

Azad's Scheme of Composite Nationalism: Content and Logic

ABSTRACT

The paper evaluates the concept of composite nationalism with special reference to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, an intrepid politician and eloquent intellectual. Azad's scheme of composite nationalism was against the Muslim League's popular demand of separate homeland for Muslims. The scheme of composite nationalism by Azad incorporated the themes of anti-imperialism, pan-Islamism and anti-communalism. These aspects of composite nationalism overlap and intertwine each other in terms of inception, development and manifestation.

Keywords: Muslim revivalism, Hindu-Muslim unity, Composite nationalism, separatism, Abul Kalam Azad, Al-Hilal, Al-Balagh, Pan Islamism and Anti Colonialism

Introduction

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) was a keen intellectual, articulate scholar and an intrepid politician who attained significance in the religious, political and intellectual endeavours. He remained an eloquent exponent of Muslim revivalism in India and across the world among Muslims and

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also laid a great emphasis on Hindu-Muslim unity against British imperialism. He rejected Muslim separatism on the basis of religion and instead favoured composite Indian nationalism in the Indian struggle for independence.

Scheme of Composite Nationalism

Azad stood firm against the British oppression upon Indians and laid a great stress on Hindu-Muslim unity for expulsion of British from India. He believed in composite nationalism and advocated that it was advantageous for the Muslims of India. The scheme of composite nationalism by Azad incorporated the themes of anti-imperialism, pan-Islamism and anti-communalism. These aspects of composite nationalism overlap and intertwine each other in terms of inception, development and manifestation.

In short, broad categorization of the phases of intellectual expansionism experienced by him suggests that in the early years anti-colonial sentiments occupied him. During *Khilafat* movement he worked passionately for Islamic revivalism and asserted the ideals of pan-Islamism. In the post-*Khilafat* phase emphasis on communal harmony gained prominence and dominated the former components of his notion of composite nationalism.

Anti-Imperialism

In *India Wins Freedom* Azad traces his acquaintances with several revolutionaries and he mentions that he met Shri Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950), an active revolutionary and a theoretician of the religious nationalism in Bengal (Azad, 1988, p. 4-5). Azad also came into contact with Shyam Sunder Chakravarty, who was an important revolutionary of that time (Azad, 1988, p. 5). Azad had also joined one of the

revolutionary groups, possibly one of the Jugantar cells which were not, like the Anushilan Samiti, actively anti-Muslim (Hassan, 1985, p. 103).

At that time revolutionary groups were composed of Hindu majority and Muslim entry was restricted primarily due to the Hindu distrust towards Muslim community. Azad argued with the revolutionaries that Muslims could be won over and their hostility or indifference would make the struggle for political liberty much more difficult (Azad, 1988, p. 5-6). He also pointed out to extend the sphere of their activities and claims to have assisted in establishing various secret societies in important towns of Northern India and Bombay (Azad, 1988, p. 6).

The validity of a claim made by Azad of his participation in revolutionary politics was doubted by Gail Minault, author of *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (1982) and *Abul Kalam Azad: A Religious and Intellectual Biography* (1988). Minault regarded this claim as Azad's romanticism (Hassan, 1992, p. 21). Rajat Ray has examined the issue in detail and infers in the light of Intelligence Branch record in Calcutta that Azad became involved in the fringes of the extremist-revolutionary movements. Intelligence Branch records yield partial evidence in support of Azad's claim that he assisted in the spread of extremist revolutionary activity beyond Bengal (Hassan, 1985, p. 104). He was "an active helper of the extremist party in Lahore" and had contacts with Amba Pershad, Sufi Ajit Singh and other Punjabi extremists (Hassan, 1985, p. 104).

Azad visited West Asian countries including Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Turkey. He met a group of Young Turks who had established a centre in Cairo and were publishing a weekly

from there (Azad, 1988, p. 6-7). He remained in correspondence with those Young Turks for many years even after returning to India. These contacts firmed his political beliefs against British for liberation of India.

The anti-imperial sentiments gained momentum with the passage of time and were ardently extended from the pages of *Al-Hilal*. *Al-Hilal* was a weekly magazine in Urdu launched by Azad in July 1912 with the resolve of Muslim uplift by revisiting to the true spirit of Islam and diffusing the new ideas among them. It covered religion, political and literary themes broadly. It was effectively used by Azad to popularize the anti-British ideas by providing religious basis to the issue. *Al-Balagh* was another paper published when *Al-Hilal* was banned under the Press Act of 1914. This paper also propagated the revolutionary ideas, nationalism and doctrine of Hindu-Muslim unity. *Al-Hilal* and *Al-Balagh* were thickly sown with Quranic verses.

Al-Hilal on July 13, 1912 and July 26, 1913 reported that during the Balkan wars, Azad highlighted the heroism of Turkey and he criticised Agha Khan's support for the British on the Turkish issue in his open letter to the Muslims in *Times of India* (Datta, 1990, p. 74). Before World War I, during the time of power competition between Britain and Germany, Azad sided with the Germans. He elucidated the features of German character which he admired for its thoroughness, industry, discipline and inventive ability. These writings which carried the feelings of animosity towards British generated anxiety in the British Government and they decided to take serious steps against Azad. At first the Government demanded a security deposit of Rs. 2000 in 1913, which he paid instantaneously. The Government forced Azad to forfeit the deposit and demanded a fresh security of

Rs.10,000 in 1914, which led to the closure of *Al-Hilal* (Datta, 1990, p. 54). Azad did not give up the mission and started another paper *Al-Balagh* (the Message) in November 1915.

Azad realized that the strong antipathy against British in *Al-Hilal* had led to the Government's direct action. Thus, in *Al-Balagh* he dealt with the issue indirectly by raising concerns over the future destiny of Muslims. He asked for reassertion of Islamic traditions among the Muslims. *Al-Balagh* was a fortnightly in which he pleaded before the Muslims the idea of self examination and self-education under the authority of *Quran* as a source for guidance. The preaching of *Quran* in every issue of *Al-Balagh* was to build up the character and morale of the Muslim community so that it should possess sufficient strength and self-confidence to assert its political rights (Datta, 1990, p. 79).

The British Government was perturbed over the message of *Al-Balagh*. Under the Defence of India Ordinance, Azad was ordered to leave the province of Bengal. In July 1916, he was interned at Ranchi (Butt, 1942, p.83), after expulsion from Bengal. The internment lasted for three years and he was released on December 27, 1919 (Butt, 1942, p.83). As a result of his internment the publication of *Al-Balagh* was discontinued but that did not affect his anti-British stance.

During the days of *Khilafat* movement the anti-imperial standpoint was amplified by Azad. The Western domination on Muslims of the world and particularly its attack on the Holy places of Muslims caused deep anguish among Muslim *ulemas* and masses of India. It was during this period that pan-Islamic thoughts were organized and exhibited by Azad with great fervour. He became eloquent speaker on the colonial issue during *Khilafat* movement. He took up the reason for struggle against the British in these words,

They (the British) allow us to pray, a religious duty, but they will not allow us to uphold the temporal power of the *Khilafat*, a more important religious duty. They allow us to perform the pilgrimage, but they pay no attention to our cries when they compel the *Khalifah* to hand over the pilgrimage places to non-Muslims. They are proud of their religious neutrality, but call us seditious when we object to their blatant transgression of that neutrality (Minault, 1982, p. 93-94).

The liberation of a country became one of Azad's chief concern and occupied central position in his political activities before and during the *Khilafat* movement. For this purpose he considered Muslim awakening extremely important. He wanted the Muslims to realize that their decline was due to foreign domination and the lost glory could be revived with the religious awakening. He worked for it by spreading his ideas and preparing the conditions conducive to achieve the objective of Muslim uplift.

Pan-Islamism

Pan-Islamism constitutes another component of Azad's conception of composite Indian nationalism. The beginning and gradual extension of pan-Islamic thoughts was a derivative of transformation in the religious insight and outlook of Azad. The detachment from religious dogmatism contributed to the expansion of his religious orientation. Islamic revivalism became a matter of great concern for him. It served as prelude and pre-requisite in Azad's scheme of pan-Islamism which could ensure suitable circumstances for the achievement of pan-Islamic ideals.

Azad lamented over the state of Muslims in India who spending their lives in a manner that “does not bind them together, they are not united and are scattered among the population of India. This way is un-Islamic and the entire community is living irreligious life” (Ram, 1974, p. 131). Azad stated that by the end of 1914 the solution to the problem had dawned upon him. “I was convinced”, he said, “that unless this problem is solved, no effort, no endeavour on our (Muslim) part will be successful” (Ram, 1974, p. 136).

He came up with the idea of founding *Hizbullah* (Party of God) imbued with the informing zeal of transforming society in accordance with the teachings of Islam. To accomplish the idea he set up *Dar-ul-Irshad*, the head quarter of *Hizbullah* in 1915. He drafted the constitution of *Hizbullah* and set forth eight attributes which he regarded as absolutely necessary conditions for the membership of *Hizbullah*. Those qualities were;

1. Those who offer repentance to God;
2. Those who serve God;
3. Those who praise God;
4. Those who fast to God;
5. Those who submit to God;
6. Those who fall prostrate in worship;
7. Those who abide by what is right and refrain from what is wrong;
8. Those who observe the limit set by God (Datta, 1990, p. 68).

Azad prepared the course of study based on the teaching of *Quran* and its interpretation. The programme started successfully. But eventually it met failure due to shortage of funds and lack of proper organization. In Azad’s concern over the degrading conditions of Muslims, Islam occupied centrality. He ascribed that deviation from the true teachings of *Quran* had drifted the situation of Muslims towards decline. Therefore, he provided the solution to take direction from

Quran in every affair of life. The *Quran* should be studied from within itself, in its own right, and not in response to an extraneous pressure, for self-sufficient understanding and not for explanations or endorsements or rejections (Ahmad, 1967, p. 177).

Azad was convinced that the reason of Muslim decline was their deprivation of political privileges. Participation in political course could move the conditions of Muslim from low ebb to the standards of prosperity. He defined the line drawn by Islam on which Muslim politics should be constructed. He strictly adhered to the belief that Islam is a dynamic religion which provides guidance to its followers over the matters of low significance to the political complexities. To him religion and politics were inseparable because Islam governs all aspects of life. The fifth issue of *Al-Hilal* (September 8, 1912) carried a long article entitled; '*Reply to a Letter Concerning the Objectives and Political Teachings of Al-Hilal*'. It stated,

You observe that the political questions should be kept separate from religion. But if they are separated what will remain with us? We have learnt our political ideals from religion. . . We believe that *every idea which is derived from any other source other than the Quran is sheer heresy, and this includes also politics....* (emphasis added). Islam has given to man a complete and comprehensive law, and there is no problem of human life for which it does not provide a solution. According to our belief, a Muslim who is in practice and faith accepts any party and teaching other than the *Quran* as his guide, is heretic and not Muslim.... (Hassan, 1992, p. 106).

This notion reveals that Azad firmly believed in the merger of religion and politics and negation to this idea was regarded as defiance to the teachings of Islam as expressed by Azad in

Tarjuman-al-Quran, vol. I. (Ram, 1980, p.11). Islam is vibrant and comprehensive religion which provides directions to carry political activities. Only Islam should be followed as a political doctrine to define the principles, goals and the course for the accomplishment of set objectives.

Azad's vision of Islamic revivalism was at first confined to the Muslims of India. Muslims were recommended to act in accordance with the teachings of Islam to regain the lost glory. But gradually under the effect of changing situations and intellectual expansionism in Azad's thoughts, the concept acquired wider scope. He began to address the issues particularly of religio-political nature which surrounded Muslims around the world. After examining the problem he came to the inference that Muslims should strive hard to expel Western domination as it had destroyed their unique Islamic character. Muslims should also commence measures and prepare grounds for the promotion of solidarity among them.

Azad visualised the creation of pan-Islamic society which should lay its foundations on five pillars; the adherence of the *jamat* (Muslim community) to one *Khalifah* or *Imam* (Muslim leader); its rallying to the call of *Khalifah*; its obedience to *Khalifah*; *hijrat* (migration) to *Dar-al-Islam* (territory of Muslims), which can take many forms; and *jihad* (strive for Allah) which can also take many forms (Ahmad, 1970, p. 67). He was motivated to attain these attributes and wanted the Muslims to contribute to the creation of society based on these characteristics.

As mentioned earlier that Azad's pan-Islamic thoughts were inspired by the ideas of Shaikh Jamal-ud-din Al-Afghani. Aziz Ahmad in "Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Jamal-al-din.al-Afghani and Muslim India", *Studia Islamica*, xiii (1960) (pp.

55-78), argues that Al-Afghani examined the issue of Muslim decline and suggested the characteristics of pan-Islamic society which included reinterpretation of Islamic jurisprudence, reorientation of Muslim institutions, and a readjustment of Islam to the modern world of science and technology under a jurisdiction of a single universal caliph, who could have the acknowledged authority to constitute regional centres to interpret Islam in various Muslim lands. (Ahmad, 1967, p. 127).

Azad had also read a great deal of pan-Islamic literature produced by Shaikh Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), a pan-Islamist scholar and Al-Afghani's close associate, and Rashid Rida (1866-1935), the Syrian Islamic scholar. Azad had learnt anti-imperialism through their writings published in Arabic press (Hassan, 1992, p. 22). These writings further infused aspirations in Azad for the regeneration of entire Muslims of the world and their convergence on common Islamic ideals. In contribution to this he launched a fortnightly *Al-Jamia* in 1923, which continued till March 1924, to acquaint the Arabic world with the political developments in India and to foster the spirit of pan-Islamism (Datta, 1990, p. 86).

Azad visualized a scheme of political authority to achieve the global political objectives of Islam. He founded an organization named *Imarat-e-Sharia* in 1921 to offer the functions of state leadership and also to issue *fatwas* on problems of Muslim law (Hassan, 1992, p. 109). In general Azad's scheme aimed at establishing "*Imarat*; a political authority, state power, pure and simple. It was a part, a section of the universal *Khilafat* of Islam, and representing it in separate countries and functioning accordingly and under it. But in countries like India where Muslims constituted a minority and did not hold political power, the *Imarat* owed

allegiance to the *Khilafat* and, at the same time, maintained a relationship with the country's government under a collective agreement" (Hassan, 1992, p. 109).

Azad's views on pan-Islamism echoed loudly during the period of *Khilafat* movement when the situation raised concerns over the continued existence of *Khilafat*. He in *Masala-e-Khilafat wa Jazirat-al-Arab* regarded the preservation of the territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire and independence of the Ottoman Sultan indispensable for the preservation and security of Islam as well as for the unity of the Muslim world (Hassan, 1985, p. 71). In identifying with the *Khilafat* the Muslims of India identified themselves with the glorious achievements of the Turks and also in political terms allegiance to *Khalifah* implied a subtle rejection of non-Muslim authority in many spheres of life.

Azad had emphasized that the defence of Islam and of the Muslim community was not the concern of *Khalifah* only but was also the duty of the entire Muslim community. In a speech made before Bengal Provincial *Khilafat* Conference in February 1920, which was later published as *Masala-e-Khilafat wa Jazirat al-Arab*, he gave a lengthy analysis of the institution of the *Khilafat*, the challenges then facing it, and the action incumbent upon the Indian Muslims, with arguments gleaned from the *Quran* and *Hadith* (Hassan, 1992, p.23).

In *Khutbat-e-Azad* he urged the Muslims of India to design a line of defensive action against the British wrong by highlighting the fact that, "when a group of non-Muslims attack or intend to attack a Muslim State or population, it becomes obligatory for the Muslims of the world to rise up as one man in defence. They should not permit the Muslim state or population to fall under the control of the non-Muslims. If

the enemy succeeds in establishing his authority, they should make an all-out-effort to turn him out of the Islamic land" (Ram, 1974, p.31).

Azad thoroughly examined the state of affairs and put forward the possible solution in his presidential address at *Khilafat* conference held at Calcutta on February 28-29, 1920. Based on *Quran, ahadis, fiqh*, and historical precedents his discourse centred on the issue of *Khilafat* and non-cooperation (Qureshi, 1999, p.141). He declared that retention of the institution was the fundamental principle of Islam and if it is in danger, non-cooperation with the evil was essential. He declared that according to the teachings of *shari'at*, in such circumstances cooperation with the non-Muslims, the "enemies of Islam", was sin (Qureshi, 1999, p. 141). He along with Abdul Bari, one of the chief ideologue of the *ulema*, authored a *fatwa* on *hijrat* to articulate the permissible conduct for Muslims during *Khilafat* agitation. It stated,

After examining all the reasons embodied in the *shari'at*, contemporary events, interests of the Muslims..... I feel completely satisfied in my perception that for the Muslims of India there is no *shari'* alternative but to go on *hijrat*. For all those Muslims who would like to fulfil their biggest Islamic obligation in India today, it is imperative that they should embark on *hijrat*; and those who are unable to do so immediately should help and assist the worth *muhajirin* in such a way as if they were themselves going on *hijrat*... Before the war it was commendable; now in accordance with the spirit of *shari'at* it has become mandatory (Qureshi, 1999, p. 188).

The views and conduct taken by Azad during the *Khilafat* movement reflected his vision for securing pan-Islamic ideals. It incorporated the three dimensions i.e. overthrow of

British authority, world-wide supremacy of Islam, and Hindu-Muslim cooperation. In pursuit of achieving the objectives he focused on the cooperation with Hindus. He became a part of Gandhi's program of non-cooperation and also persuaded Muslims to go for cooperation with Hindus to comply with the anti-British agenda. It was during this period that anti-communal conviction, which was present already in one way or the other, cemented and was rigorously followed for the rest of his life.

Anti-Communalism

Anti-communal leaning constitutes another significant component of composite nationalism of Azad. It was an advanced version of Hindu-Muslim co-operation which was professed in the perspective of anti-colonialism. (Ahmad, 1967, p. 187). The gradual bent of ideological orientation in Azad aroused the need to revisit the grounds of Hindu-Muslim cooperation. In a reassessment it went through qualitative changes and acquired nationalist attitude which eventually swayed the ideological and political course taken by Azad.

During the days when Azad was inclined towards revolutionary politics, he first carved out interests on Hindu-Muslim cooperation. As *India Wins Freedom* bears the testimony that he had joined a Hindu revolutionary group (Azad, 1988, p. 5) and also pointed out absence of Muslim participation in such organizations. He suggested that active antagonism or indifference of Muslims would make the struggle for political liberty much more difficult. Therefore, every effort to win the support and friendship of the community was essential (Azad, 1988, p. 6).

Azad claims that *Al-Hilal* was founded to propagate his anti-imperialist and nationalist standpoint (Azad, 1988, p. 5-6). But according to Aziz Ahmad the tone of writings in *Al-Hilal* and the attitude he then generally carried towards Hindus, contradicts his claim. Azad was at that time under the strong influence of Islam which served as spiritual guide to him for he had refused to find political affiliation to any source other than the *Quran*. (Ahmad, 1967, p. 187-188). In 1912, Azad wrote in *Al-Hilal* that a Muslim who sought a solution for any action or belief in any other political party or school of thought ceased to be a Muslim, and could be regarded as a political polytheist for seeking a solution alien to the all-embracing doctrine of the *Quran*. (Ahmad, 1967, p. 188). The conclusion has been drawn by Aziz Ahmad from the below mentioned extract from the fifth issue of *Al-Hilal* (September 8, 1912) which carried a long article entitled; '*Reply to a Letter Concerning the Objectives and Political Teachings of Al-Hilal*'. Azad defined his ideological leanings in *Tarjuman-al-Quran*, vol. I, and *Al-Hilal*, 8 September, 1912 as,

We are not with anybody but only with God. . . Islam is so lofty and sublime that its followers need to follow the Hindus to determine their political policy. . . They need not to join any party. They are the ones who make the world, join their party and follow their path (Ram, 1980, p. 11).

He further stated,

These are the principles on which we can base our political policy, and for the sake of which we need not stretch our begging hands either before the moderate Hindus or before the extremists. . . We will do our best for the country's progress and freedom in complete accord with our religious principles. But our efforts will have nothing to do with causing mischief, disturbance, disorder and revolt. The *Quran* teaches us not to create disturbance on earth after peace is established (Hassan, 1992, p.106).

The above mentioned narration unfolds his political belief which entirely rules out any kind of cooperation with Hindus either of moderate or extremist preference. To him Muslims should seek political affiliation with the political set of guidelines presented by Islam. He exhorted Muslims to go alone on the political course by taking guidance from the *Quran* for the liberation of their country. But some more extracts from *Al-Hilal*, September 08, 1912, further stated, "The British Government has certainly established peace under which we freely observe our religious obligations.... It is incumbent on us, therefore, to keep away from those who create disturbance in the country, be they Hindu anarchists or criminal groups, and if possible, try to stop and repulse them" (Hassan, 1992, p. 106-107). Azad further suggested the Muslims to be helpful to all those who perform good deeds whether it is the Government or any other community (Hassan, 1992, p. 107).

After exploring the information it can safely be inferred that while advocating complete adherence to the Islamic principles and ruling out both loyalism and emulation of the Hindus; he however, appears to favour an issue based support to anyone who advocates the just opinion. In an assertive manner Azad negated active Hindu-Muslim cooperation while in a subtle tone favoured passive collaboration. Azad made a claim in a statement in January 1922 in which he credited *Al-Hilal* with persuading Muslims to rely on faith than numbers, and to unite fearlessly with the Hindus, which led to the united movement of *Khilafat* and *Swaraj* (Amir, 2000, p. 147).

The nature and extent of Hindu-Muslim unity underwent a qualitative change during *Khilafat* movement. Azad was

convinced to form a political alliance with the Hindus and also channelized Muslim public opinion as a theoretician of *Khilafat* movement. He became a part of non-cooperation movement of Gandhi and also preached the Muslims to join the programme. He in *Masala-e-Khilafat wa Jazirat-al-Arab*, inferred from the Prophet's (S.A.W) instructions to boycott those who did not join the Tabuk expedition, that non-cooperation should be practised against those present-day Muslims who were violating the interest of the *ummat* by not joining in the fight against its enemies (Amir, 2000, p. 144).

During the period of *Khilafat* agitation he sought to find the basis of political collaboration with Indian National Congress, which had an overwhelmingly Hindu membership, by turning to the *sira* for a precedent for integrated alliance with a non-Muslim community. He found that in the treaty between Muhammad (S.A.W) and Jews living in Medina concluded in 622 A. D according to which Muslim as well as non-Muslim parties were described as a single community (*umma wahida*). The treaty, though in practice ceased to function in relation to Jews and other non-Muslim elements in Medina, still retained, in Azad's view, validity as a precedent for other situations and in other lands in the subsequent history of Islam, and was especially pertinent to India (Ram, 1974, p. 42-44).

Safia Amir in *Muslim Nationhood in India: Perceptions of Seven Eminent Thinkers* states that, Azad elaborated that Islam recommended good behaviour towards unaggressive non-Muslims, but complete non-cooperation with those enemies and aggressors who were in a state of war with it, she supported her argument by quoting different verses of *Quran*.

Allah has stated in *Sura Al-Imran*, O you who believe! Take not as (your) *Bitanah* (advisors, consultants, protectors, helpers, friends, etc.) those outside your religion (pagans, Jews and Christians etc) since they wish you would have hardship. Hatred has already appeared from their mouths. but what their breasts conceal is far worse. Indeed We have certainly made clear to you the signs (*Ayats*) if you understand. (*Quran*, 3:118).

Reminding the Muslims that *Qur'an* did not permit any relation with those fighting Islam even if they were the closest of family members.

Sura At Tauba states, O you who believe! Take not for *Auliya'* (supporters and helpers) your fathers and your brothers if they prefer disbelief to Belief. And whoever of you does so, then he is one of the *Zalimun* (wrong-doers, etc.) (*Quran*, 9:23) and *Sura Al Mumtahanah* states, O you who believe! Do not take My enemies and your enemies as allies, extending to them affection, while they have disbelieved in what has come to you of the truth (i-e this *Qur'an*, and Muhammad SAW), and have driven out the Messenger (Muhammad SAW) and yourselves (from your homeland) because you believe in Allah, your Lord. If you have come out for jihad in My Cause and to seek My Good Pleasure, (then take not them as your friends). You confide to them affection, but I am most knowing of what you have concealed and what you have declared. And whosoever of you (Muslims) does that, then indeed he has gone (far) astray, (away) from the Straight Path. (*Quran*, 60:1), and those who did not obey this command ceased to be Muslims; *Sura Al Mujadila* states, You (O Muhammad SAW) will not find any people who believe in Allah and the Last Day, making friendship with those who oppose Allah and His Messenger (Muhammad), even though they were their fathers. or their sons. or their brothers. or their kindred. Those - He has decreed within their hearts faith and supported them with spirit from Him. And We will admit them to Gardens (Paradise) beneath which rivers flow, wherein they abide eternally. Allah is pleased with them, and they with Him. They are the Party of Allah. Unquestionably, it is the Party of Allah that will be the successful. (*Quran*, 58:22)

Because of these, he was severely critical of those who refused to give up the titles conferred upon them by the government, and continued to support and co-operate with it (Amir, 2000, p. 144).

Communal harmony between Hindus and Muslims became so great an aspiration that Azad was ready to abandon the struggle for liberation if it was to harm Hindu-Muslim unity. In a Presidential address at the Special Congress session held in Delhi on September 15, 1923 he vehemently spoke about it in these words,

If an angel were to descend from the heavens and declare from the top of Qutab Minar, that India will get *Swaraj* within twenty-four hours provided she relinquishes Hindu-Muslim unity, I will relinquish *Swaraj* rather than give up Hindu-Muslim unity. Delay in the attainment of *Swaraj* will be a loss to India but if our unity is lost, it will be a loss for entire mankind (Johari, 1995. p. 328).

Earlier Hindu-Muslim unity was perceived by Azad more in theological parameters when he had strict leanings towards Quranic teachings but with the passage of time the philosophical dimensions of Islam provided grounds to the perception of Hindu-Muslim unity. In an article *Islam and Nationalism* published in the second phase of *Al-Hilal* (*Al-Hilal "Sani"*), which ran from June-December 1927, Azad elaborated that Islam and the concept of nationalism did not lie in contradiction. He wrote,

The large-heartedness of Islam neither negates nationalism, nor is it necessary to limit the Islamic perceptions. . . Islam did not recognize the artificial affiliations of race, country, nation, colour language. It called man to the one and only relationship of humanism and the natural bonds of brotherhood . . . the importance of unity and brotherhood in Islam is proven by the fact that

during each of his five daily prayers, the Prophet said: "God, our Lord and the Lord of Universe; I confess that only You are the Lord of the Universe and no one but You. God, our Lord and the Lord of the Universe; I confess that Mohammad (Peace be upon Him) is no more than Your slave and Your messenger. God, our Lord and the Lord of the Universe; I confess that all Your people are brothers, and, whatever differences they may have created among themselves, You have created them as one human race (Johari, 1995, p. 335-337).

Azad in *Al-Hilal "Sani"* stated that 'call of Islam was a call to 'humanism' and 'human brotherhood': hence it is biased against all prejudices that resulted from the racial and national distinction. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the chauvinism of race and nation so that it becomes clear what the spirit of Islam is opposed to. There are two aspects of chauvinism; one, the protection of race and nation, and the other, the prejudice of race and nation. The spirit of Islam is opposed to the prejudice but not to protection. But the problem is that when such an orbit is formed, though it originates with the spirit of protection, later it turns into prejudice.

To begin with, a group of people create the orbit of patriotism and nationalism in order to protect themselves from external invasion. This is 'defensive nationalism'. Its continuance over a period of time, however, gives birth to feelings of national superiority and patriotic pride, in place of national defence. 'Defensive nationalism' suddenly turns into 'jingoism'. Not content with its protection, nationalism wants to attack others. Moreover, the heady wine of racial and national superiority evokes a sense of distinction from others and breeds contempt and disdain for them. As a result, violence erupts between different nations, and better human sense becomes dormant.

The only remedy for this solution was to restrict the creation of narrow orbits. Whenever a narrow orbit comes into existence, it means that the broad human circle has been sliced. In place of broader vision and sensibilities there is a narrow outlook and perspective. Islam, therefore, discourages the emergence of narrow orbits. Thus the call of Islam was a call to "humanism" and "human brotherhood": hence it is bias against all prejudices that resulted from racial and national distinction (Johari, 1995, p. 337). Regarding Islam and nationalism as a conciliatory phenomenon, Azad not only provided religious justification to his national identity but also attempted to clarify the mounting ambiguities due to anti-communal disposition. He safeguarded his anti-communal stance and called upon the Muslims to seek communal harmony as it is permissible in Islam. Hindu-Muslim unity, according to Azad, did not damage the basic spirit of Islam. This notion was then carried by Azad for the rest of his life.

Gradually due to intellectual growth and certain political developments the anti-communal component of Azad's composite nationalism acquired consolidation. Under the ideological influence of Gandhi, Azad had been convinced with the nationalist approach of Indian National Congress. From this time onwards the nature and extent of Hindu-Muslim cooperation as earlier defined by Azad began to acquire nationalist character. It transformed into anti-communalism which upheld the principles of tolerance and communal harmony. Nevertheless Islamic teachings remained the bearings of the course of his thoughts.

Anti-imperialism, pan-Islamism and anti-communalism co-existed in Azad's scheme of composite nationalism and complemented each other for development. The ideological

and political inclinations of Azad and the ground situations provided ascendancy or inadequacy to any of the aspect. During the early years when Azad was attracted towards revolutionary ideas the anti-imperialistic character of composite Indian nationalism gained supremacy over the other two components, which were then in the making. He suggested a collaborative effort of Hindus and Muslims against British and also laid stress on Muslims to revisit the true teachings of Islam.

During the period of *Khilafat* movement the pan-Islamic theme dominated but encompassing the Hindu-Muslim cooperation and anti-British standpoint. He preached the pan-Islamic ideals which were to be cherished with the overthrow of foreign domination in relation to extended Hindu-Muslim cooperation. After the *Khilafat* movement the anti-communal disposition dominated and to a certain extent faded the fervour of anti-imperial and pan-Islamic perspectives of composite nationalism.

The firm conviction of anti-communalism decreased the fervour for the other two components i.e. anti-imperialism and pan-Islamism. The commitment for pan-Islamism seeking convergence of all Muslims of the world towards a single authority abandoned eventually and Azad shifted his energies to safeguard the interests of Muslims of India. The dedication for anti-imperialism continued to seek its existence but not as a matter of chief concern if it was to deteriorate communal harmony.

In the whole ideological scheme of Azad, the anti-communal aspect ultimately attained ascendancy over the other two aspects of composite nationalism. It gained prominence to an extent that it stood prominent constituent of Azad's notion of composite nationalism. Azad showed

firm adherence to communal harmony and upheld this principle for which he remained a member of Indian National Congress and proposed strong antipathy to the scheme of Pakistan.

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