision will not be realized, at least in the immediate future. Therefore, Rahmat Ali remains a peripheral figure in the collective memory of Pakistanis.

Appendix A

The Millat & Her Ten Nations: Foundation of the All-Dinia Milli Movement

- (a) To claim at least ten nations, ten countries, six seas and four island groups; Pakistan, Bangistan (Bengal), Osmanistan (Hyderabad), Siddiqistan

⁸⁴ Munir Ahmad Munir, *Gustakh-i-Quaid-i-Azam: Choudhary Rahmat Ali* (Lahore: Mahnama Atish Fishan, 2005).

(Central India), Faruqistan (Bihar and Orissa), Haideristan (Hindoostan), Muinistan (Rajasthan), and Maplistan (South India), to be the parts of the Continent of Dinia, along with Safiistan (Western Ceylon, Sri Lanka) and Nasaristan (Eastern Ceylon, Sri Lanka); as well as the Alam Islands in the Maplian Sea, the Amin Islands in the Safian Sea, and the Ashar and Balus Islands in the Bangian Sea.

- (b) To form and co-ordinate the ten national movements of the countries so that the individual nations were integrated well in their territorial spheres. These would be: the Pakistan National Movement, the Bangistan National Movement, and so on.
- (c) To instil the above-mentioned movements with the Pak concept of 'Diniaism,' to organize the establishment of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, and to foster their dedication to the sacred cause of achieving the sovereign freedom of the *millat* and the 'supreme fulfilment' of its mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its dependencies.⁸⁵

Appendix B

The Millat & The Mission: Seven Commandments of Destiny for the 'Seventh' Continent of Dinia

1. Avoid 'minorityism.' This means that minorities must not be left in 'Hindoo lands, even if the British and the Hindoos offer them the so-called constitutional safe-guards.' Not only that, Rahmat Ali ruled out any possibility of allowing Hindus or the Sikhs to live in 'our own lands.'⁸⁶ He believed that in ordinary times Hindus and Sikhs would set back the national reconstruction among the Muslims; in crisis, they would betray them and try to cause their destruction.
2. Avow nationalism. This commandment aimed at recognizing the distinct national status of those Muslims who would be a minority in the seven Hindu majority regions and reciprocally extend a similar offer to the Hindus and Sikhs living in what Rahmat Ali called 'Pakistan, Bangistan'

⁸⁵ Rahmat Ali, *The Millat & Her Ten Nations*, 8.

⁸⁶ Rahmat Ali, *The Millat & The Mission: Seven Commandments of Destiny for the 'Seventh' Continent of Dinia* (Cambridge: The Pakistan National Movement, 1944 [1942]), 12.

and Osmanistan';⁸⁷ in other words, the Muslim majority areas. Importantly enough Rahmat Ali, unlike some religious scholars, affirmed nationalism as a political category subsuming the *millat*.

3. Acquire proportional territory. That commandment meant acquiring territory that was proportional to the number of Muslims in the population more widely, to create Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan and Nasaristan in the regions overwhelmingly inhabited by the Hindus/Sikhs. Rahmat Ali's contention was that Muslims form one-quarter of the population and they were therefore entitled to about one-quarter of the total area. According to this commandment, in three proposed states, namely Pakistan, Bangistan and Osmanistan, the Muslim share, after giving the Hindus and Sikhs their portion, would be 325,000 square miles. There would thus be a shortfall of 75,000 square miles. That short fall would be met by claiming 'the proportional area for our Minorities in the Hindoo Majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies on the assurance of reciprocity to the Hindoo and/or Sikh Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan.'
4. Consolidate the individual nations. Rahmat Ali considered the dispersal of South Asian Muslims extremely detrimental to their well-being. The Muslim 'minorities' living in Hindu majority areas would be the most vulnerable because they would be exposed to Hindu tyranny. Rahmat Ali called for the unification and consolidation of those Muslims in the countries which, for 'spiritual, historical and national reasons,'⁸⁸ he named Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan and Nasiristan. He underscored in no uncertain terms that in thoughts, in words, and in action, these nations would be at par with the Pak nation in importance and status.
5. Provide coordination under a Pak Commonwealth of Nations. This commandment suggests bringing together all ten nations in an international organization. This is necessary for two reasons: firstly, for any nation to stand alone in the world is to invite aggression, if not annihilation; and secondly, these nations in fact belong to one *millat*, and therefore they swim or sink together. Thus for the security not only of the individual

⁸⁷ Ibid., 10.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 16.

- nation but of the entire *millat*, unity and co-operation among all the nations, forging 'a Pak Commonwealth of Nations' was imperative.
6. Convert 'India' into 'Dinia.' In this commandment, Rahmat Ali established an ideal for Pakistanis to work for the service and salvation of India, which they have in fact been pursuing since the seventh century. Rahmat Ali asserted that Pakasians had waged a thirteen-century-long struggle, bore suffering and sacrificed a great deal to liberate the soul and soil of 'India' from the domination of 'Indianism,' and bring it into the domain of 'Dinianism.' What can be inferred from his assertion is that the people inhabiting India (Hindus) would either be converted to Islam or they would be content with *dhimmi* status.⁸⁹ Thus India would be restored to its original and rightful position in the world. To justify the change in the nomenclature of India, Rahmat Ali invokes a reference from history and asserts that originally Indian was Dravidia because Dravidians were inhabiting it. They were exterminated by the Hindus and then it became India. Rahmat Ali contends that India has in the past thirteen centuries been the land of several religions like Islam, Christianity, Hinduism and Sikhism. Since a fundamental change in the character and composition of the people of 'Dravidia' made it 'India,' a similar change in the character and composition of 'India' should make it 'Dinia.' Calling it India will deny the existence of several faiths and their followers on its soil.
7. Organize 'Dinia' and its dependencies into 'Pakasia.' Here the term Pakasia has a cultural and a geographical connotation. However, it does not have any racial significance. In the southern region of Asia, Rahmat Ali aspires Pak culture to dominate; geographically, it 'includes the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.' The Dependencies comprise the Alam Islands, the Ameen Islands, Safistan, Nasaristan, the Ashar Islands, and the Balus Islands.

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⁸⁹ The term *dhimmi* refers to a non-Muslim residing in a Muslim state with certain rights and protection guaranteed to such a person.

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