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KHILAFAT MOVEMENT AND THE PROVINCE OF SINDH

ABSTRACT

The Khilafat Movement started by the Muslims of India is directly related to the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire of Turkey, the only Muslim power of the world during the twentieth century, at the hands of different European nations and particularly against the hostile attitude of Britain towards Turkey**.** Like other areas of India Muslim**s** of Sindh played significant role in this movement. This article deals with the different efforts of Muslims of Sindh along with the Muslims of other areas for saving khlifat.

Key words: Non violence non co-operation movement, Congress, Fatwas, Hijrat

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The institution of Khilafat began after the death of Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) in 632 AD when Hazrat Abu Bakr, who was the successor of the Holy Prophet, adopted the title of *Khaltfatu-Rasool-i-illah*, successor of Prophet of God.[1] The successor of Hazrat Abu Bakr, Hazrat Umar simplified the title to *Khaltfah*[2] and the Caliph (An English version of *Khaltfah*) became temporal and spiritual head of the entire Muslims of the World. The first four caliphs were all selected democratically. However, after the death of Hazrat Ali, Amir Mu'awiyah laid down the foundation of Umayyad Dynasty, which changed the nature of Khilafat from democratic institution to monarchy. Umayyads and the rulers of the successive Muslim dynasties such as Abbasids, Fatimid (Egypt) and finally Ottomans (Turkey) continued to use the title of Caliph as used by four early Caliphs and further strengthening the institution of Khilafat, as a result Caliph became the symbolic head of the Muslim rule, even outside of Arabia.

When Turkish Empire was at the height of its power, it included the areas of Balkans, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt and almost the whole of the North coast of Africa as far as Morocco.[3] However, from seventeenth century Turkish Empire began to decline gradually. This process started with the loss of Hungary to Austria in 1699 and continued for more than two centuries till finally after World War 1 it ended with the treaties of Sevres (1920) and Lausanne (August 1923)[4]. During the process of dissolution (1699-1914) in the nineteenth century Russia by 1815 annexed almost all the areas around Crimea. Turkish Sultan lost Algeria to France in 1830 and Greece in 1832 became an independent state. In Russo-Turkish war of 1877, which resulted in signing of Treaty of Berlin (1878), under which many areas were taken away from Ottoman Sultan such as Austria was allowed to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. Romania, Serbia and Montenegro were given complete independence as Sovereign states; and Bulgaria became an independent state under Turkish suzerainty.[5] In 1896, Crete was taken away from Turkey and in 1881 France seized Tunisia and in 1905 Morocco was taken away from Turkey.[6]

This gradual decline of Ottoman Empire particularly soon after Russo-Turkish War (1876-78), the 'Islamic World recognized the fact that the areas

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[1] I.H.Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent* (610-1914): *A Brief Historical Analysis* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1999), p.309. The word 'Khilafat' comes from *Khaltfah* an Arabic word, means one who comes after, a successor. For further information of Khilafat see T.W.Arnold, *The Caliphat* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, n.d)

[2] Ibid, p.309

[3] David Thomson, *Europe Since Napoleon* (Great Britain: Hazell Watson Viney Ltd, 1966), p.340

[4] Stuart Miller, *Mastering Modern European History* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997), p.306

[5] David Thomson, op. cit., pp.463-466

[6] I.H.Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics* (Karachi: Ma'aref Ltd., 1974), pp.229-230

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of Islamic independence was steadily narrowing'.[7] It forced the Muslim thinkers to find a solution to stop this process and to work for the revival of Muslim power in the world.

It was at this juncture that Jamaluddin Afghani (1838-97) propagated the idea of Pan-Islamism. According to this doctrine, Afghani propagated that all Muslims of the World were brothers and they should unite against all those forces, which were working against Islam.[8] He suggested to the Muslims of the world that to 'escape the fate of subjugation by the West and to liberate the Muslim lands, that had been incorporated in Western Empires', they should make 'strong alliance and make a joint efforts for their preservation and progress'.[9] Pan-Islamism also included the doctrine the Turkey should be strengthened and supported. The Sultan was advised to invade India through Persia[10]

Turkish Sultan Abdul Hameed (1876-1909) used this doctrine to obtain moral support from the Muslims of the world and reinforced his position as Khalifa of Muslim World.[11] The ideology of Pan-Islamism gradually spread in the Indian Subcontinent and the Indian Muslims recognized 'Turkish Sultan as temporal ruler over the Ottoman dominions and as a Caliph he was accepted as supreme spiritual authority over al Muslims under whatever temporal government they may dwell'.[12]

It was under the influence of this doctrine that Indian Muslims developed interest in the Greco-Turkish War and raised funds to help the families of Turkish soldiers who had been killed. Furthermore in 1897, when Turkey won over Greeks in Thessaly, there was rejoicing over this victory in India. The renewed interest in Caliphate, led to the re-introduction of the custom of mentioning the name of the Sultan of Turkey with his titles in the *Khutbah*[13] started at this time. Thus, within the next decade, Sultan of Turkey was not only recognized and accepted as Caliph of sub-continent[14] but a genuine concern regarding the fate of Ottoman Empire grew among Indian Muslims.

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[7] P.C.Bomford, *History of Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements* (Delhi: Government of India Press, 1925), p.110

[8] K.K.Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan*: *A Study in Nationalism* (Lahore: Adab Pritners, 1989), p.115

[9] I.H.Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, op.cit, p.231

[10] P.C. Bomford, op.cit, p.110

[11] *A History OF Freedom Movement*, Vol. III, Part I (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society), p.102

[12] T.W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, n.d.), p.173

[13] *Khutbah*, the official sermon in the congregational prayers of Fridays.

[14] Umayyads and Abbasids were recognized as *dejure* suzerains of the Empire of Delhi.During Sultanat period, Indian rulers such as Iltutmish, Muhammad b. Tughlaq, Feroz Shah and Tipu Sultan have secured recognition from Abbasid Caliphs to legalize their rule and to enhance their prestige in the eyes of their subjects. However, Mughals subscribed a new theory that each independent Muslim monarch was the Caliph within his own territories. The Mughal Emperors were, therefore, recognized to be Caliphs within the Mughal Empire. After 1858, with the removal of Bahadur

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During the nineteenth century with a view of stopping Russian expansion in Europe, British government supported Turkish Ottoman Empire against Russian assaults and was used as a barrier against Russian advance. But with the political decline of Turkish Sultan he lost his utility to the Britain, and became a 'sick man of Europe'. The British government then decided to gradually liquidate the Ottoman Empire and reversed its pro-Turkish policy. Under this changed policy, in Turco-Italian and Balkan Wars of 1911-12, British government left Turkey to its fate, as a consequence Turkey lost all her European territories accept Constantinople. This attitude of Britain convinced the Indian Muslims that by keeping itself aloof from the Wars, British government has indirectly helped Russia in the liquidation of Ottoman Empire. This change in the British foreign policy towards Turkey perturbed the Indian Muslims and Britain was considered as enemy of Islam.

During the Balkan War, to convey the Muslim opinion to the British government regarding its attitude towards Turkey and to cover Balkan War, Muslim scholars founded different newspapers, such as Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar[15] founded *Comrade* on 1 January 1911 and started writing articles and speaking openly against British government. In one of his editorials, Muhammad Ali warned Great Britain that Muslim opinion has turned against them; therefore, they should "abandon their neutral policy towards Turkey, and stop courting Russia and make alliances with Muslims Kingdoms"[16] because of his anti-British campaign, when in 1913, he reproduced a pamphlet entitled 'Come Over to Macedonia and Help Us' in *Comrade*, Indian government as a punishment imposed a heavy fine on his Press. Following his footsteps, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad[17] founded *Al-Hilal* in June 1912. He wrote in favor of Ottoman Empire and criticized British government for its indifferent attitude towards Turkey and considered the British responsible for all ills of Islam. The third important newspaper, which became the mouthpiece of Muslims during Balkan War,

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Shah Zafar, the last Mughal ruler, the name of Emperor was removed from *Khutbah*. Then after 1897, the name of Sultan of Turkey came to be inserted in the *Khutbah* alongwith his titles. I.H.Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, pp.253-254

[15] Muhammad Ali, and old student of Aligarh and Orator who spoke frequently in support of Aligarh and wrote articles on Aligarh affairs. He was an active member of Aligarh Old Boys Association and one of the non-resident trustees of Aligarh Institute. In 1911 when Aligarh Muslim University Movement was revived, he took an active part in it. One of the main demands of this Movement was that Muslim should have control over the University. But government refused this demand. Alongwith this refusal, the attitude of British government towards Turkey during Balkan War led to the development of anti-British feelings in his heart.

[16] Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), p.23

[17] Azad was an A'alim turned journalist and a renowned Urdu stylist.

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was Zafar Ali Khan's[18] paper *Zamindar*. Similarly, in 1912, Maulana Shibli Numani, a teacher at Aligarh College, started a newspaper *Muslim Gazette*, in which he suggested to the Indian Muslims to give up the fad of loyalty to the government, so that Muslim politics become independent.[19]

These Muslim writers promoted the pan-Islamic ideology and through their papers convinced the Muslims that the 'British government is no longer a safe custodian of Islamic interests'.[20] As a result, Muslims lost confidence in the British government and mistrust on the intentions of British government towards Ottoman Empire became deep-rooted. This resulted in the growth of unrest and extremism among the Indian Muslims to such a level that in 1913 Abul Kalam Azad, advocated the boycott of European goods.[21] Similarly, in March 1913, *Aligarh Institute Gezette*, published a *fatwa*, in which it was urged that Muhammadans, being brothers of the oppressed Turks, should curse those, who, seeing oppression, wished to help the oppressors, and that no opportunity should be lost to impair the strength of the enemies of Turkey.[22]

Balkan War not only affected the western-educated Muslims, but anti-British feelings grew among the Ulemas of Deoband[23] and Farangi Mahal[24]. Maulana Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal, who was a strong supporter of Turkey, and of Turkish Sultan as Caliph of Islam, collected funds and dispatched medical mission under Doctor Ansari for medical assistance to the Turkish victim of War and to help the Turkish Red-Crescent in looking after the wounded soldiers. During the collection of funds, he met Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali in December 1912.[25] Abdul Bari, seeing the enthusiasm and zeal of Ali Brothers for Ottoman Empire, decided to cooperate with them, to mobilize Muslim support for Turkish Sultan. However when Turkey was defeated, the Indian Muslims felt that Turkey has become too weak and incapable of defending the Holy places of Islam. To help Turkey in preserving and protecting Muslims' holy places from non-Muslim aggression they decided to take practical step. Abdul Bari, in collaboration with Ali Brothers (Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali) in 1913,

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[18] In 1910, Zafar Ali Khan took over the Editorship of *Zamindar*, a Lahore-based paper and in 1911started against British government.

[19] I.H. Qureshi, *Ulmah in Politics*, op.cit., p.233

[20] P.C.Bomford, op.cit., p.112

[21] Ibid., p.112

[22] Ibid.

[23] The Dar al Ulum, Deoband, school was founded in 1867, in a mosque in Deoband in northwestern UP. For further detail, see Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement.*

[24] Farangi Mahal, a school, founded during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658 – 1707), is a jumble of old residences and courtyards in Lucknow. For further information, see Gail Minoult, *The Khilafat Movement.*

[25] In November 1911, Ali Brothers along with Aligarh students opened a relief fund and started collecting money for the Turkish people.

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founded *Anjuman-e-Khuddam-e-Ka'aba* (Society for the Servants of Ka'aba). Abdul Bari became its president, Mushir Hussain Qidwai and Shaukat Ali as General Secretaries.[26] The chief aims of the Anjuman were to maintain the honor of Kaa'ba and other holy places of Islam and to defend them against non-Muslims aggression.[27] Anjuman leaders planned to associate every single Indian Muslim in this mission. They decided that branches of Anjuman would be opened throughout India. Muslims will be asked to become member with the one rupee as membership fee for a year. It was decided that money collected would be divided into three parts.

a) The first to be given to Turkey to maintain the dignity and political independence of the sacred places.
b) The second to be given to Islamic Schools, Orphanages and missionary societies.
c) And the third reserved for the future defense of the Kaa'ba.[28]

To popularize its ideology, Anjuman, in 1914 started publishing a Monthly newspaper, entitled ''Khudaamul Kaa'ba, under the editorship of Shaukat Ali. But it was soon close down because of the lack of funds.[29] Though the aims of Anjuman were very attractive, but it failed to attract large number of Muslims. Therefore, it soon became inactive. Though it failed but it brought Western educated Muslims and Ulema on one platform and paved the way for future cooperation.

With the coming of the First World War (1914), situation became more complicated. Muslims of India received the news that Turkey is thinking of joining Germany (Central Powers) against Allied Powers. This news disturbed the Indian Muslims. They desired that Turkey should not join the War. Several telegrams, explaining the Muslim concern over the Turkish decision to join Central Powers, were sent to the Sultan. As a last effort to prevent Turkey from joining the War, Abdul Bari, Muhammad Ali and Dr. Ansari sent a telegram to the Ottoman Sultan in August 1914. They pleaded with him that Turks should think a thousand times before they joined the War and to maintain strict neutrality. If that is not possible and he had to, then Turkey should join Allied power[30]. However, at the end of October 1914, Turkey, in spite of the Indian Muslims request, joined Central Powers, which made matters more worse. This decision of Turkey placed the Muslims of India in a very awkward position. Their loyalties were divided between British, being the ruler of India and the Turkish Caliph who was their spiritual head. To defuse anti-British feeling and to satisfy the

[26] Gail Minault, op.cit, p.35
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] . P.C. Bompord, op. cit., p. 115
[30] . *History of the Freedom Movement*, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 161

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Muslims' anxiety, Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, assured the Muslims that during the War, the holy places of Islam would be preserved.[31] After this assurance, Indian Army, mostly consisted of Muslim soldiers, was sent to Europe, which fought for Britain and, therefore, against Turkey. Indian Muslims supported Allied Forces with the hope that in return of their loyalty and support, Allied Forces, especially British government will treat Turkey leniently, in case of its defeat.

When the news reached India that Turkey had joined Central Powers, the Muslim press once again became active and started writing articles on fate of Turkey and also about the attitude of Indian Muslims towards British government and to Caliph. Muslim newspapers like *The Daily Paisa Akhbar* and *Sher-e-Punjab*, criticized Turkeys decision of joining the War against England and propagated the idea that Indian Muslims should remain unperturbed and stand by the British.[32] However, there was another section of Muslim press such as *Comrade*, *Al-Hilal* and *Zamindar* openly sympathized with the Turkish Ottoman Empire and criticized British Government. These newspapers further created resentment among Indian Muslims against the government and pose a security risk for the government. To control the spread of discontent and to keep Muslim agitation in control, Muhammad Ali and Abul Kalam Azad were interned (May 1915) during the War and their Press was confiscated.[33]

Muslim feelings were running high and situation became very critical for the government of India. During the War, as they needed the support from all the communities of India particularly from the Muslims, therefore, on the request of the Indian government, the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, on 5 January 1918, stated in the Parliament, 'nor are we [Allied Forces] fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race'.[34]

When at international level above mentioned events were taking place, in India some very important political changes took place, which transformed the Muslim political outlook and further aggravated the situation.

The first of these developments was the foundation of All India Muslim League at Dacca in 1906 through which Muslims entered into the politics of India. The second development was the annulment of the Partition of Bengal in 1911. When in 1905 Bengal was divided, the new province carved out, turned out to be a Muslim majority province. The Muslims of East Bengal (the new province) hailed Indian government with the hope that new

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[31] S.M.Burke & Salim al-Din Quraishi, *British Raj in India*: *A Historical Review* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.148

[32] Syed Razi Wasti, *Muslim Struggle for Freedom in British India* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1993), p.293

[33] I.H. Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, op.cit., p.244

[34] R.C.Majumdar, *History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. III (Lahore: Book Traders, 1979), p.53

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province will provide opportunities to the Muslims to improve their life. But Bengali Hindus agitated and refused to accept the division of Bengal. To pressurize Indian government, for the annulment, Hindus started *Swadeshi Movement* in which the British products were boycotted. Hindus asked the Muslim to join *Swadeshi Movement*. But Muslims refused and as a result communal riots took place. In spite of Hindu pressure, British Indian government assured the Muslims that in no circumstances the Partition would be revoked.

During this period, the Indian Councils Act of 1909 was introduced in India, which gave the right for separate electorates to the Muslims. This concession further promoted among the Muslims the loyalty to the British government. But Congress leaders were enraged and disapproved this concession. As a result, the agitation, which was carried on by Congress against the Partition of Bengal was now doubled and communal tension grew more. Because of the continuous agitation, on the occasion of the coronation of the King Emperor on 12 December 1911, the Partition was annulled by a Royal proclamation at Delhi.

The announcement of annulment thrilled the Hindus, but Muslims were disappointed. They felt that the government has cheated them. They began to think that loyalty to the government is not the way for fulfilling their demands rather it's the agitation that helps to achieve objectives.

In the meantime, the issue of the Aligarh Muslim University further created resentment against Indian government. Muslims desired to raise the Aligarh College to the level of an affiliating Muslim University. But in 1912, Secretary of State for India turned down the Muslim request. The refusal further disappointed the Muslims.

During this period, some educated Hindus started showing their sympathies for the Ottoman Empire. A leading Hindu newspaper, the *Gujratee*, in one of its editorial wrote that the 'Turks who are defending their homeland deserve our sympathies. The Hindus are aggrieved to see the afflictions of the Turks, since they have made a mark in history and have contributed a lot towards the betterment of humanity. It is our heart-felt desire to see their Empire intact'.[35]

This changed attitude of Hindus (Congress) towards the Muslims' encouraged Muslim League leaders, who believed in Hindu-Muslim unity, to work for it. As a first step, Muslim League revised its constitution in the Lucknow Session held in March 1913 declaring 'to promote friendship and union between the Mussalmans and other communities of India and to work for the attainment of a system of self-government suitable to India'.[36] These changes in the constitution of Muslim League especially the adoption of

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[35] Syed Razi Wasti, op.cit., p.259

[36] Syed Sharifuddin Prizada (ed), *Foundations of Pakistan*: *All India Muslim League Documents 1906-1947*, Vol. I (Karachi: National Publishing House Limited, 1969), pp.264-272

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self-government as one of its objective brought Muslim League and Congress close to each other, which resulted in signing of Lucknow Pct (1916).[37] Thus, during the War, Congress and Muslim League grew closer and their relationship became cordial.

Throughout the WWI, Indians agitated for the reforms. And when finally in 1919, Montague Chelmsford Reforms were introduced, it dissatisfied congress and League. As a result agitation of the Indians increased. To impose curbs against agitation, 'Lord Chelmsford appointed a committee to investigate anti-government activities of Indians and recommend legislation to suppress it. The committee presided over by Mr. Justice Rowlatt of UK and consisted of four other members, two of who were Indians and two British officials in India'[38]. The recommendations of this committee 'passed into an Act, on the 18 March 1919[39]. The Rowlatt Act provided for 'speedy trial of offences by a special Court, consisting of three High Court Judges. No right of appeal against the decision of this Court was given to the Indians. The Provincial Government was also given powers to search a place and arrest a suspected person without warrant and keep him in confinement'[40].

The Rowlatt Act, which gave Executive wide and sweeping powers, was condemned at different levels by all the Politicians of the India. The important Result of this Act was that it united all the Indians against the British Government — Hindu-Muslim entente came into existence, and this unity helped Muslims to start a joint Movement for protecting Khilafat.

At the end of War, Turkey was defeated and on 3 November 1918, she signed the armistice,[41] by which the hostilities between Allies and Turkey ceased. After the war, the question of defeated Turkey caused the Indian Muslims grave concern. They wished that the Ottoman Sultan should retain all his territory because only then would he be able to command the resources to enable him to maintain his status as the Khalifa of the Muslim world and the keeper of the holy places of Islam[42].

During the delay in settling the status of Turkey after the War, the articles appeared in various newspapers in Europe asking the Allies to give severe punishment to Turkey for allying itself with Germany. Along with these articles, the rumor, that the Allied Powers on Turkey will impose harsh terms, increased the anxiety of the Indian Muslims. Because of the assurance of the British government regarding the fate of Turkey, Indian Muslims has

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[37] Ibid., pp.392-397

[38] . *History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. III opt. cit. pp. 1-2.

[39] . Sir Micheal Ó Dawyer, *India as I knew it:* 1885-1925 (London: Constable and Co, 1925) ,p. 266.

[40] . *History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. III op. cit. p. 2.

[41] David Thomson, op.cit, p.570. For further information on Armistice see K.K.Aziz, *The Indian Khilafat Movement (1915 – 1933) A Documentary Record* (Karachi: Pak Publishers Limited, 1972), pp.23-25

[42] S.M.Burke & Salim al- Din Quraishi, op.cit, p.148

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supported the British throughout the War. But now Muslims felt to be cheated by the British government. Muslim had no choice but to launch a protest movement to generate support for their demands and to force British to change her Turkish policy. As the first effort, to mobilize the support of the Khilafat 'on 20 March 1919, a public, meeting of 15,000 Indian Muslims was held in Bombay. This meeting setup a local organization named as *Majlis-i-Khilafat* or Bombay Khilafat committee'[43]. The meeting asked the 'Indian government to make it sure that Constantinople would remain in Turkish hands; a delegation of Indian Muslims should attend Paris Peace Conference and recommended that the Indian Muslims deputation should meet the viceroy to acquaint him about the dis-satisfaction of Indian Muslims regarding British government's attitude towards Turkey'[44].

Soon it was realized by the leaders of the committee that to pressurize Government, it was necessary to have support of all Indian Muslims. To make it broad – based organization, 'another meeting of Bombay Khilafat committee was held on 5 July 1919'[45]. While describing their basic program that is to urge the retention of the temporal powers of the Sultan of Turkey as Caliph, and to ensure his continued suzerainty over the Islamic holy places. The meeting resolved, that to achieve these objectives 'the branches of Khilafat committee should be opened all over India. It was also decided to hold the regular meetings of the committee in order to keep informed Muslims about Khilafat problems and to mobilize their support to create an effective pressure on the Government to keep Turkey and her Khilafat intact'[46].

To generate more support for Khilafat issue a conference was held at Lucknow in September 1919, with Ibrahim Haroon Jafar presiding, an All-India Khilafat Committee was formed with Seth Chotani of Bombay as President and Maulana Shaukat Ali as Secretary.[47] On 17 October 1919, the Committee observed the *Khilafat Day*[48]. On this day, the Muslims all over India suspended their business, kept fast and offered prayers.

On 23 November the Khilafat Conference held its first session at Delhi under the chairmanship of A.K.Fazl-ul-Haq. In the meantime the Indian government had announced that official peace celebrations were to start from 13 December 1919. At this Khilafat Conference, the leaders appealed the Muslims not to participate in the official celebrations and hold protest meetings and to organize an effective movement against the government. It was also decided to send a deputation to England under the leadership of

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[43] . *History of Freedom Movement,* Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. III, p. 215 .
[44] . Gail Minoult. Op.cit,p
[45] . Minolt
[46] . Ibid. p.
[47] M. Naeem Qureshi, *The Indian Khilafat Movement 1918-24*, Journal of Asian History, 12.2 (1978), pp. 152-68.
[48] Ibid

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Maulana Muhammad Ali[49]. It was also decided that as the government had rejected Muslim demands, they would boycott British goods and will non-cooperate with the government. The scheme of non-violent non-cooperation was adopted on the advice of Gandhi.

Gandhi had displayed his sympathy for the cause of Turkey as early as 1918, because he thought that 'such an opportunity of winning over the Muslims and forging the unity of Indian people to fight the British would not come in a hundred years'.[50] Gandhi felt that Muslim demand about Khilafat was just and was ready to render all possible help to Indian Muslims to save their Khilafat. When the All-India Khilafat Conference was held at Delhi on 23-24 November 1919 under the chairmanship of Fazlul Haq, Gandhi was elected its President. Motilal Nehru, Madan Moyahan Malaviya and Swami Shradhanand, also attended the conference. From Sindh, Seth Abdullah Haroon, Maulana Taj Mohamed Amroti, Pir Turab Ali Shah, and Jan Mohammad Junejo participated in the Conference[51]. On Gandhi's advice the Conference passed a resolution, asking all Indian Muslims to refuse to co-operate with the government unless the Khilafat and holy places of Muslims were treated in accordance with the Muslim wishes.[52] There was a spontaneous outburst of widespread popular feeling and sympathy with the Turks in their distress and a general willingness everywhere among the Muslims to undergo an amount suffering for the Khilafat cause.

Meanwhile to further pressurize the Government — All India Muslim League called for an All India Muslim Conference (AIMC). The idea behind this Conference was that all the groups of Muslims should unite and draw up a single programme for the future line of action regarding Khilafat issue. Invitation was issued to all the Muslim Leaders of different groups and region. This Conference was held in Lucknow in September 1919. Some 'four hundred Muslim delegates attended the Conference from different regions of India including Sindh, which was represented by Abdullah Haroon'.[53] The Conference was presided by Ibrahm Haroon Jafar. 'At this Conference an All Indian Khilafat committee was formed with Seth Chhotani of Bombay as President and Maulana Shoukat Ali as Secretary'.[54] At this Conference Muslims put forward their specific demands to the Government. The participant protested at the 'separation of Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia from the Ottoman Empire, as they explained that Khilafat was bound with the temporal power of Turkish Sultan and the division of Ottoman Empires was regarded by the Indian Muslims as an assault upon

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[49] I.H.Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, op.cit., p.261
[50] Syed Razi Wasti, op.cit., p.299
[51] . *Al-Wahid*, 15 May 1920
[52] M.A. Toosy, op. cit, p.28
[53] . Ibid.
[54] . *History of Freedom Movement*, Historical Society, Vol. III, p. .

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their religion. They also objected to the internationalization of Constantinople and the partition of Thrace'.[55] At the end of the Conference, it was resolved that the 'feelings of the Indian Muslims towards Turkey must be forwarded to the British Prime Minister. To make Indian Government realized about the feeling of Muslims, it was decided to observe an All India Khilafat Day on 17 October 1919, during which special prayers, fasting, hartal (Strike), and public meetings will be held all over the country and Conference also appealed to the Hindus for their support'.[56] Conference also resolved to 'from the All-India Khilafat Committee, with headquarters in Bombay, and to establish local and regional Khilafat committees all over the India and to open its branches down to the village level'[57].

The Muslim League at its Amritsar session is December 1919 which was attended by Congress leaders namely Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and Malaviya expressed 'its deep disappointment' at the attitude of the British government towards the question of the Khilafat and warned that 'under the circumstances the Musalmans would be fully justified to carry on all the possible methods of constitutional agitation open to them, including a boycott of the British Army, if it is likely to be used outside India for imperial and anti-Islamic purposes'[58]. It also placed on record 'its deep-seated and unshakable devotion to the sacred person of His Imperial Majesty (the Ottoman Sultan) as successor of Prophet (PBUH) and head of Islam. M.A. Jinnah was as deeply concerned about the fate of the Sultan as any-one was demonstrated in the summer of 1919 when he led a deputation of the All-India Muslim League to London to plead the Sultan's cause. He forwarded a memorandum to Prime Minister Lloyd George with a letter dated 4 September 1919. The memorandum warned that 'if Great Britain becomes a party in reducing HIM the Sultan of Turkey as the Khalifa of the Muslim world to the status of a pretty sovereign, the reaction in India will be colossal and abiding'[59].

On the decision of Khilafat conference held at Amritsar1919, to secure assistance of Viceroy for the fair treatment of Turkey by the Britain and Allied Powers, the Khilafat deputation of thirty-five members met the viceroy Lord Chelmsford, on 19 January 1920. The which deputation was led by Dr.Ansari, who read the address, included Abdullah Haroon, Ali Brothers, Abdul Kalam Azad, Gandhi, Maulana Abdul Bari (Farangi Mahal), Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Shradhanand Sannyasi and Pandit Ram Bhajdat and others[60]. The address conveyed the wishes of Indian Muslims regarding the Khilafat question, Muslim [Caliph's] control

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[55] . AIMC, p. 23

[56] . Ibid

[57] . Indian Muslims – A documentary record of Muslim struggle in India.

[58] . Ibid.

[59] . S.M. Burke, & Salim Al din Qureshi, op. cit. p. 226.

[60] K.K. Aziz, *The Indian Khilafat Movement (1915-1933) A Documentary Record*, op.cit, pp.64-71 And also see I.H.Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, op.cit., p.262

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over Jazirat-ul-Arab and other Muslim Holy Places and about the full integrity, the sovereignty and dominions, which she possessed before the War[61]. It stated that 'Indian Muslims were worried about the fate of Khilafat as armistice was signed a year ago, but it was not yet clear what policy would be adopted by the His Majesty's Government while dealing with the Turkey. This delay has created a feeling of uneasiness among, the Indian Muslim. It further stated that Indian Muslims have always been loyal to British Empire, therefore, in return of their loyalty His majesty must give due consideration of their feelings regarding Khilafat while settling Turkish issue. In the end Viceroy was told by the members of the Deputation very clearly that any settlement, which meant to liquidate Ottoman Empire, or give control of Muslim Holy places to non-Muslim, or the institution of the Khilafat is abolished, will not be tolerated and acceptable to the Muslim world and particularly to Indian Muslims'[62].

The Viceroy told the deputation that this 'will [not] be recognized by the Allied Powers' and gave no hope that 'Turkey would escape the punishment for deliberately drawing the sword in the cause of Germany'[63].

Disappointed at the Viceroy's reply, Khilafat committee decided to send an Indian Khilafat Deputation to England, to present the Indian Muslim anxieties over the Peace Settlement. To meet the expenses of the delegation Ali Brothers started fund raising drive. Their target was of Ten Lakh Rupees, which even after two months (January, February 1920) of drive, was not achieved. Finally 'Seth Chotani, President of Khilafat Committee and Abdullah Haroon, President of Sindh Khilafat Committee', donated money[64]. In February 1920 a Khilafat delegation led by Muhammad Ali sailed for Europe. Mr. Fisher on behalf of the Secretary of State received the delegation on 2 March and on 19 March, met the Prime Minister Lloyd George[65]. Muhammad Ali reiterated that 'Khilafat must be preserved with adequate temporal power and that his [Caliph's] pre-war territorial status must be restored'[66]. Lloyd George after listening the deputation replied that Turkey could not be treated differently from the defeated Christian Powers (Germany, Austria). He further said that the Principle of self-determination would be applied to Empires, which have fortified their title to rule including

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[61] Ibid, p.75

[62] . K.K. Aziz, *The Indian Khilafat Movement (1915 – 1933) A Documentary Record*. (Karachi: Pak Publisher Limited, 1972), pp. 64-69.

[63] Ibid.

[64] . Minoult, opt. cit. p. 85.

[65] The other members of delegation were, Mawlana Saiyid Sulaiman Nadvi, Abdul Qasim, Syud Husain and Hasan Muhammad Hayat. Shoaib Qureshi and Abdur Rehman Siddiqi were already in England and joined the deputation there. I.H.Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, op.cit., p.263

[66] K.K. Aziz, *The Indian Khilafat Movement (1915-1933) A Documentary Record*, op.cit, p.97

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Turkey[67]. After this fruitless attempt, the delegation went to France and Italy to gather support for Turkey. But they met with little success.

Meanwhile in India, Central Khilafat Committee met in Bombay on 12 May 1920, to discuss the meeting of Khilafat delegation and non-cooperation movement. Abdullah Haroon represented Sindh as one of the members of executive council of Khilafat attended this meeting. He urged to the members to adopt non-cooperation in order to avoid "independent action" and wanted Muslims to keep non-cooperation peaceful'[68].

While the Muslim delegation was still in Europe, the terms of the Treaty of Severs were published on 15 May 1920 by the government of India. According to the treaty, the Sultan's empire was to be dismembered: the Arab lands were to become independent; Syria was to become a mandate of France, Mesopotamia and Palestine of Britain, Smyrna and Thrace were to be made over to Greece. But Turkey was allowed to retain Constantinople.[69] On 28 May 1920 the delegation sent an appeal to the Sultan of Turkey not to accept the peace terms, which contained the argument, that: 'the Khalifa is the repository of the sacred Traditions of our Prophet (PBUH), and, as your Majesty is aware, according to the most authentic reports, he commanded the Musalmans on his death-bed not to permit or tolerate any sort of kind of non-Moslem control over any portion of the Jazeerat ul Arab, which includes Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia as well as the region known to European geographers as the peninsula of Arabia. No Musalman can therefore agree to the exercise of any control by mandatories of the powers in Syria, Palestine or Mesopotamia, and what no Musalman can submit to consistently with his creed, the Successor of our Prophet (PBUH) can submit to still less'.[70] On the same day the Central Khilafat Committee organized a mammoth public meeting at Bombay and adopted non-cooperation as the only practical course of action. It was decided that the scheme of non-cooperation was to be implemented in four stages: (a) renunciation of honorary posts, titles and membership of Councils; (b) giving up of posts under the government; (c) giving up of appointments in the police and military forces; and (d) refusal to pay taxes'.[71]

At this juncture a new element of *Hijrat* (migration) entered in Khilafat Movement. On the failure of Muslim delegation, Ghulam Muhammad Aziz from Amritsar, under the influence of Mawlana Fadl-i-Ilahi of Wazirabad advocated the idea of Hijrat of Indian Muslims to Afghanistan. He in his 26 April 1920 telegram to the Viceroy conveyed the decision of migration

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[67] Ibid, p.111

[68] . Minoult, opt. cit. p. 100. Other members of the executive council were Seth Chotani; President Shaukat Ali; Secretary, Abdul Bari, Abul Kalam Azad, Abdullah Haroon, Dr. Ansari, Hasrat Mohani, Yaqub Hasaan and Pandith Rambhuj Dutt; members of executive council.

[69] *The Indian Annual Register 1921*, Part-1, pp.185-192

[70] Ibid., pp.183-184

[71] Ibid., p.103

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stating that 'Islamic injunctions make it impossible for the faithful any longer to remain under British rule peacefully. We have decided to migrate to Afghanistan thus carrying out the sacred commandments of Allah the Mighty'.[72] The idea soon became popular. People sold their properties and started migrating to Afghanistan. But when migrants became burden on Afghan economy, the government of Afghanistan stopped any more migrants in their country. The migrants had no other option but to return to India and on their return they were financially broken. As a result the *Hijrat* Movement collapsed and it served no purpose.

The All-Parties Conference met at Allahabad on 2 June 1920 under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee, to formulate a response to the Treaty of Sevres. Committee decided to launch a non-cooperation movement and appointed a sub-committee to give practical effect to the programme. The sub-committee consisted of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Mr. Ahmad Haji Siddik Khattri, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Mahatma Gandhi[73]. On 22 June, a memorial, signed by a large number of leader and ulema, was sent to the Viceroy stating that if their demands were not heeded they from 1 August would resort to non-cooperation.

While in Europe on 10 August 1920, Treaty of Sevres was signed with Turkey. To keep the flame of anti British feelings alive and to show their resentment against the Treaty, the Leaders decided to 'observe 31 August, 1920 as Khilafat day, throughout the India'[74]. In September 1920, the Congress held its session at Calcutta and adopted the resolution in favour of non-violent non-cooperation, which was confirmed at the Nagpur session held in December 1920.

When, non-violent non-cooperation became the joint programme the 'Jamait-ul-Ulema Hind issued the *Fatwa* which was signed by nine hundred twenty five (925) eminent Muslim divines and sanctioned the programme of non-violent non-cooperation'[75].

Propaganda against the British government for not solving the Khilafat issue as desired by Indian Muslim continued throughout 1921. Central Khilafat Committee continuously held meetings throughout India. One such meeting was held in Karachi on 8-10 July 1921. Mohammad Ali presided this Conference. Other prominent leaders who attended this Conference were Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew of Amritsar, Maulana Husain Ahmad Madni of Deoband, Maulana Nisar Ahmad, Pir Ghulam Mujaddid of Matiari in Sindh, and Sri Shankaracharya. All these leaders gave fiery statements, which alarmed the British bureaucracy and they started taking this

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[72] K.K. Aziz, *The Indian Khilafat Movement*, op.cit., p.26

[73] . P.C. Bamford, *History of the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements* (Delhi, Government of India Press, 1925), p. 115.

[74] . PC Bomford, op. cit ,p.

[75] . Dr. Rajendra Prasad,*INDIA DIVIDED* (Lahore, Siddiq Printers, 1978) p. 121.

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ultimatum very seriously. This conference endorsed this *Fatwa* and made appeal to the people to carry out effectively the non-cooperation programme. This meeting declared that as long as the 'demands of Indian Muslims regarding the maintaining of integrity of Khilafat and preservation of holy places are not fulfilled, they will continue their struggle'. The Conference warned British Government 'that if they fought with the Angora Government, then Indian Muslims will start civil disobedience and will demand complete independence along with the Congress'[76].

Non-cooperation Movement started from 1 August 1920 and was suspended on 6 February 1922. During the period of twenty months of non-cooperation Hindu – Muslim alliance worked shoulder to shoulder for the dual cause of Khilafat and Swaraj. But during this period, in the year 1921 and 1922 the incidents of Mophal & Chauri Choure took place which created suspicion among them and created division in the unity. As a consequence in early February 1922, Gandhi suspended civil – disobedience and non-cooperation. Soon after this Gandhi was arrested and government sentenced him for six years.

Meanwhile, In Turkey events moved on a fast pace, and in their own way. The Kemalists after winning the battle for Anatolia decided to take away the temporal powers of the Sultan. In November 1922 the Turkish Grand National Assembly in Ankara abolished the temporal powers of Khalifa, deposed Sultan Wahiduddin Muhammad VI and declared Abdul Majeed Effendi as a new Caliph[77].

Khilafat leaders with a mixed emotion received this news in India. This action was contrary to the demands of the Khilafat organization. The Khilafat leaders tried to defend their position as best as they could. At the annual meeting of the Khilafat Conference in December 1922, it passed a resolution recognizing the new Caliph and expressed its pleasure at the restoration of the ancient practice of electing the Caliph. Dr. Ansari, the president of the Conference justified the action of Mustafa Kemal by maintaining that 'Turks had not really separated the Caliph's spiritual and temporal powers, but had only made the Sultan a constitutional monarch. Praising his victories, they gave Mustafa Kemal a title of Saif-al-Islam (the Sward of Islam)'[78].

By the beginning of 1923, the masses had lost interest and Khilafat activities virtually came to an end. In July 1923, Turks concluded the Treaty of Lausanne with the European powers, relinquishing all connection, spiritual or temporal with the Arab World. Then in late October 1923 the Grand National Assembly declared Turkey a republic, 'with Mustafa Kemal as president and Ismet Pasha as prime minister, thus settling the question of

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[76] . IAR, 1922, Part I, pp. 238-240.
[77] . Minolt, op. cit. p. 201.
[78] . K.K. Aziz, p.

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who would exercise the temporal powers wrested from the sultan'[79]. On '1 March, 1924 National Assembly of Turkey voted to depose the Caliph, abolish the Caliphate and banish all surviving members of the Ottoman House'[80]. This announcement shocked Indian Muslims. Khilafat Leaders got divided over this action of Turkey. 'Mohammad Ali tried to convince Indian Muslims that they have to work for the re-establishment of Khilafat. While leaders like Abul Kalam Azad advised Indians to leave Turkey to its own fate and concentrate on matters closer to home'.[81] Thus split was created between Ali Brothers and their co-Khilafatist over the Turkish Government announcement, and the rise of communal antagonism in the provinces began to destroy erode of the Khilafat organization.

The Province of Sindh played a significant role in the Khilafat Movement unlike other provinces of India. Because of hard work and sincere efforts of leaders of Sindh in a short period of time, Khilafat movement became a mass movement and the issue of Khilafat widely spread in Sindh.

Soon after the Delhi session of Central Khilafat Committee in which it was decided to open Khilafat committees on every nook and corner of India, 'Sind Khilafat Committee (SKC) was found in October 1919 by Abdullah Haroon'.[82] Among others who joined SKC were Pir Turab Ali Shah Rashdi, Pir Anwar Ali Shah Rashdi, Maulana Taj Muhammad Amroti and Pir Saheb of Jhandey Waley, all powerful Pirs, whose followers were spread all over Sindh, to achieve all the objectives set forth by the Central Khilafat Committee. Abdullah Haroon was elected President of Sind Khilafat Committee. To spread the message of Khilafat Committee and to mobilize the support for Khalifa the Khilafat Day was observed on 21 October 1919. The Pirs and religious leaders took active part in organizing protest meetings in villages and towns of Sindh. Hindu-Muslim unity was also in evidence in various places but understandably the participants in the Khilafat Day were predominantly Muslims. A meeting of Sindh Khilafat Committee was held under the presidentship of Abdullah Haroon at Khalidino Hall, Karachi, which was attended by both Hindus and Muslim. Abdullah Haroon in his speech denounced the policies of British government towards Turkey. He said: 'Besides the other duties of the Muslims, one of them was to select a Muslim King who would be capable of preserving their Islamic culture and who would also help in safeguarding the interest of Islam'[83]. The meeting passed the resolutions:

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[79] . Minault, op. cit. p. 202.
[80] . Ibid. p. 203
[81] . Ibid. p. 205
[82] . *All India Gazette*, 4 and 25 October 1919.
[83] . Dr. Ikram ul-Haq Pervez, *The Contribution of Sindhi Muslims in Pakistan Movement* (Hyderabad: Institute of Sindhology, University of Sindh, 1984), p. 114.

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(i) That this public meeting of the Musalmans of Karachi held under the auspices of Sindh Provincial Committee, after prayers for the continuance and permanence of the temporal power of the Khalifatul Muslim in, approves and adopts the proceedings of the All |India Muslim Conference held at Lucknow on the 2nd September 1919 and expresses its greatest anxiety over the threatened dismemberment of Turkey and removal of the holy places of Islam from the Khilifa's control, and trusts that \British Ministers will secure fulfillment of the pledge of the Right Hon'ble Lloyd George, given on behalf of the |British Empire regarding Turkey for otherwise there will inevitable be created an upheaval among the Muslims threatening alike the peace and progress of the world in general and giving rise to strong and deep rooted discontentment within the British Empire in particular.

(ii) With a view to safeguard the integrity of the Turkish Empire and maintain the Ottoman Khilafat's necessary control over the holy places of Islam by means of carrying an effective propaganda in England and elsewhere, including the proposed organ of the Muslim opinion in London, this public meeting of the Musalmans resolve that a fund for proposed object be started and appeals be made to all brethren-in-faith and their sympathizers to make liberal contribution towards the same[84].

As the futility of the promises made by the British government became more and more evident, the Muslims of Sindh began to conduct more meetings to express their indignation and to put pressure upon the Government for the restoration of Khilafat. Thus the Khilafat Conference was held at Larkana on 8 February 1920 under the presidentship of Pir Syed Abu Turab Mohammad Rashidullah Shah. Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad also attended this conference. The Conference passed the resolution that "This Conference respectfully urges that H.I.M's Government should impress on the Peace Conference to settle the question of Khilafat, Holy Places and Islamic territories in accordance with Commands of God and His Prophet. Hindus and Mohammedans all over India are repeating such a demand, and therefore this Conference prays that His Majesty's Government may not be a party to any other settlement'.[85]

The renowned Hindu and Muslim leaders held the seventh session of Sindh Provincial Conference at Sukkur on 5-6 April 1920 under the presidentship of Seth Abdullah Haroon- it was well attended. In his presidential address Haroon spoke on Khilafat question. He said that the British government and Allied statesmen have failed to fulfill their promises in regard to the status of Turkey and said: 'I am not hopeful of Britain

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[84] . Dr. M. Yakoob Mughal (ed) *Studies on Sind* (Hyderabad: University of Sind, 1988), pp. 116-7.

[85] . *The Daily Gazette,* Karachi, 14 February 1920.

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carrying out its entire promise.'[86] While criticizing upon the reply of Britain Premier to the Kilafat Deputation led by Maulana Mohammad Ali, Haroon said: 'the reply of the Premier of Great Britain to our Khilafat Deputation is most ominous. It clearly foreshadows a peace settlement that falls short of the irreducible Moslem demands'. He lauded the cooperation of Hindus towards the Khilafat cause and said:'1 hope Muslims will ever remember the assistance given by the Hindus in making the Khilafat Movement a strong all-India movement. To all the co-operation of Hindus with Muslims in the Khilafat question will give nothing but the sincerest pleasure'.[87]

An extraordinary Khilafat Conference was held at Holmsted Hall, Hyderabad, on 22 May 1920, which was presided over by Haji Abdullah Haroon. The main objectives of the meeting were to consider (a) necessity of having proper rules and constitution for the Khilafat Conferences and meetings as in his opinion Khilafat Conference were being held everywhere without proper authority or some sense of responsibility; (b) question of proper control over the raising of funds because at present anybody would raise a fund and spend as he liked; (c) to consider the action taken by Sindh Officials against Khilafat people at Dadu, Sehwan and Jacobabad; and (d) question of non-cooperation with government on account of Peace Terms with Turkey[88]. The meeting decided that Muslims should not in any case use violence against the government officials. Whatever action the government proposed to take against the Muslims who were taking part in non-cooperation would bear with courage. The meeting appointed a Committee to frame rules in connection with the maintaining of 'Khilafat Fund'. This committee was also given the task in inquiring into all cases direct or indirect started by the government in connection with the Khilafat Movement and to advice necessary action in the matter[89].

Muslims of Sindh gave a greater impetus to the Khilafat Movement. P.C. Bamford, a senior official of the Intelligence Department of the government of India in 1920s had compiled various proceedings of Khilafat conferences in Sind. Khilafat Conference held at Hyderabad on 4-5 January 1920 approved of the Delhi proposals to boycott foreign goods. After denouncing the intrigues of those infidels who had criticized the acceptance of the Sultan of Turkey as the Khalifa of Islam, it was resolved that 'if Government failed to take suitable action against them, Mohammedans would have to deal with them according to the tenets of Islam. Britian was declared bitterest enemy of Islam and that if the decision with respect of Turkey was not satisfactory,

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[86] . G.M. Sayed, *Sindh Ji Bombay Khan Azadi* (Hyderabad: Hydari Printing Press, 1968), p. 18; Dr. Ikramul-ul-haq Pervez, op. cit. p. 152, and *Biography*, op. cit. pp. 238-47.

[87] . Ibid.

[88] . *The Daily Gazette,* 26 May 1920. Also D.A. Pirzada, op. cit., p. 25.

[89] . Ibid., The others present in the meeting were: Pir Mahboob Shah, Sahibzada Abdul Sattar Jam, Pir Mahamed Imam Shah, Pir Turab Ali Shah, Munishi Amin Dir, Shaikh Abdul Aziz, Jan Mohamed, Pir Anver Ali Shah and Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi.

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Mohammedans would be compelled to obey the Quran and declare Jihad'.[90] At the Khilafat Conference held in Jacobabad on 2 May 1920, the president Maulana Taj Mohamed Amroti laid emphasis to adopt non-cooperation and hijrat to Afghanistan and Asia Minor. Gandhi and Maulana Shaukat Ali attended Sindh Khilafat Conference held at Karachi on 23-25 July 1920. Maulana Shaukat Ali declared that if the demands of the Indian Muslims in regard to Turkey were not granted, they should openly declare that neither the British were their rulers nor they were their subjects[91].

The historic All India Khilafat Conference was held at Karachi on 10 July 1921 under the presidentship of Maulana Mohamed Ali. The prominent leaders who attended the Conference were Ali Brothers, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Jagat Guru, Sri Shanker Acharya of Shardha Pirth, Dr. Satyapal, Dr. Kitchlew, Maulana Abdul Bari, Abdul Majid Sindhi, Seth Abdullah Haroon and Vaswani. Seth Abdullah Haroon proposed Maulana Mohammad Ali for presiding over the meeting. In his speech he praised the work of the Maulana and further said that it was the good fortune of Sind in having him here for this position[92]. Maulana Mohamed Ali in his speech said: 'When Muhammad bin Qasim first came to Sindh, he was looked upon with contempt by Rajaz for his lack of equipment, but he was successful by God's will in spite of it. They had been deprived of Jazirat-ul-Rab and only permitted to sit as custodian of the holy graves, but before they did that I would with that the entire Muslim world should be turned into a big graveyard'[93]. This conference passed 13 resolutions on various aspects of the Khilafat movement.

At the Khilafat Conference in Delhi in 1920 the Hijrat (literally exodus/migration) of Muslims to Afghanistan had been advocated. A Hijrat Committee was constituted in Peshawar, which undertook to provide the intending migrants all kinds of facilities and comforts[94]. The Ulema issued a fatwa in November 1920 lending support to the move. Jan Mohammad Junejo from Sindh was appointed Secretary of the Hijrat Committee and his residence was made the office of the said Committee.

Ali Brothers, Pir Ghulam Mujadid Sirhandi, Sajjada Nashin of Matiari, Sind and their comrades were arrested because of their emotional speeches at Karachi Khilafat Conference held on 8 July 1921. After their trial which commenced from 26 September 1921, they were convicted and sentenced to

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[90] . *The Daily Gazette* 8 January 1920. Holmsted Hall Hyderabad was full to its capacity, there being about 1500 delegates and visitors present. Makhdoom Moulvi Ghulam Mohamed Malkani, Chairman of the conference read his address in Sindhi. There were many speeches on the resolutions about Turkey, the Khilafat and the interference of certain Mohammedan Officers in Sind.

[91] . P.C. Bamford, op. cit. p. 160

[92] . *Daily Gazette,* 10 July 1921.

[93] . Ibid.

[94] . Parshotom Mehra, op. cit. p. 377.

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undergo rigorous imprisonment for two years each.[95] Only co-accused who was Hindu, B.K. Tirathji was acquitted. Their conviction gave new life to the Khilafat movement and it was decided that the Khilafat message should be conveyed on the doorstep of the Muslims of Sindh. Scores of meetings were held in every city of Sindh. First meeting was held on 11 September 1922 at Sukkur, then on 6 November 1922 at Panu Aqil, on 4 June 1923 at Gari-Yazin, on 9 January 1923 at Ghotki, on 23 February 1923 at Daharki, on 29 February 1923 at Ducan and on 30 November 1923 at Obaro. By then in every town and city of Sindh even the street boys could be seen raising the slogans, 'O son! Give the life for the Khilafat[96]. The all India Khilafat Conference at Nagpur in January 1921 while commending the efforts and spirit of the Sindh Muslims showed great sympathy with them. It resolved that 'this Conference expresses its deep sympathy with those Muslims of the North-West Frontier and Sindh who have fallen victim to unjust official aggression in the Khilafat Movement and trusts that they will set an instructive example to their brethren by steadfastly enduring all hardships and troubles which have befallen them in rendering services to the cause of Islam… Sindh Government took unjust and oppressive ways… for repressing the Khilafat Movement, thereby inviting disturbance and disorder for which they will be solely responsible'.[97]

Meanwhile in Turkey, events were following their own course. The helpless government of the Sultan, dominated by an international force of occupation at Constantinople, had signed the Treaty of Severs on 20 August 1920. But the Turkish nationalists, who under Mustafa Kemal Pasha's leadership built up a military force, which in 1922 mounted an offensive against the Greeks and took Smyrna, did not recognize the treaty. On 1 November, Kemal proclaimed the abolition of the Sultanate and Mohammad VI fled from Constantinople on a British ship. Abdul Mejid, cousin of Mohammad VI, was declared Caliph. Kemal's successes enabled him to obtain greatly improved terms through the Treaty of Lausanne in July 1923. On 29 October, Turkey formally became a republic with Kemal Ataturk as President, and on 3 March 1924 the institution of the Khilafat, which had agitated the Indian Muslims so much, but whose incumbent had brought defeat and disaster to Turkey itself by getting involved in the world war was abolished.

The Khilafat and the Non-cooperation movements could not achieve the desired results. With the Treaty of Lausanne and the abolition of the Khilafat by the Turkish national assembly, the very existence of the Khilafat Committee became useless and the vitality of the movement drained away.

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[95] . Dr. Ikram ul Haque Pervez, op. cit. p. 130.
[96] . Ibid.
[97] . K.K. Aziz, *The Indian Khilafat Movement 1915-1933* (Karachi: Pak Publishers Ltd. 1971), p. 174.

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CONCLUSION

Though the Khilafat movement arose out of circumstances that had nothing to do with India however the movement affected Sindh Muslim leaders in many ways. They developed lesion with the leaders of other areas of Muslim and created an important position in the future politics of India.