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The Khilafat Movement: Use of Symbolic Capital for Political Mobilization

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HIST 125: Foundations of South Asian History
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May 5, 2017

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Khilafat Movement was the major organization of Muslims of South Asia in the early 20th century. It was after the rebellion of 1857 and "formal loss of sovereignty", that the Muslims lost their symbol of unity and power and felt threatened about their future and identity[1]. As a consequence, they found refuge under the Caliphate of the Turkish Sultan. But soon this symbol of Muslims was under threat as the Turkey got actively involved in the World War I against the Allied powers, which included Britain, the legal sovereign of India. This concern of Muslims over the future of Ottoman Caliphate was visible in the writings of many Muslim intelligentsias; Muhammad Iqbal was one of such poets who expressed his feeling about Muslims, being under threat from every nook and corner, others included Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Abul Kalam Azad, Ali Brothers and so on. Although the idea of Khilafat implied a sense of loyalty from its adherents which extended the defined borders of a nation-state, it was in reality a movement for the preservation of a symbol which represented the much wider category of global Islam. Interestingly, this movement was not religious in entirety as for its leaders, religion and nationalism were two sides of the same coin, as the antagonist of both movements was the imperial Britain. For this reason, one can observe the amalgamation of the notions of Indian nationalism and Islamic survival under the symbol of the caliphate.

It is under these underpinnings that Muhammad Ali pronounced that "I belong to two circles of equal size, but which are not concentric. One is India, and the other is the Muslim world."[2] For him and many other Khilafatists, the movement was not in isolation with the contemporary nationalist movement and embodied the convergence of the "two circles" i.e. the coexistence of Islam within the boundaries of independent India. This allowed the people like Ali

[1] Ayesha Jalal, *Self and sovereignty: individual and community in South Asian Islam since 1850* (2000), 187.

[2] Syed Tanvir Wasti, "The Circles of Maulana Mohamed Ali," *Middle Eastern Studies* 38, no. 4 (2002): 21.

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Brothers, various ulemas, etc. to dominate the movement for the preservation of the Ottoman Caliphate on one hand while furthering the nationalist cause of Gandhi and others on the other by their active participation and support of non-cooperation movement.

While the Khilafat movement subscribed to the notions of pan-Islamism to appeal to a wider and unified Muslim constituency of India, however, initially the movement was not a separate or a centralized body itself. In fact, the Khilafat issue was first taken up by figures like Ali Brothers, Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal and likes from the platform of the Muslim League in 1918.[3]In the absence of any centralized body for the workings of the movement, the already existing structures of Muslim League and Congress served the purpose of propagating the Khilafatist cause. As the agitation amplified over the course of the year 1919, it was decided by the "Bombay Khilafat Committee" to form a separate body called "The Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay" on 11th November of the same year.[4] At the same meeting the aims and objectives of the movement were defined and resultantly provincial committees emerged.

Now, at this crucial juncture when the Khilafat Committee was formed as a separate entity there are several perplexities about the movement; what was their target audience? Was it a representative of only Muslims? What about Shia Muslims, who believe in Imamate rather than Caliphate? To what degree did it reflect the views of their supporters? And so on. Although the main objective of the movement was to secure the power and authority of Caliphate and to take a decision about the Jazirat-ul-Arab and its Holy Places in accordance with Islamic Shariah, the

[3] Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islamism in British India: The politics of the Khilafat Movement 1918-1924* (2009). 65-68.

[4] P. C. Bamford , *Histories Of The Non-co-operation And Khilafat Movements* (1925), 144.

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other objective was "to strive for the attainment of swaraj in India".[5] To pursue these objectives, establishing "brotherly relations with the non-Muslim communities of India" and "to make non-cooperation movement a success" were part of the strategy.[6] Hence, we can observe that while the leaders of the movement dominantly asserted that they are mirroring the thoughts of Indian Muslims, they were also working towards mobilizing the non-Muslim Indian population for the dual objective of preservation of Caliphate as well as Independence of India. In essence, the movement drew upon the symbolic capital to articulate a political movement which at the same time claimed to address an international problem.

In the backdrop of several successive events, such as rejection by the colonials for the establishment of an autonomous Muslim university (1912), Kanpur mosque incident (1913), "led to a fresh awakening among the younger generation of Muslims."[7] Under these circumstances, the Ali Brothers, Zafar Ali Khan, and others saw an opportunity to mobilize the Muslims and in subsequent years they had formed a loose alliance with the ulemas and pirs in an attempt to increase their outreach. Other events like, World War I, Lucknow Pact, Amritsar massacre, Punjab wrongs, Martial Law in Punjab, Rowlatt Act, etc. provided grounds for the Hindu-Muslim unity and cooperation against the common enemy, the British Empire. The Muslim League and Congress, the two major parties often held their sessions at the same time, for instance, in December 1919 in Amritsar.[8] Consequently, the Khilafat leaders were also promoting an environment of Hindu-Muslim Unity in their statements and speeches. Maulana Shaukat Ali had released a statement that 'Muslims should prove their obedience by cooperating with Hindus

[5] K. K. Aziz, *The Indian Khilafat Movement 1915-1933: A Documentary Record*, First ed. (1972). 338.
[6] Ibid.

[7] Ayesha Jalal, *Self and sovereignty*, 197.

[8] Ibid., 212.

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in the non-cooperation movement; otherwise they will have to shoulder the responsibility for losing the Caliphate and Holy Lands because of their laziness'.[9] Zafar Ali Khan also voiced similar rhetoric in his speeches, he was arrested on 15th September 1920 on the charges of speaking against the British in his August 1920 speech at Hazro; along with the usual references to British wrongdoings against Ottoman Empire, he also outlined the framework for the observance of non-cooperation movement:

> For the non-cooperation, following basic methods should be adopted: (a) all members should surrender their council membership (b) return all the honors (c) Boys should be taken out of government and missionary schools and should be admitted to the schools of Hindus and Muslims (d) lawyers should suspend their profession.[10]

Also, as a president of Khilafat Committee, he presented several resolutions which included, 8 'crore' Muslims should abandon the cow sacrifice for the sake of 22 'crore' Hindus and people should consume the goods made locally instead of those made in Europe.[11]

Furthermore, so as to portray that Khilafat movement was the representative of majority Muslim opinion and not some random body, the hurdle was not only to convince the Indian Muslims to accept them as their representatives, along with that they had to reach out to the other communities as well like the British, non-Muslims along with the larger international community to gain the legitimacy. So, the Khilafatists made use of English newspapers to depict themselves as being the representative of the whole of the Muslims of India. Therefore, "the Central Khilafat Committee often made sure that newspapers like *The Times of India* and *The Tribune* (Lahore)

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[9] Nazir Hasnain Zaidi, *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Ahwaal-o-Asaar* (1986), 129. For original text in Urdu *See* Appendix B (iii)

[10] Ibid., 124. For original text in Urdu *See* Appendix B (ii)

[11] Ibid., 125. For original text in Urdu *See* Appendix B (iv)

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published its communications with the British government."[12] The readers of English newspapers were mostly the people who could not have been reached out through the Urdu newspapers, like the British, non-Muslims, educated class, those who did not subscribe to Khilafat-associated publications and so on. For instance, the leadership of Khilafat movement was very well interested in showcasing them as the body which collaborated with the non-Muslims too; in this regard they published a letter in The Times of India in 1920:

> "Dear Sir, – I am taking the liberty of writing to tell you that a number of English Christians in India are praying for the guidance of God in the matter of [sic] political future of India … I understand that my Mahomedan fellow citizens are about to hold a day of prayer in this connection. I would that the Christians would do the same [sic]."[13]

By doing so, they highlighted that their support base is not limited to the Muslims only. While on several occasions the leadership identified themselves as Sunni Muslims, nevertheless, for the sake of political mobilization, the Khilafatists were willing to get the support from Shias by setting aside the theological considerations. For example, in March of 1921, Abdul Bari tried to get the support of Shias while they had gathered for the annual pilgrimage at the shrine in Ajmer, by invoking the reference to Shia holy site of Najaf (as a part of Jazirat-ul-Arab), which was rumored to be bombarded by the British.[14] Following this, several Shia meetings were held and eventually a Shia "mujtahid, Maulana Sayyad Tusuf Hussain, issued fatwa in favor of non-cooperation for Shias as well."[15] This highlights that the leaders of the movement were ready to go to any extent to make their movement popular and to claim themselves as the representatives

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[12] Deirdre Dlugoleski, "Widening the Intersection of Two Ideas: The Khilafat Movement and Its Multi-Layered Symbolism," 2012. 3.

[13] "The Khilafat: Letter to the Editor of the Times of India." The Times of India 18 Mar. 1920. *cited in*; Ibid.

[14] Gail Minault, The Khilafat movement: religious symbolism and political mobilization in India (1982), 130.

[15] Ibid.

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of all the Muslims of India were even willing to engage with Shias, who on the theological basis do not consider Caliph as their spiritual sovereign.

The utility of engaging with the English press has been described above, but in case of Urdu publications, the Khilafatists made frequent use of poetry, which served as an important tool in the mobilization effort. While traditionally recitation of poetry usually took place at musha'ira and was mostly crowded by the upper strata of society, but in another case, it was also recited or sung at religious occasions like Muharrram and also at Sufi shrines.[16] Several of the Khilafat movement leaders were themselves poets like Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Zafar Ali Khan, Hasrat Mohani, etc., the use of poetic rhetoric allowed them to appeal to the emotions of the masses, while the poetry was not usually explicitly about the objectives of the movement but nonetheless the audience must have drawn the parallels between the literal and implicit meaning of the verses/poetry recited to them or published in the journals. For example, following are some of the poems and verses which were efficiently used to appeal to the emotions of the public, especially the Muslim Indians and were helpful in the mobilization effort.

> The garden is restless to hear the song
> "God is one,"
> The time to set the nightingale free from
> his cage has come.[17]

Although there is nothing implicitly political about this verse, however Zafar Ali Khan (who published Zamindar) here has used the example of nightingale trapped in a cage, which is

[16] Ibid., 155.

[17] Gail Minault, *The Khilafat movement*, 130.; For original poem in Urdu *See* Appendix A (i)

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conventionally associated with the lover, supplicating the beloved to concede to his yearnings. In its implicit meaning, this could be a call for the freedom of India from the imperial British rule. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan composed many poems with political connotations[18] like '*Zamindar Ki Zabti-e-Zamanat*'[19], 'Martial Law'[20], *Qismat*[21], etc. Moreover, there was another poet, Maulana Hasrat Mohani (who edited Urdu-e-Mu'alla), who also composed poetry on such political topics;

> The customs of tyranny successful, how long will it last?
> Loves of country in a stupor, how long will it last?
> How long will the chains of deception hold fast?
> The stymied anger of people, how long will it last?
> What tyrannies in the name of laws are passed.
> These veiled forces, how long will it last?
> The riches of India in foreign hands are clasped.
> These numberless riches, how long will they last?[22]

Here, Mohani has not invoked any traditional metaphors of Urdu poetry like a nightingale, lover, beloved, wine, instead he is to the point and is indirectly expressing his disdain for the ruling British Empire, and visibly demonstrates nationalist leaders' desires for the achievement of self-rule by pointing out the tyrannies inflicted upon the Indians through the use of draconian laws and plundering of India's treasures. Another important leader who also used to

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[18] There is a whole section dedicated to the political poems of Zafar Ali Khan in: Zafar Ali Khan, Baharistan:, vol. 1 & 2 (Gujrat: Darul Ishaat).

[19]Ibid., 420.

[20] Ibid., 451.

[21] Ibid., 453.

[22] Gail Minault, "Urdu Political Poetry during the Khilafat Movement," *Modern Asian Studies* 8, no. 04 (1974), 465.; For original poem in Urdu *See* Appendix A (ii)

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run newspapers and was the chief Khilafat leader is Muhammad Ali Jauhar, who expressed his feelings as:

> In a twinkling, what an overflowing stream has fled!
> The state of the world had been totally changed.
> The sighs of the helpless have done a marvelous deed!
> You have curbed neither my wings nor my imagination.
> Oh huntress, what has become of thy habitual heed?
> Oh my love, I shall always remember your company.
> Despair accompanied our separation, but it has fled.[23]

Here, Jauhar has expressed himself in the traditional metaphors of Urdu poetry; however, a parallel can be drawn between the traditional metaphors and the contemporary situations. In the understanding of Gail Minault the political meaning of this poem is that the oppressed here are the Indians, who with their struggle, sacrifices and devotion have managed to challenge the authority of the British and managed to gain popular mobilization, while the attempts by the British to imprison the dissenters will go in vain and will only empower the nationalist movement.[24]

Another very powerful ballad related to the Khilafat movement was '*jaan beta apni Khilafat pe de do*', which got famous at the peak of the movement and served as the powerful mobilizing tool. The sort of emotion, devotion, sacrifice and courage demonstrated by the mother of Ali brothers, Bi Amma, in this ballad is remarkable and exceptional as mothers are usually

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[23] Gail Minault, "Urdu Political Poetry during the Khilafat Movement," *Modern Asian Studies* 8, no. 04 (1974), 469. For original poem in Urdu *See* Appendix A (iii)

[24] Ibid.

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considered to be protective about their children; however, here it seems that, for her, the cause of Khilafat is much more important than the life of her sons. This would have definitely got the attention of the mothers of that time and would have possibly encouraged them to persuade their children to partake in the movement with the same zeal as of Ali brothers.

> Thus spoke the mother of Muhammad Ali,
> Son, give your life for the Khilafat.
> And with you, too, Shaukat Ali,
> Son, give your life for the Khilafat.[25]

While Khilafatist leaders were making use of both prose and poetry in oration as well as in the press, they were clearly trying to fuse a religious movement with the nationalist movement. Ayesha Jalal has described this as: "In making tactical use of Islamic idioms, an improbable coalition of Muslim propagandists were strategically aiming at the whole question of rights for a group claiming not only a distinctive identity but also propounding a conception of sovereignty which lay outside the narrowly defined notion of western nationalism that was coming to dominate the Congress." [26] The Islamic idioms included the jihad and hijrat, the jihad was not much on the cards because of Khilafatists support for non-violent non-cooperation movement and other factors like imposition of Martial Law in Punjab, so the other alternative was that of hijrat. While Naeem Qureshi has provided the background to the concept of hijrat and its relevance in the Indian context, in summation, we can understand its importance in the following quotation from the Ali brothers' letter which they sent to Lord

[25] Ibid., 470.; For original poem in Urdu *See* Appendix A (iv)

[26] Ayesha Jalal, *Self and sovereignty*, 220.

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Chelmsford (viceroy) in April 1919:

> "When a land is not safe for Islam a Muslim has only two alternatives, Jehad or Hijrat. That is to say, he must either make use of every force God has given him for the liberation of the land and the ensurement of perfect freedom for the practice and preaching of Islam or he must migrate to some other and freer land…In view of our weak condition, migration is the only alternative for us…" [27]

The other Khilafat leaders exhorted same views, Zafar Ali Khan, for instance, usually made references to hijrat in his speeches.[28] Abul Kalam Azad initially toyed with the idea of armed rebellion (jihad) but he later inclined towards the hijrat, and even wrote a "hijrat ka fatwa" which was published in Urdu daily *Ahl-e-Hadith* (Amritsar) on 30th July 1920 and invited the interested people to get in touch with him or others listed, it further stated that he will soon publish another pamphlet giving further specificities, however, he never published the further details.[29] Ayesha Jalal notes that "shifting the debate from jihad to hijrat was a calculated political gamble on Azad's part."[30]

The hijrat movement did gained momentum and was somewhat popular but eventually the duplicitous behavior on part of Amir of Afghanistan, Amanullah, by at first inviting the Indian Muslims in his country and later not honoring this invitation, "had catastrophic results for thousands of Muslims, who sold their belongings for a pittance in the vain expectation of a better

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[27] *Cited in*; Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islamism in British India* (2009). 130.

[28] Nazir Hasnain Zaidi, *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Ahwaal-o-Asaar* (1986), 123. For original text in Urdu *See* Appendix B (i)

[29] Ian Henderson Douglas, *Abul Kalam Azad:An intellectual and religious biography*, ed. Gail Minault and Christian W. Troll (1988). 173-74.; For text of the fatwa, *See* Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islamism in British India: The politics of the Khilafat Movement 1918-1924*. 136-37.

[30] Ayesha Jalal, *Partisans of Allah: Jihad in South Asia* (2008), 214.

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lifestyle in Afghanistan."[31] Although not all ulema approved of the hijrat to be obligatory on the Muslims, like Abdul Bari, and some completely denied the need for it like, Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi, based on their interpretations of India as Dar-al-Harb or Dar-al-Islam[32]. The negative aspect of the hijrat movement was the fact that the Muslims who were favoring the movement were in a sense inviting the emir of Afghanistan to come to the aid of the Muslims of India, "backed by autonomous Pathan tribesmen could topple the British in India."[33] Shaukat Ali, Hasrat Mohani, Zafar Ali Khan and several others felt nothing wrong if the Afghans would invade India[34] while the other supporters of Khilaf movement like Gandhi were against both the hijrat or jihad.[35] The hijrat movement at its peak gained many supporters from mostly Sindh and NWFP as people actually started moving to the Afghanistan in great numbers, but unfortunately they were not treated well and many of them got looted, died or caught diseases and so on.[36] Thus we can presume that this was also another attempt at mobilizing the Muslims under one umbrella of Khilafat movement which was aimed at achieving swaraj, thus, although the movement was made in the name of addressing an international and religious issue, the real purpose was the nationalist one i.e. getting rid of the imperial power and achieving independene.

To further demonstrate the thesis that Khilafatists drew upon the symbolic capital to articulate a political movement while claiming to address an international issue as well, we can

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[31] Ibid;. For the details of this movement *See* Dietrich Reetz , *Hijrat: The Flight of the Faithful A British File on the Exodus of Muslim Peasants from North lndia to Afghanistan in 1920* (1995).

[32] Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islamism in British India: The politics of the Khilafat Movement 1918-1924*. 134-36.

[33] Ayesha Jalal, *Partisans of Allah: Jihad in South Asia* (2008), 210.

[34] Ayesha Jalal, *Self and sovereignty*, 220.

[35] Ayesha Jalal, *Partisans of Allah: Jihad in South Asia* (2008), 221.

[36] *See* Dietrich Reetz , *Hijrat: The Flight of the Faithful A British File on the Exodus of Muslim Peasants from North lndia to Afghanistan in 1920* (1995).

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make use of Abul Kalam Azad's writings and thinking to get the idea of nationalist nature of the movement. Azad had written the history of Khilafat and non-cooperation movement in his journal *Paigham*. Some excerpts from the magazine are; "It was the khilafatists who had strengthened the movement for swaraj"," Muslims had to struggle for the attainment of rights by fortifying non-cooperation", "the khilafatists had to ensure that Muslims did not fall behind in participating in the national movement".[37] In summation, Azad's thinking was always inclined towards issue of Hindu-Muslim unity and he saw Khilafat question as the means to achieve the freedom of India, he justified the unity on the basis of Quran and hadith and he was not too much emotionally attached with the Ottoman Caliphate as Ali brothers.[38] This strengthens the claim that the Khilafat issue was in its practicality had nationalist connotations and it was taken up to mobilize the Indians who were divided on different issues, religion, sect, theology, class, caste, ethnic etc. The Khilafat movement made use of the Islamic symbols to rally the support of majority of the population, while the proponents of Hindu-Muslim unity envisioned the opportunity to mobilize the otherwise divided communities under the chief goal of achieving the self-rule.

Summarily, it is true that Muslims of India did care about the question of Khilafat and the safety of the holy lands, but at the same time it is also true that the leaders recognized that without a united voice that could claim to represent the whole of India they were not to be taken seriously by the British Empire. So, building upon the symbolic capital of Islamic idioms, its

[37] Several issues of *Paigham* as cited in: Ayesha Jalal, *Self and sovereignty*, 232.

[38] Ian Henderson Douglas, *Abul Kalam Azad:An intellectual and religious biography*, ed. Gail Minault and Christian W. Troll (1988). 174-77.

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leaders showed pragmatism by accommodating the different sections of the society, like ulema, pirs, peasants, western educated intelligentsia, etc to unite the majority of the Muslims. Furthermore, the Gandhi and Congress leaders saw in the Khilafat movement an opportunity to further strengthen their stance by supporting the Khilafat issue and in reciprocity gained the support for the non-cooperation movement and other issues like cow sacrifice. While the Khilafat issue was somewhat impractical in reality because it had pan-Islamic connotations and its antithesis was pan-Arabism, which led to the ouster of Turkish rule over the Holy Lands, thus if fellow Muslims were not subscribed to the pan-Islamic ideals how could the British Empire had conceded to them. Therefore, the Caliphate only served as the symbol of mass mobilization, effectively utilized by the leaders by excellent use of poetic rhetoric, Islamic idioms, newspaper, oration, etc. to achieve unification of the masses for the issue of Indian freedom. This is in my opinion, why after the Khilafat movement dried out by middle of 1920s, it had already contributed a lot towards the nationalist movement by their effective political mobilization.

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Appendix A

(i)

ھُوَاللہُ احد کے نغمے کو بیتاب ہے گلشن
قفس سے عندلیبوں کے رہا ہونے کا وقت آیا

(ii)

رسمِ جفا کامیاب، دیکھئے کب تک رہے
حُبِّ وطن مستِ خواب دیکھئے کب تک رہے

تا بکجا ہوں دراز سلسلہ ہائے فریب
ضبط کی لوگوں میں تاب، دیکھئے کب تک رہے

نام سے قانون کے ہوتے ہیں کیا کیا ستم
جبر بزیرِ نقاب، دیکھئے کب تک رہے

دولتِ ہندوستاں قبضۂ اغیار میں
بے عدد و بے حساب، دیکھئے کب تک رہے

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(iii)

آخر کوے کے عرش سے فتح و ظفر گئی
مظلوم کی دُعا بھی کہیں بے اثر گئی

اگلی سی اب وہ زعم کی طغیانیاں کہاں؟
شب بھر میں کیا بھری ہوئی ندی اُتر گئی

عالم کا رنگ اور سے کچھ اور ہو گیا
ہم بے کسوں کی آہ عجب کام کر گئی

صیّاد، کیا ہوئی وہ تری خوئے احتیاط؟
مرغِ خیال کے نہ مرے پر کتر گئی؟

اے یادِ یار تیری رفاقت رہے گی یاد
آئی تھی یاس بھی شبِ ہجراں، مگر گئی

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(iv)

بولیں اماں محمد علی کی — جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو
ساتھ تیرے ہے شوکت علی بھی — جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو
بوڑھی اماں کا کچھ غم نہ کرنا — کلمہ پڑھ کر خلافت پہ مرنا

پورے اس امتحاں میں اُترنا — جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو
ہوتے میرے اگر سات بیٹے — کرتی سب کو خلافت پہ صدقے
ہیں یہی دینِ احمد کے رستے — جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

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Appendix B

(i)

کے ارباب بست وکشاد ہم سے غیر متزلزل عقیدت اور غیر مشکوک وفاداری کے متوقع ہیں[1]۔"

یہی وجہ تھی کہ انھوں نے اس زمانے میں جگہ جگہ مرکزی خلافت کے اس نقطۂ نظر کو پیش کیا ، کہ مسلمانوں کے لیے اب صرف دو ہی راستے ہیں ، ایک جہاد ، دوسرا ہجرت ۔ جہاد بالسیف کی ہم میں اہلیت اور مقدرت نہیں ۔ ہم جہاد بالنفس کر سکتے ہیں ، جو جہاد بالسیف سے زیادہ مشکل ہے ۔ ہم قانون کے اندر رہ کر اپنی پوری طاقت سے جہاد بالنفس کر سکتے ہیں ۔ یہی وجہ تھی کہ مولانا نے مجلس خلافت کا اہم رکن ہونے کے سبب ہندوستان کے اہم ترین شہروں میں تحریک عدم تعاون کو کامیاب بنانے میں از حد سعی کی ، اور جگہ جگہ تقاریر کر کے ہجرت کی اہمیت پر لوگوں کی توجہ مبذول کرائی ۔ انھوں نے انڈین نیشنل کانگرس کے تاریخی جلسے منعقدہ کلکتہ کا خاص طور پر ذکر کیا "کہ اس کے مشترک پلیٹ فارم سے برطانوی اقتدار کے حواس کو درست کرنے کا سب سے بڑا ذریعہ عدم تعاون سمجھا گیا ہے"۔

اسی درمیان اگست ۱۹۲۰ء میں مولانا ظفرعلی خاں کو حضرو ضلع کیمبل پور میں تقریر کرنے کا موقع ملا ۔ جہاں انھوں نے دل کھول کر اپنے جذبات کا اظہار کیا ۔ موضوع "عدم تعاون اور ترک موالات" تھا ۔ ان دنوں ہجرت کا زور تھا ، جوش پھیلا ہوا تھا ، حضرو اور پشاور کے درمیان صرف دریا واقع ہے ۔ چونکہ پشاور میں داخلہ بند ہو چکا تھا ، اس لیے حضرو میں تقریر کی ۔ اس تقریر کا اثر یہ ہوا ، کہ بہت سے نمبرداروں نے نمبرداریاں اور ذیلداروں نے ذیلداریاں چھوڑ دیں — اور بعض سرکاری آدمیوں نے ملازمتیں بھی ترک کر دیں ۔ اسی جلسے میں پانچ ہزار روپیہ چندہ بھی جمع ہوا ۔ وہ اس کے بعد کلکتہ چلے گئے ۔ وہ ۱۵ ستمبر ۱۹۲۰ء کو حسب ہدایت مرکزی خلافت کمیٹی 'چلکوٹ گورے' کی مقدمے کی سماعت کے لیے کلکتہ سے واپسی پر براہ راست مری جا رہے تھے ، کہ لاہور ریلوے سٹیشن پر ایک یورپین ڈپٹی سپرنٹنڈنٹ پولیس نے ان کو قانون تحفظ ہند کے تحت گرفتار کر لیا[2]۔ ان کی گرفتاری کا سبب حضرو ضلع کیمبل پور کی اگست والی تقریر تھی ، اور سرکار کی طرف سے مقدمہ قائم کر دیا گیا ، اس لیے کہ انھوں نے اپنی تقریر میں حسب ذیل قابل اعتراض جملے کہے :

(۱) "ہم وہ مسلمان ہیں ، جنھوں نے مکہ پہنچ کر آگ لگائی"۔

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۱ ۔ ظفر علی خاں ، تقریر برہان پور ۔

۲ ۔ اشرف عطا : مولانا ظفر علی خاں ۔

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(ii)

(۲) ہم نے خلیفہ" المسلمین کے سپاہیوں کو شہید کیا ، اور بغداد کو کفر آلود کیا ۔

(۳) ہم نے مدینہ پر گولے گرائے ۔

(۴) ہم حبشیوں نے مقامات مقدسہ فتح کیے ، اور نصاریٰ کے حوالے کیے، ترکوں کو تباہ کیا ، معصوم لڑکیوں کی عصمت دری کی ۔

(۵) حضور پر نور پرنس آف ویلز تشریف لا رہے ہیں ، مگر انگریزو یاد رکھو ، اگر تم چاہتے ہو کہ ہم اُن کا استقبال کریں ، تو تم خلافت میں دخل دینا چھوڑ دو ۔

(۶) مکہ و مدینہ خالی کر دو ۔

(۷) ٹرکی کا اقتدار بدستور رہنے دو ۔

(۸) مارشل لاء کبھی نہ نکالنے کا وعدہ کرو ۔

(۹) رولٹ ایکٹ توڑ دو ۔

(۱۰) جو وعدے ہم سے کیے گئے ہیں ، وہ پورے کرو ۔

(۱۱) مسئلہ عدم تعاون کے لیے حسب ذیل بنیادی طریقے اختیار کیے جائیں ۔

(الف) تمام نگران ، کونسل کی نگرانی چھوڑ دیں ۔

(ب) تمام اعزاز واپس کر دیں ۔

(ج) لڑکوں کو سرکاری اور مشن اسکولوں سے ہٹا کر ہندوؤں اور اسلامی اسکولوں میں داخل کر دیں ۔

(د) وکیل اپنا پیشہ ترک کر دیں ۔

اپنی تقریر میں انھوں نے یہ بھی کہا تھا کہ " مسئلہ عدم تعاون میں مسلمانوں کو اخلاق جرأت کی ضرورت ہے ۔ اگر مہاجرین کے لیے جن کی تعداد ایک لاکھ ہوتی ہے ، کل شام تک ایک لاکھ روپیہ جمع ہو جائے ، تو میں یہ رقم سلطنت افغانستان کے سفیر کے ذریعے کابل بھیج دوں گا ۔ خود غازی امان اللہ خاں نے اپنی ساٹھ ہزار بیگھہ زمین جس کی مالیت پچھتر ہزار روپے ہے برائے تقسیم مابین مہاجرین عطا فرمائی"۔ جلسے کے اختتام پر پانچ ہزار روپے

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(iii)

ہمدردی میں لاتعداد آنکھیں اشک بار ہوئیں ، ان کی بیگم کو ام الاحرار کا خطاب سہوان کی خلافت کمیٹی نے دیا[1]۔

ترک موالات کے سلسلہ میں ہیجان :

یہ زمانہ ترک موالات کے سلسلہ میں ہنگاموں سے پر تھا ۔ مولانا شوکت علی نے ۲۸ دسمبر ۱۹۲۰ء کو ایک بیان شائع کیا کہ مسلمان اپنی عملی زندگی کا ثبوت ترک موالات میں ہندوؤں کے ساتھ تعاون کر کے دیں ؛ اس لیے کہ اگر اس وقت غفلت سے کام لیا گیا تو مسلمان ہمیشہ کے لیے نہ صرف خلافت اور اماکن مقدسہ کے لیے روئیں گے بلکہ ان کو حیات قومی کے زوال کے لیے بھی کف افسوس ملنا پڑے گا[2]۔

"انڈی پنڈنٹ"[3] الہ آباد نے ان واقعات پر یوں تبصرہ کیا تھا : "مولوی ظفر علی خاں اور پنڈت رام نرائن پر بغاوت کا مقدمہ چلانا اور اس طرح ان کی آڑ میں تکلیفیں پہنچانا روزمرہ کی کارروائی کا جزو بن گیا ہے ۔ اس سے ہمیں کوئی استعجاب نہیں ہوتا اور ان کارروائیوں سے بھی جو نتیجہ نکلتا ہے اس کی بھی چنداں پروا نہیں کیونکہ تجربے نے یہ بات بتا دی ہے کہ سرکاری مقدمات کا کیا مقصد و مطلب ہوتا ہے —— اگر مولوی ظفر علی خاں کی تقریریں باغیانہ ہیں ، تو آزادی ہند کے سلسلہ میں مشکل سے کوئی آدمی ہوگا جس نے واقعات پنجاب اور مسئلہ خلافت پر کوئی تحریر نہ لکھی ہوگی یا تقریر نہ کی ہو اور وہ قانون کی رو سے محفوظ رہ سکے —— اور دفتری حکومت کا طریق کار ہماری سمجھ سے بالاتر ہے"۔

سندھ کی پیش قدمی :

خطۂ سندھ سے ہی عدم تعاون کا عملی اظہار ہوا اور کراچی کے عظیم الشان جلسے ہی میں مولوی ظفر علی خاں کی گرفتاری پر زبردست احتجاج ہوا ۔ اس تحریک عدم تعاون میں سیٹھ عبداللہ ہارون ، مولانا تاج محمود ، مولانا محمد صادق ، سید تراب علی شاہ ، سید اسد اللہ شاہ ، نور الدین ، پیرزادہ غلام محی الدین ، پیر محبوب شاہ اس کام کے لیے مقرر کیے گئے تاکہ وہ سندھ کے دورے کریں اور ووٹ دہندگان کو کہا جائے کہ کانگرس کی پاس کردہ قرارداد

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۱ - خبر - پیسہ اخبار ، ۱۵ اکتوبر ۱۹۲۰ء لاہور -
۲ - پیسہ اخبار ، اکتوبر ۱۹۲۰ء لاہور -
۳ - ۳۰ اکتوبر ۱۹۲۰ء -

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(iv)

چندہ جمع ہوا ۔[1]

جو ریزولیشن انھوں نے بحیثیت صدر تحریک خلافت پیش کیے ، اور حاضرین نے منظور کیے ، وہ حسب ذیل ہیں :

(۱) حضرو اور نواحی علاقے کے مسلمان اور ہندوؤں کا یہ جلسہ شرائط صلح عہد نامہ ترکیہ کو جس پر داماد فرید شاہ کی معزول وزارت نے رضامندی کے دستخط کیے ہیں ، ناقابل قبول سمجھتا ہے ۔ (یہ شرائط ترکی کی وزارت سے بجبر منوائے گئے تھے) ، اور صدق دل سے عہد کرتا ہے کہ جب تک شرائط منسوخ نہ ہو جائیں ، آئینی طور پر جد و جہد کرتے رہیں گے ، اور ترک موالات پر کاربند رہیں گے ۔

(۲) یہ جلسہ پیر محبوب شاہ سندھی کی گرفتاری پر صدائے احتجاج بلند کرتا ہے ۔

(۳) یہ جلسہ گورنر سرحد کے حکم برائے پابندی داخلہ' پشاور برائے مولانا ظفر علی خاں پر احتجاج کرتا ہے ، اور اس کو غیر آئینی خیال کرتا ہے ۔

(۴) اسلام کے مصالح عالیہ اور ہندوستان کے ملکی اغراض کو مد نظر رکھتے ہوئے آٹھ کروڑ مسلمانوں کو بائیس کروڑ ہندوؤں کے لیے گائے کی قربانی ترک کر دینی چاہیے ۔

(۵) یہ جلسہ حبیب اللہ مہاجر ماتمی کی یاد کو تازہ کرتا ہے ، اور حکومت سے مطالبہ کرتا ہے کہ جو اشخاص اس جرم کے مرتکب ہوں ، ان کو پکڑا جائے ۔ صرف ایک گورے کا کورٹ مارشل کافی نہیں ۔

(۶) یورپ کی بنی ہوئی چیزوں کے بجائے اپنے ملک کی چیزیں استعمال کریں ۔

حضرو کے جلسے کی کارروائی میں شرکت کی بنا پر مقدمہ :

جیساکہ قبل ازیں بیان کیا جا چکا ہے ، کہ ۱۵ ستمبر ۱۹۲۰ء کو لاہور ریلوے سٹیشن پر گرفتاری عمل میں آئی ، اور ۲۰ ستمبر ۱۹۲۰ء کو مقدمہ کی سماعت شروع ہوئی ۔ مولانا کی طرف سے کوئی وکیل پیش نہیں ہوا ۔ انھوں نے

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۱ ۔ ہمدم اخبار لاہور، ستمبر ۱۹۲۰ء ۔