THE ROLES OF MUHAMMAD ALI JAUHAR IN INDIAN POLITICS AND KHILAFAT MOVEMENT[1]

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Abstract

This topic is important and interesting to be discussed because Muhammad Ali Jauhar was able to compromise both notions of nationalism and Islamism in politics. This excellence idea shows that he was a modern and moderate Islamic thinker. In his belief, the similarity of nationalism and Islamism can be seen through their rejection on colonialism. Even he introduced the importance idea on the unity of Islam and Hindu in order to against British colonialism in India. This idea made him close to Gandhi which then had been changed since Nehru Report published to against his idea on Federation of Faith. After such event, though his Islamic principle basically was so huge and rational, he spent most of his time for Khilafat Movement. He had mission to preserve the existency of Islamic Khilafat in Turkey which he believed as the duty of all the Muslims over the world to show the existence of Muslim brotherhood.

Keywords: Khilafat, Movement, Politics, India, Islam, Muslim

Background

Muhammad Ali Jauhar was born on 10 December 1878 in Rampur state from wealthy and enlightened family of Pathans. His grandfather was a petty official in the court of Nawab Muhammad Yusuf Khan. His father, Abdul Ali Khan, was died when he was two years old which caused his family had financial problems. But his mother wanted him and his brother, Saukat Ali to studi in modern education. So that, both of them studied English since child.

For that porpuse, his mother sold almost all of their land properties for sending them to the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, to study. In this campus, he showed his capacity as a brilliant

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debater, poet, and writer. He also generally used to differ with the professors and spoke in the union on topics which irritated them. His speeches were forceful and made him known as revolutionary person. Then Muhammad Ali showed exceptional brilliance in graduation from this college, which delivered him to pursue his study to London in 1898. He finished his study in Oxford, Department of Modern History in 1902.

After coming back from London, he applied to be a teacher in Alighar Muslim University, but he was rejected since he had criticized some of his previous teacher while he was studying in bachelor degree. Then he joined Baroda Civil Service and worked there. But after seven years, since he had capability in thinking and writing, he found him self like fish out of water, so that he shifted to be a journalist. Since that time, he wrote a lot of his brilliant ideas for the freedom of India. In expressing the reason of shifting to be journalist, he said, "The reasons which so irresistibly impelled me to take journalism was that the affairs of my country as the juncture made it the only arena through which I could prove of any appreciable use".[3]

He criticized a lot of British policy frankly, such kind of Balkan wars and Kanpur Mosque incident in 1913. For that purpose, he found Comrade and journal of Hamdard and wrote a lot of articles in The Times, The Observer, and The Manchester Guardian. Through some of his writtens, he brought the ideas of Hindu and Muslim unity, non cooperation movement and pan Islamism.

After interned for 5 years from 1915 to 1919 because of his critics to British policy, he joined the Indian National Congress. Then he became the president of the Indian National Congress in 1923. In this organization, he collaborated a lot of things with Gandhi. Meanwhile, in term of education, Mohammad Ali worked hard to expand the AMU, by founding of new campus, Jamia Millia Islamia in 1920, which was later moved to Delhi. In 1931, he died in London during the first Round Table

[3] Iqbal, Afzal. *Life and Times of Mohammed Ali. Analysis of The Hopes, Fears and Aspirations of Muslim India From 1778 to 1931*, page 64

Conference as he wished, not to return to India which was unfree. Then he was buried in Jerusalem by the demand of Muslim people in that city.

Muhammad Ali And Struggle for Indian Independence

Muhammad Ali had significant roles in the struggle for Indian independence. Muhammad Ali emphasized the need of Hindu Muslim cooperation. He argued that Muslims and Hindus should recognize clearly that there are differences between them which need to interfere with the development of mutual respect. Because of this idea and non cooperation movement, in the early time of his participation in Indian politics, he was very close with Gandhi.

In non cooperation movement, he played vital roles in comenting different segment of society. He argued that India could not achieve independence unless the two major communities united and fight under one banner. He worked hardly for the Hindu and Muslim unity. He stated, "Without a proper and lasting settlement of Hindu Muslim unity, we can effect nothing"[4]. On the other occasion, he said that Hindu Muslim unity is vital, and in fact the most vital that we have to settle, but the issues which disturb that unity are contemptibly petty.[5]Because of this effort, both Muslim and Hindu love him, and he was elected as the congress president.

In this position, he transformed the congress into a true mass national organization. He explained that Muslim should accept Gandhi's leadership. He introduced Gandhi's ideas to whole country, such as to his almamater in Alighar Muslim University. He explained to Indian Muslims that there is no contradiction of being a good Muslim and in being a good Indian. He said, "Where God commands I am a Muslim first, a Muslim second and a Muslim last, and nothing but a Muslim. But where India is concerned, I am and Indian first, an Indian second and and Indian last[6].

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[4] Chopra. PN. 1988. *Indian Muslims In Freedom Struggle*, page 67
[5] Ahmad, Khwaja Muhammad. *Moulana Muhammed Ali, A Great Freedom Fighter*. page 21.
[6] *idem*, page 70.

Moreover, Muhammad Ali believed to the idea of *federation of faith***.** To support this idea, he brought the case of unification of Jews to claim Palestine region as the fact which show the existence of federation of faith. He said that people can be united by the name of religion and get their own rights based on that belief. So that, in term of Indian politics, he demanded the implementation of federation of faith, which means that the Muslim will have their own right based on religions federation. Muhammad Ali stated, "*We, ourselves, who have been living in India, are great believers in a sort of Federation of Faiths"*[7].

He Stated, "I had long been convinced that here in this country of hundreds of millions of human beings, intensely attached to religion, and yet infinitely split up into communities, sects and denominations, providence had created for us the mission of solving a unique problem and working out a new synthesis, which was nothing low than a Federation of Faiths. For more than twenty years I have dreamed the dream of a federation, grander, nobler and infinitely more spiritual than the United States of America, and today when many a political cassandra prophesies a return to the bad old days of Hindu-Muslim dissensions I still dream that old dream of "United Faiths of India."[8]

In this time, his relations was still close to Gandhi, that was why Gandhi was actively campaigned for the release of Ali brothers when they were arrested. Both Gandhi and Muhammad Ali had same mission in advancing Hindu Muslim unity. They also were actively in non violent and non cooperation movement. Speaking together with Gandhi in Lucknow, Muhammad Ali declared that Indian Muslim had chosen the path of non violent and non cooperation to secure their country and faith.[9] According to him, Muslimness did not in anyway nullify Indianness. He harmoniously blended his love for Islam and his love for India.

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[7] http://www.chapatimystery.com/archives/homistan/imagining_pakistan_ii_jauhar.html
[8] Maulana Mohammad Ali, From The Presidential Address. INC Session, 1923, Cocanada (now Kakinada)
[9] Hasan, Mushirul. 1981. *Muhammad Ali, Ideology and Politics*, page 67-68

Even because of this close relations, Gandhi supported his idea for Khilafat Movement, which criticized the policy of British that couldnot satisfied the Indian Muslim. Gandhi knew that Muhammad Ali was not the person who supported communalism[10]. This support can be seen through Gandhi activity to launch a non cooperation movement on 19 March, the same day with the founding of Khilafat Movement on 1919[11]. In establishing Jamia Millia Islamia in 1920, Gandhi also had determinant factor to back up Muhammad Ali and team and making M. Ali became the first Vice Chancellor of this university. Moreover, after his release on September 1924, Gandhi stayed with Muhammad Ali in Delhi, even Gandhi was fasting in Ali's house for 21 days[12].

On the other hand, Muhammad Ali admired Gandhi very much, as he said, "I cannot find in any community – Jewish, Christian or any other men who has noble a character as Mahatma Gandhi"[13]. Even Muhammad Ali was the person who raised Gandhi to the position of Mahatma and got him accepted as the spirit behind Hindu Muslim unity.[14] Both of Gandhi and Muhammad Ali also undertook a tour of the whole country with his brother Shaukat Ali. This trio constituted the most effective and popular leadership which made them were received with mass ovation everywhere. In that time, people supported to non cooperation movement.[15]

Then, when Muhammad Ali was arrested by British in 1922, there were tremendous changes in Indian politics, one of them was the conflict between Hindu and Muslims in Amritsar, Multan, Muradabad, Meerut, Allahabad and some other cities.[16] This conditions showed the increased of communalism for the issue of cow slaughter and the playing music before mosque.

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[10] *idem*, page 31.
[11] *Idem*, pagen 40
[12] http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/gandhi-you-may-not-know , see also Iqbal, Afzal. *Life and Times of Mohammed Ali. Analysis of The Hopes, Fears and Aspirations of Muslim India From 1778 to 1931*, page 420
[13] op.cit. page 68.
[14] Chopra. PN. 1988. *Indian Muslims In Freedom Struggle*, page 63
[15] *idem*, page 68.
[16] Hasan, Mushirul. 1981. *Muhammad Ali, Ideology and Politics*, page 71

After was released in 1923, Muhammad Ali expressed his annoyance with the Muslim co-workers who had organized counter movement against the Hindus and expressed completed solidarity with the congress and Gandhi[17]. He believed that Muslims and Hindus should live like brothers and supported non cooperation movement as he said, if cooperation was haram according to Islamic law two years ago, it cannot become halal today".[18]

But in 1928, Nehru declared Nehru Report which was a memorandum outlining a proposed new dominion constitution for India and the roadmapping of Indian politics. In term of this issue, Muhammad Ali opposed separate electorates but agreed to reservation of seats for Muslims where they were in a minority. But it did not meet the demands of some Muslim leaders who wanted complete autonomy. Muslim League rejected the Nehru reports, and Jinnah was sided in it.[19] Muhammad Ali rejected the Nehru committee report and said that they could agree to dominion status instead of independent, but not with Muslim on their demand for 33%, instead of 26 %.

Because of his rejection to Nehru reports, inspite of the failure of Khilafat Movement, Muhammad Ali was very disappointed. On the other, Gandhi suspended the civil disobedience. Because of those condition, Muhammad Ali hated Gandhi very much by his statement, "Even the most degraded Muhammadan was better than Mahatma Gandhi."[20]

In 1931, Muhammad Ali was sick when he went to London to attend the round table conference. He stated that he would not go back to slave country. He said, "I want to go back to my country if I can go back with the substance of freedom in my hand, otherwise I will not go back to a slave country. I would prefer to die in a foreign country as long as it is a free country and if you don't give us freedom in

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[17] Chopra. PN. 1988. *Indian Muslims In Freedom Struggle*, page 24
[18] *op.cit* page 77
[19] *op.cit*. page 26
[20] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maulana_Mohammad_Ali

India you will have to give me a grave here"[21]. Then he died there and was buried at Jerusalem at the request of Muslim population of that city.

Khilafat Movement

Muhammad Ali Jauhar was one of the most famous leader and spokesman of Khilafat Movement. This movement was appeared because the Turkey Ottoman Empire was defeated in the first world war. This movement was launched in India to campaign the continuity of the Turkey Khilafat. For that purpose, he wrote many articles about this issue. One of those article was the "Choice of The Turks" which criticized the policy of British and demanded the existence of Khilafat. The article which he wrote in stress condition because of diabetic trouble, made British became very upset and put him and his brother in jail on May 1915[22].

In 1920, he led khilafat delegation for caming to England to present their case to the British government and people. During the delegation's stay, their visits to the Woking Mosque were reported in *The Islamic Review*. In his speech, he convinced that the rights of the Muslim should be respected. He also said that the the power of chaliph should not be reduced. (*The Islamic Review*, April 1920, p. 139). He said, "I only want to make it clear that we have come here chiefly in connection with a religious question which is of great importance to us. With regard to this, we desire to point out what is the connection of Indian Musalmans with the Khilafat"[23]. So he made religion (especially Islam) is one of the most important issue in life.

In connecting to this, Muhammad Ali argued that Islam is rational. He stated that Islam, as we understand it, is not a set of doctrines and dogmas; it is a complete outlook on life, a moral code and a social polity[24]. So that, in his opinion the the issue of khilafat is not only the problem of Turkey and Arab people, but the question

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[21] Chopra. PN. 1988. *Indian Muslims In Freedom Struggle*, page 31
[22] Hasan, Mushirul (editor), 1999. *My Life, A Fragment: An Autobiographical Sketch of Maulana Muhammad Ali.*
[23] http://www.chapatimystery.com/archives/homistan/imagining_pakistan_ii_jauhar.html
[24] Dee, Sean Oliver. page 110, The Caliphat Question. 2009. UK: Lexington Book.

of entire Muslim in the world. He argued that the function of khalifa is to defence the faith. (The Islamic Review, April 1920, p. 140–141).

He stated that the khilafat must be preserved by the entire body of Muslims at all times with adequate temporal power. He said in his short speech after khutbah that the brotherhood among Muslim is beyond the region. So that, all Muslim among the world should be united for this Khilafat Movement. Related to this, he stated that Islam recognises no ethnical, geographical or political barriers to free human intercourse and sympathy. Islam's whole outlook on life is supranational rather than national[25].

From his statement, we can realize that Muhammad Ali supported the idea of Pan Islamism. This idea which was not instinctive, but the outcome of much thought and deliberation. In expanding this idea, he was inspired by Abdul Kalam Azad in term of idea of personal center of Islam – in khalifah – and the local center was the "island of Arabia". He argued that those both regions should not be occupied by non Muslim countries.

But this movement came to unsuccessful end since in March 1924, Kemal Ataturk abolished Turki Usmani khalifah through a declaration of the Grand National Assembly. Since that time, he realized that it would be big mistake if he did Islamic activities directed by communal legality. So that, he started to understand his struggle as Islamic duty. This religious favour characterized the rest of his life.[26]

In Ali's opinion, Turkeys's defeat was the defeat of Islam, its humiliation, the shame of every Muslim. Because of this many activities, Muhammad Ali had emerged as the leader of the Muslim intelligentsia. But also because of this Khilafat Movement, in 1913, Muhammad Ali came into open conflict with the official world. At the end, he failed to keep this movement, even to find the solution problems between Hindu and Muslim.

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[25] http://www.chapatimystery.com/archives/homistan/imagining_pakistan_ii_jauhar.html
[26] Hasan, Mushirul. 1981. *Muhammad Ali, Ideology and Politics*, page 37

Conclusion

From the explanation above, it is clear that Muhammad Ali Jauhar has significant roles in Indian politics and Khilafat Movement. In term of India politics, Muhammad Ali has the idea of the unity of Hindus and Muslims and supported non cooperation movement, led by Mahatma Gandhi. Because of those similarities in mission and thought to bring Indian in freedom life from British colonialism, Muhammad Ali was very close to Gandhi. Since Muhammad Ali who brought his idea of federation of faith, failed and Khilafat Movement, opposed Nehru Reports, and he had problem with the Gandhi's suspension of civil disobedience, the relations of both leader became worse.

On the issue of Khilafat Movement, Muhammad Ali was one of the important leader who believed in pan Islamism. He spent his life for the interests of Muslims since he wanted to keep khalifah in Turkey keep remained. He believed in the principles of Islam within the political system and life. So that he wanted to bring the issues of Muslim brotherhood beyond border dan the rationality of Islam in modern life. Unfortunately, he failed to gain success in all of his movement, but at least he showed the way to die respectfully for keeping his idealism and the freedom of Muslim and Indian.**

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