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**SAYYID ABUL A'LA MAWDUDI'S POLITICAL
MOVEMENT IN THOUGHT AND PRACTICE**

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Yukarıda adı geçen öğrenci tarafından hazırlanan SAYYID ABUL A'LA MAWDUDI'S POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN THOUGHT AND PRACTICE başlıklı bu çalışma 23/10/2017 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda oybirliği/oyçokluğu ile başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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Bu çalışmanın amacı Abul A'la Mevdudi'nin siyasal hareketi ile ilgili düşüncelerini ve gayretini incelemektir. O, 20. asrın önde gelen Müslüman düşünürlerinden birisidir. Mevdudi, İslamın temel değerlerini ihya ederek onları tekrar yorumlamıştır. Aynı zamanda Mevdudi dünya çapında bir çok alimi ve entelektüeli etkilemiştir.

Mevdudi dindar bir ortamda yetişmiştir, çünkü onun ailesi de mistisizime ilgi gösteren dindar bir aileydi. Geleneksel bir mistik ailesinin olmasına rağmen Mevdudi mistisizmi eleştirmiştir. Sosio-ekonomik ve siyasal konularla ilgili İslam düşüncesinin geleneksel şeklini sorgulamıştır.

Hiç şüphe yok ki Mevdudi yenilikçi bir düşünürdür.O, Hindistanda Cama'at-i İslami partisini kurmuştur. Halihazırda bu parti Mevdudi düşüncesinin sözcüsüdür. Mevdudi'nin düşünceleri zamanla gelişmiştir, özellikle de 20. asrın başlarında ki Hindistan müslümanları'nın siyasal durumundan etkilenmiştir. Mevdudi Müslüman ümmetiyle ilgili nerdeyse tüm konular hakkında yazmıştır. Aynı zamanda geleneksel alimler ve modernistler tarafından eleştiriye maruz kalmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler:Allahın hükümleri,İslam devrim programı, Yenilikçilik, Yenidenyorumlama, Kur'an, Sünnet, Şeriat, Devlet, Demokrasi, Milliyetçilik, İnsan hakları.



ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this research is to examine the thoughts and endeavour of Abul A'la Mawdudi with reference to his movement, he was one of the leading Muslim thinkers of the 20th century. Mawdudi revived and reinterpreted the fundamental values of Islam. He influenced Muslim scholars and intellectuals across the world.

He was grown up in a religious environment because his parents were pious Muslims known for their interests in mysticism. Despite having traditional mystic family background he criticized mysticism. He questioned traditional form of Islamic thought whether it was pertained to social-economic and political issues.

There is no doubt that Mawdudi was a leading revivalist thinker. He established the Islamic movement known as Jama'at-i Islami (JI) in Indian subcontinent. Right now this organization is regarded as the principal flag bearer of Mawdudi's vision. Mawdudi's ideas also evolved with the time, especially he was influenced by the Indian Muslims' political circumstances in the beginning of the 20th century. He has written extensively almost about every issue related to Muslim umma. He was also widely criticized by traditional ulama and modern intellectuals, because of his understanding of Islam and worldly affairs.

Keywords:Sovereignty of Allah, Islamic revolutionary programme, Revivalism, Reinterpretation, Qur'an, Sunnah, Shari'ah, State, Democracy, Nationalism, Human rights.

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Keywords: Sovereignty of Allah, Islamic revolutionary programme, Revivalism, Reinterpretation, Qur'an, *Sunnah*, *Shari'ah*, State, Democracy, Nationalism, Human rights.

PREFACE

This study is primarily concerned with Mawdudi's political thoughts and his organization *Jama'at-i Islami*, I tried to examine his views and activism. Mawdudi was a great revivalist thinker, he tried to transform Islam from religion into ideology as he believed that Islam is not merely a religion and full of rituals but it is a way of life. Islam provides revolutionary ideology and programme to its true believers.

In this work essentially I tried to introduce Mawdudi's political ideas. This work consists of three chapters. In the first chapter I dealt with the socio-cultural and political conditions of the Indian Muslims in the beginning of the 19th century. I also mentioned briefly about Mawdudi's life, his achievements and those contemporaries who had influenced on him. The second chapter is related to Mawdudi's political thoughts in which I tried to examine his revivalist approach towards state, nationalism, democracy and human rights. The third chapter deals with *Jama'at-i Islami* along with other Muslim organizations of the subcontinent such as Muslim League (ML), Tablighi Jama'at (TJ) and Jamiat-UI-Ulama-i-Hind (JUH).

During my research I tried my best to find original sources in English. But I could not succeed as I used electronic books which are available easily. At the same time I benefited a lot from Mawdudi's translated works into Turkish, and this gave me very clear picture of Mawdudi and his organization.

I would like to thank my teachers and friends who helped and encouraged me to complete my thesis including Asst.Prof.Dr. M. Cüneyt Özşahin and Asst.Prof.Dr. Seraj Ahsan. I would like to express my especial gratitude to Prof. Dr. Murat Çemrek.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	I
PREFACE.....	II
CONTENTS.....	III
ABBREVIATIONS	V
INTRODUCTION	1

CHAPTER ONE THE FORMATIVE PHASE

1. SOCIAL-CULTURAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF THE SUBCONTINENT’S MUSLIMS	6
2. MAWDUDI’S LIFE AND HIS ACHIVEMENTS	10
3. MAWDUDI’S CONTEMPORARIES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON MAWDUDI	15
3.1. Muhammad Ali Johar	15
3.2. Abul Kalam Azad	17
3.3. Muhammad Iqbal	21

CHAPTER TWO MAWDUDI’S POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN THOUGHT

1.STATE	27
1.1. The Significance of the Revolutionary Leadership	29
1.2. The Holy Community	31
1.3. The Shari’ah.....	32
1.4. The Constitution	34
1.5. The Economy	35
2.NATIONALISM	37
2.1. The Roots of Nationalism	37
2.2. Umma Versus Secular Nationalism	38

2.3. The Umma	40
3. MAWDUDI'S APPROACH TO THE DEMOCRACY	42
3.1. Islamic Democracy as an Alternative	43
4. HUMAN RIGHTS	46
4.1 Mawdudi's Perception of Human Rights.....	46
4.2. The Rights of Non-Muslims	51

CHAPTER THREE
MAWDUDI'S POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN PRACTICE

1. JAMA'AT-I ISLAMI: ITS PURPOSE AND METHOD.....	54
1.1. Origins and Strategy	54
1.2. Emergency of Jama'at-i Islâm'i	56
1.3. As an Islamist Movement	59
1.4. Party Structure	60
1.5. A Party with Differences	63
2. JAMA'AT-I ISLAMI AND ITS CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SUBCONTINENT	65
2.1. Muslim League	65
2.2. Tablighi Jama'at	69
2.3. Jamiat-UI-Ulama-i-Hind.....	72
CONCLUSION.....	76
APPENDIX.....	78
REFERENCES	81

ABBREVIATIONS

AIML: All-India Muslim League

DI: Daru'l Islam

INC: Indian National Congress

Jl: Jama'at-i Islami

JUH: Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind

JUP: Jamiat Ulama Pakistan

ML: Muslim League

N.D.: No Date

P. : Page

TJ: Tablighi Jama'at

INTRODUCTION

Scope

My work will contain Mawdudi's Islamic movement in the Indian subcontinent. Though his thoughts influenced several Islamic movements in the world, in my study deal with his Islamic movement particularly in Pakistan. The first chapter will relate to the socio-cultural conditions of the Indian subcontinent's Muslims, Mawdudi's formative phase and the influence of his contemporaries on him. In the second chapter, I have discussed Mawdudi's thoughts about Islamic state and society. But in the final chapter of the dissertation, I have dealt with the Jama'at-i Islami because the JI was the idea of Mawdudi. In addition, I also discussed some contemporary Islamic movements which have impact on the JI.

Mawdudi was born in 1903 in Aurangabad southwest of India, in a pious family. Mawdudi began to take part in public affairs in his teenage years. He became known as a revivalist Muslim, a journalist, an Islamic scholar. Mawdudi worked tirelessly for years to revive Islamic thought. While working for several journals and newspapers, he supported the Muslims in India. In a short period, he wrote more than 50 books on subjects related to Islamic political movement and Islamic revivalism. Mawdudi's research was not combined to Islamic studies, due to his interest in social sciences, he also studied the works of Plato, Hegel, Bergson, Marx and so on.

In the partition of the subcontinent, Mawdudi supported the idea of Islamic state. But he was critic of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's idea of secular Muslim majority state. Mawdudi's perception of the Islamic polity was shaped with the ongoing events in the Indian subcontinent and except his great work on *tafseer*, almost all of his books were written down on politics. In 1941, he established his organization; Jama'at-i Islami. It is more than simply a religious or political organization as it is an Islamic political movement which presents Islam as a complete way of life.

In the beginning of the 20th century, due to colonization of Muslim land new Islamic movement emerged, Mawdudi himself was founder of movement. He was gifted with critical and analytical mind. He examined the current ideas of west movement witnessed the war between capitalism and communism especially during

the Cold War. So, all these events shaped Mawdudi's activism and thoughts. In contrast to the other Islamic parties and communities, Mawdudi was hostile toward colonialism and afraid of Western influence overwhelming Islam. On the other hand outstanding Islamic movement leaders including Hasan Al Banna and Ruhullah Khomeni were risen in an environment that was different from Mawdudi's environment. So, they only fought against the imperialism. But Mawdudi's *dawa's* sphere was larger than theirs. While Mawdudi fighting against British, India, he was agnostic towards Hinduism, communism, at the same time he tried to establish a pure Islamic state.

Purpose

This master thesis intends to present Mawdudi's Islamic movement in thought and practice in the Indian subcontinent, particularly in Pakistan. Though there are many books and articles have been written about Mawdudi and his ideology, in this work, I have analyzed thoughts in theory and practice. Mawdudi is one of the leading Islamic figures of the political thought of Islam. Mawdudi's basic idea is that "Islam is a revolutionary ideology and programme".¹ The purpose of Mawdudi's argument is to make Islam a complete system of life. My effort will be to exam his understanding of the political thought of Islam and reinterpretation of the Islamic sources. Especially the work will focus on Mawdudi's thoughts in regard to his political approach to state, nationalism, democracy and human rights. Although the second chapter will include all above mentioned issues the first and the third chapters will discuss Mawdudi's contemporary figures and contemporary organizations of the JI. Mawdudi based his vision on the strong tenets with his reinterpretation of the Qur'an and Sunnah. At the same time Mawdudi's ideology filled the big theoretical vacuum of political Islam. Through my work I will attempt to explain to reader the following points:

¹ Mawdudi stressed on his idea from the onset when he wrote his first pamphlet; *Jihad in Islam*, he said: "In reality Islam is a revolutionary ideology and programme which seeks to alter the social order of the whole world and rebuild it in conformity with its own tenets and ideals. 'Muslim' is the title of that International Revolutionary Party organized by Islam to carry into effect its revolutionary programme..." (Mawdudi, 2006, p.5).

1. Mawdudi is the most influential Sunni Muslim political revivalist who based the politics on the Islamic ordinances.
2. Mawdudi's decisive contribution lay not in his being the important figure in the Islamic movement, but in his provision of its key vocabulary. Mawdudi reinterpreted the religio-political relations.
3. Mawdudi defined Islamic revolutionary programme in his books and works broadly. Mawdudi's discourse did not remain only in theories, but he concretized his theories with the JI and overcame the intolerable barrier set by traditionalists against modern Islamic movement.

This study is not comparative but explanatory, because I emphasized on the prerogative of Mawdudi's political movement in thought and practice. During reading, attentions are drawn to consider the ideological depth of Mawdudi's political movement.

Methodology

The study is organized chronologically covering a period between 1920 and 1980 from Mawdudi's childhood to his death. The study involves Islamic movement and Islamic revivalism, but mostly based on Mawdudi's thought analyzing and how he revived political thought of Islam. In this regard, the study is limited with the analysis of Mawdudi's political movement.

The first part of the thesis includes socio-political conditions of the Indian subcontinent's Muslims, Mawdudi's life and education period which his spiritual motivation lies behind. I explained Mawdudi's education period and his influence from the contemporary figures and events. In this part I tried to explain the importance of the events on Mawdudi's thoughts transformation to Islamic movement.

The second part of the study is full of Mawdudi's understanding and political reinterpretation of the Islamic ordinances in the context of state, nationalism, democracy and human rights. Except some samples, this part does not cover historical events. I built this chapter on Mawdudi's theoretical topics including state, nationalism, democracy and human rights which can be considered as the engine of Mawdudi's movement. In this study my goal is not to give short information of all

events occurred in Mawdudi's period but to make the reader to understand entire process in Mawdudi's revolution.

I thought it would be more beneficial to separate between theoretical basis of the movement and practical side of the movement in this study. Thus adding of Mawdudi's active political movement as the third chapter would give more information about his movement. This chapter starts with the origin and structure of the JI and at the end, it includes important contemporary parties' relations with Mawdudi.

Consequently I want to mention data collection shortly, so most of the literature related to the subject has been drawn from books, articles, book chapters, journals, unpublished thesis and other relevant materials.

Organization of the Chapters

The first chapter is about socio-cultural and political conditions of the subcontinent's Muslims. The chapter also includes Mawdudi's formative phase starting from his birth in 1903, his family and education. In addition, I mentioned his prominent teachers who played an important role in Mawdudi's education. Especially the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's traditions influenced Mawdudi. The short biographical and historical data about Mawdudi will enable the reader to understand the following two chapters. I also listed up several figures who were Mawdudi's contemporaries and had influence on him.

Chapter II covers Mawdudi's thoughts and political interpretation of the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah. The Chapter is divided into four topics: the first topic is *state*, while the following topics include discussions on nationalism, democracy and human rights. Within these four parts Mawdudi's political thoughts took place starting from the publication of the pamphlet (1927) *Jihad in Islam* up to 1941 establishment of the JI. In this chapter I tried to reach Mawdudi's books related to the subjects and bring some pivot statements.

Chapter III consists of the origins and politics of the JI. In this chapter we see Mawdudi's direct ties with the active politics which started through the JI. After establishment of the *Daru'l Islam* (DI) in India, he established the JI. Mawdudi's organization was a response to the non-Islamic parties. Actually his program defined

characteristics of Islamic revivalist party compared to un-Islamic parties. The Muslim League (ML) was one of them. The JI was established on Mawdudi's ideology. Indeed, the party was formulated on Islamic paradigm and praxis. Mawdudi's main practice of politics started with the JI. Also the chapter embodies the JI with its contemporary parties. I restricted them as leading three parties: the ML, the TJ and The JUH which had close relations and competitions with the JI.

Literature

Regarding the literature in this thesis I preferred to categorize the sources under three groups. The first group of sources are Mawdudi's own books and pamphlets. especially his book *The Islamic Law and Constitution* containing almost all Mawdudi's speeches and articles relating to the subjects of Islamic Law and Constitution. Others include *Economic System of Islam, System of Government Under the Holy Prophet, Jihad in Islam, The Qadiani Problem, Ethical Viewpoint of Islam, Nations Rise & Fall Why?, Fundamentals of Islam Part II, Four Basic Qur'anic Terms, Islam and Ignorance. A Short History of the Revivalist Movement in Islam, Our Message, The Islamic Way of Life* and so on.

The second group sources are the books and articles of authors such as Vali Rza Nasr. The third group sources are the books, pamphlets and articles which related to the work of authors or parts from the indirect books on the subject. Works of the above authors had laid great emphasis on relations between Mawdudi and Pakistan government and touched on many vital points.

CHAPTER ONE

THE FORMATIVE PHASE

1. SOCIO-CULTURAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT'S MUSLIMS

The most important developments in the Indian subcontinent at the beginning of 19th were the growing of Muslim identity and Indian nationalism. Both of them sprung up against the British rule. Annemarie states the period as follow:

“In the beginning of 19th century, the various responses and different demonstrations against the British rule have emerged in India. In the last decades of the 19th century, the Muslim community was in a growing self-consciousness, as it can be seen from the very names of associations established during these years. An important aspect of this movement was the refutation of attacks against Islam and the protection of Muslim interests. On the contrary the British rule brutally removed much of the financial and institutional support for Muslim communities. During the same years, some Hindu organizations sprang up which tried to perpetuate the classical world-view of Hinduisim. It was the modern nationalism as the most important historical theme of late nineteenth century India. Indian National Congress which was founded in 1885 was one of those national organizations. The Cow Protection Society or the celebrations to commemorate the Maratha leader Shivaji, was introduced in 1895 by the Maratha politician G.B. Tilak. It also a convenient starting point for Hindu nationalism.” (Schimmel, 2013, p.216).

Especially in 1906 a new Muslim political organization the Muslim League (ML) has been found to represent Muslims. The ML firstly has come in existence in Dhaka (now the capital of Bangladesh), its aim was to support Muslim interests in India by representing their needs and problems. The first president of the ML was Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan. The ML was established on the conservative basis and its aim was to be the spokesman for the Muslim society in India and to win the elections in the Muslim majority regions without being directed against the British Government. Its founders were loyal Muslim representatives of modern outlook and their followers largely consisted of the landed gentry and upper middle class. For this reason, new comers to the party were not welcomed by the traditionalist figures of the party including Mawlana Shibli. Also Deobandi² was

² Its founder Muhammad Qasim Nanautvi and Rashid Ahmad Gangohi. had been educated in the reform atmosphere of pre-Mutiny Delhi and were determined to make its traditions live in the post-mutiny world. Education was their answer to enabling Muslims to be Muslims without political-

against this party for its loyalty to the British government in several points (Schimmel,2013,p.216-217).

Later Mawdudi pressured on the ML and criticized their way of politics. As he continued on his attacks at the ML without showing the same reflection on other parties, it should be due to the ML getting more powerful at that time. In Mawdudi's vision, the ML came to embrace an anti-Islam system which was found on human laws as opposed to *Shari'ah* (Islamic law). At the same time he enlightened Muslims not to attend the ML because it meant rebellion against their belief in monotheism. Participation in secular system and becoming member of this system according to Mawdudi was *haram* (unlawful) (Ahmad, 2005, p.284).

While the ML kept the tradition of loyalty towards the British, the first pan-Islamic journals and newspapers started. Hasrat Mohani was one of the anti-loyalist writers who published *Urdu-yi Mu'alla*. Also In Lahore, Mawlana Zafar Ali published the *Zamindar* (Landowner) an aggressive and strong response against British papers. He set model for the numerous others in the subcontinent. And In Lahore, too, Shikh Abdulaqadir founded the more literary-educational journal *Makhzan* in which some of Iqbal's early poems were published. The other prominent paper, *Al-Hilal* (Crescent), played an important role in the Muslim community at that time. It was started by Abul Kalam Azad, who in that period was known as the spokesman for Muslims and against partition in the Congress (Schimmel, 2013, p.217). Azad's conception of Muslim community was based on the *Shari'ah*, clearly on its scriptural roots with broader moral and ethical principles (Shaikh, 2009, p.22).

It is clear for us before the *khilafah* (caliphate) movement and starting of the World War I, Islamic reform attempts and the anti-British organizations were "Shah Waliullah, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Deobandi school, the *Ahli Hadith*, the *Ahli Qur'an*, the TJ and the ML were pioneers of the Islamic reformation in the South Asia"(Robinson, 2008, p. 261). "Before the World War I, the Muslim community in the South

power. The focus of the movement was a *madrasa* (Islamic secondary school) founded at Deoband, a Qasba (country town occupied by Muslim gentry) in Saharanpur district some ninety miles northeast of Delhi. What Deoband offered was a way of being Muslim with as limited a relationship as possible with the state. As far as beliefs went, it laid emphasis following the reformist tradition on close adherence to the sharia, which was closely associated with an emphasis on the study of the revealed sciences as opposed to the rational ones. (Jama'at in South Asia, p. 5)

Asia gained power in economic, cultural and political realms. The Morley-Minto reform of 1909 granted Muslims the right of separate electorates which was the first successful step toward their political goal. And the other important point in the development of the Indo-Muslim self-consciousness was the Balkan War of 1912. During this war a medical support inspired by Mawlana Muhammad Ali Johar was sent to Turkey. The Ottoman *khilafah* was on edge of the collapse at the time. He was put in jail by the British forces for his help and the book he had written, *The Choice of The Turks*.³ And *Shaikh Al-Hind* Muhammad al-Hasan of Deoband left for Mecca in 1913 not to be arrested by the British government. From there he and his cooperators tried to have support from the Turks for the Indian freedom. The Turkish Minister of War, Enver Pasha, was invited to attack India through the Khyber Pass, and fight against the British rule. But this political cooperation was discovered and resulted in banishment of *Shaikh ul-Hind* to Malta, after the Arab revolt in December 1916.” (Schimmel, 2013,p.218).

In the 20th century, the most powerful expression of the Indian pan-Islamic movement came with the Balkan War of 1912 till the abolition of the Ottoman *khilafah* in 1924. But given the Indian Muslim efforts to protect it, a number of important organizations was founded to carry Pan-Islamic purposes forward:

“The Red Crescent Mission organization was one of them. It was established in 1912 by Indian Muslim volunteers to provide medical services to Turkish troops. In addition, there was the Indo-Ottoman Colonisation Society of 1914 which was planned to be established in Adana city Turkey. Another organization was the Central *khilafah* Committee which was founded in 1919 to protect the economical and spiritual power of the Ottoman *khilafah*.” (Robinson, n.d.,p.16-17).

The idea of the *khilafah*, in a short time, spread throughout the Indian subcontinent. Millions of Indian Muslims believed in that organization during those post-war years, had first been launched by Jamaluddin Afgani who was searching for a center to combine Muslims in political and social meaning. Actually it was the last opportunity for Muslim societies in the entire world to protect the *khilafah* in Istanbul (Schimmel, 2013, p.219). In this contrast the *khilafah* movement was a pan-Islamic political protest campaign launched by Muslims to protect the Ottoman *khilafah* and to campaign against the British forces. This movement sparked after the capture of Baghdad by the British armed forces in the 19th century. And the Ottoman Emperor Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909) launched his pan-Islamic program to protect the Ottoman Empire from an any attack by Western countries. But after the World

³ When the First World War (1914-1918) was broken Britain wanted the Ottoman Empire to fight on its side. Jouhar could not openly ask The turks to stay away from war but offered a balanced advice weighing the pros and cons of war. And wrote this article (pakistan.tripod.com/archives/jauhar02.htm)

War I, the Ottoman Empire faced dismemberment. Under the leadership of Ali Brothers, Mawlana Muhammad Ali and Mawlana Ali Shaukat Ali, the Muslims of South Asia Launched the *khilafah* movement to save it. Also Jamaluddin Afgani remained active in the *khilafah* movement, who had been sent by Abdul Hamid to India. (Schimmel, 2013,p.219-221).

During the *khilafah* movement, some figures played crucial role to including Jamaladdin Afgani, Mawlana Muhammed Ali and his elder brother Shaukat Ali, Abu Kalam Azad, Syed Ameer Ali, Agha Khan, Shibli Numani, Muhammed Iqbal and Mawlana Mawdudi. All of them represented the original renaissance of Islamic movement and each one of them contributed to this movement. Muhammed Ali and his elder brother Shaukat Ali published the *Khilafat Manifesto*, and Abu'l Kalam Azad became the theoretician of the movement (Schimmel, 2013, p.221). Their aim was not “to let the *khilafah* go down unmourned, unhonoured and unsung.” (Jalal, 2002, 195). They tried to stop abolishment of the Ottoman *khilafah*:

“When the *khilafah* in Turkey was futher shaken up by Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) and the Sultanate was abolished in the late 1923, Syed Ameer Ali and the Agha Khan decided to go to Turkey in December 1923, in an attempt to enhance the *khalifah*'s position. But their attempts failed and reversed, and finally the *khalifa* was abolished in 1924.” (Schimmel, 2013, p.219-221).

After collapse of the *khilafah*, three figures; Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Muhammed Iqbal and Mawlana Mawdudi inagurated a new chapter to protect the Muslim community and seek a new homeland for them. So, they even went further in their ambitions and felt determined to separate the subcontinent. Muhammad Iqbal was the first who declared the necessty of a homeland for Muslim community in the political arena. He proposed the idea of Pakistan in his Presidential Address to the Unnual Session of All-India Muslim League (AIML) in 1930:

“The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory. This centralization of the more living portion of the Muslims of India...will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia.” (Schimmel, 2013, p.214).

In addition, Jinnah also based his Pakistan Project on the same grounds. During the Jinnah-Gandhi talks, he said: “We claim right of self-determination as a nation not as a territorial unit.” And about the concept of Pakistan he said: “Our bed-

rock and sheet-anchor is Islam. We are one and we must move as one nation and then alone we shall be able to retain Pakistan.” (Schimmel, 2013, p.215).

Muslims of India struggled to get separate state resulting in the division of India on August of 1947. At the same time Indian Muslims gained their independence from British colonialism, and they succeeded to establish their new state which is called the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. So they could live their life through Islamic values and norms and they could practice their religion freely without having any kind of hurdle.

2. MAWDUDI’S LIFE AND HIS ACHIVEMENTS

Abu’l A’la Mawdudi was born in Aurangabad, Hayderabad Deccan present-day Maharashtra (Mawdudi, 1980, p.405), India on September 25, 1903 and passed away in the United States on September 22, 1979. He was a revivalist, a journalist, a Muslim leader and a great thinker in India and in Pakistan (Armajani, 2012,p. 164). The family had a long-standing tradition of spiritual leadership and a number of Mawdudi’s ancestors were outstanding leaders of Chishti Sufi Orders. Mawdudi was the youngest of his three brothers. His father was descended from the Chishti lines of sufis. In fact, his last name was derived from the first member of Chishti Silsila i.e. Khawaiah Syed Qutub Ul-din Maudood Chishti (d.527 AH), a renowned leader of this sufi Order. Mawdudi’s forefathers moved to the subcontinent from Chisht toward the end of the 9th century. The first one to arrive was Mawdudi’s namesake, Abul A’la Mawdudi (d. 935 AH). Mawdudi’s father Ahmad Hasan, who was born in 1855, was a lawyer by profession and a highly religious and devout person (Nasr, 2000, p. 25-30).

Mawdudi’s family was pious with a long religious tradition. He was the son of a practicing mystic who in his early days had flirted with the innovations and the new ideas coming to India from West. His father’s role was important in his life. Mawdudi’s father firstly gave Mawdudi religious lessons and taught him the religious rituals. Mawdidi memorized the Qur’an at 5 years of age. Without going to any school, Mawdudi started to learn Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages from his father because his father was against sending his son to modern schools devoid of

Islamic ethics at the time. After Mawdudi's birth, his father became a disciple, because of piety even he suspected of his work profit and left his profession. His father gave a higher priority on his spiritual life and left spirituality to Mawdudi as his heritage. Mawdudi was educated very-well at home and kept in isolation from his other peers (Giylani, 2000, p.23-25).

Besides the education from his father, Mawdudi received religious education from the well-known scholars of his era. He soon moved to formal education and completed his secondary education at *Madrassa Furqaniyah*. He joined *Daru'l Uluum* in Hyderabad (India) for his undergraduate studies. His undergraduate studies however were disrupted by the illness and death of his father, and he could not complete his education from the *Daru'l Uluum*. His formal education included very little of the subject matter of a modern school, such as European languages. He reportedly translated Qasim Ami's *el-Mer'etul-Jadida* (the New Woman) from Arabic into Urdu at the age of 14 and about 3500 pages of *Asfar* (Morning's Light) from Persian into Urdu, a work of mystical Persian thinker Mullah Sadr. (Nasr , 2000, p. 30-35).

By the early 1920s Mawdudi knew enough Arabic, Persian and English, besides his mother tongue, Urdu, to study the subjects of his interest independently. Thus, most of what he learned was self-acquired, though for short periods he was able to receive systematic instruction or guidance from some competent scholars such as Shibli Numani (d.1914) and Mawlana Hamiduddin Ferahi (d.1930). Thus Mawdudi's intellectual growth and revivalist reinterpretation of Islam was largely a result of his own effort and stimulation. His moral uprightness, his profound regard for propriety and righteousness, however largely reflected the religious piety of his parents and their concern for his proper moral upbringing (Ahmad, n.d., p.5).

Mawdudi occupied himself into readings of different books. He was impressed of Galip (d. 1869), Mumin (1801-1851) and Iqbal (1877-1938). Mawdudi had also read the modernist and Western thinkers. He mentioned the names of Lenin, Kant ,Saint Simon, Comte, Hegel and etc. later on his works. He made his efforts to understand the Western philosophy even though he was mainly against these thoughts (Nasr, 2000, p. 33).

After the interruption of his formal education when he was 15 years old, Mawdudi turned to journalism in order to make his living. Mawdudi met Mawlana Niyaz Fatihpuri in Bopal where he encouraged Mawdudi to write some articles. It was Mawdudi's ambition to write something and his strong Urdu language skills helped him to make his own style and eventually take writing as profession. He moved to Bijnur where his brother Ebu'l Khayr was the editor of the *Medina* (The City) newspaper. When the publication of the newspaper has been stopped, Mawdudi moved to Delhi with his brother. In Delhi, Mawdudi found himself indulged in politics, as he developed his English and started to read the Western literature. He wrote an article for the *Maarif* (Knowledge) newspaper called "*Berk ya Kehrubā*" while he was 15 years old. In 1919 Mawdudi met Tajettin, editor of the *Taj* (Crown) weekly newspaper in Jubalpur. He and his brother Ebu'l Khayr assumed editorship of the newspaper until it got closed and they got back to Delhi again. In this period of his life Mawdudi made an effort to start his education again (Nasr, 2000, p. 32-42).

As Mawdudi worked for the *Taj* (Crown), he found an opportunity to improve his English skills with a private tutor. Reading many books, newspapers and journals in English enabled Mawdudi to follow politics, religion, economy, philosophy, medicine and other fields in this language. In 1920, Mawdudi met Mawlana Mufti Kifayetullah and Mawlana Ahmed Sait who were the director and the secretary of the JUH respectively. They were both graduates of the Deoband School. They offered Mawdudi editorship of the newspaper the *Muslim* which he kept it until 1923. During his years in the newspaper, he met many figures from the *ulama* and these meetings pushed him again to occupy himself in readings. In that period, he focused on religious books while receiving private lessons called "Dersi-Nizami" including Arabic, *tafseer*⁴, *fiqh*⁵, *hadith*,⁶ logic and philosophy. The secretary of *Muslim* newspaper Mawlana Ahmed Sait intended to publish the new newspaper called *Al-Jami'at* and wanted to benefit from Mawdudi's services. And Mawdudi accepted to be the editor of the *Al-Jami'at* (Ahmad and Ishaq, n.d., p.7). Mawdudi continued to write for *Al-Jami'at* newspaper and through *Al-Jami'at* he

⁴Exegesis, commentary on the Qur'an.

⁵ Islamic jurisprudence, built upon the Qur'an and the Prophetic tradition (*sunnah*).

⁶Tradition from the Prophet Muhammed, containing his remark at a given situation. The *h.* Forms basis of Muslim life, it consists of the text (*matn*) and the chain of transmitters (*isnad*).

transferred his political views to Muslims. In his writings he denounced Western system as has appeared in his articles. Some of his prominent articles including “*The Situation of Turkish Muslims*” and “*The Greece Violence*” were written against European hostility vis-a-vis Turkish Muslims (Nasr, 2000, p. 32-42).

The Islamic literature heavily influenced Mawdudi’s thoughts. He spent a lot of time to reunderstand the Qur’an and Sunnah to find directives for his Islamic revolutionary programme. Also he read many hadith books; such as *Muvatta*, *Sunen Tirmizi* (Mevdudi, 2014, p.33), *Shemaitu’t- Tirmizi* (Nasr, 2000, p. 33) and kept reading other hadith books later period of his life (Hatipoğlu, 2013, p.12). Mawdudi tried to examine all the life matters in the light of the Qur’an and the Sunnah. According to Mawdudi, scholars of Islam had spent a lot of time in reading Islamic sources of Qur’an, *Hadith* and *Fiqh*, but they had failed to understand and relate these texts with their current lives. The result is that they remained relatively incapable in the interpretation of the verses and *Sunnah* in relation to the modern political and constitutional problems. Thus the remeant terms in the Qur’an and *Sunnah* have been out of use. The real meanings of these words were changed. They came to stand for only very limited and restricted meanings. Mawdudi says:

“In the more recent lexicons and commentaries many of the Qur’anic words begun to be explained not by their original sense but by what they had by them come to stand for. The word *ilah*, as used in respect of others than God, came to be synonymous with idols or Gods;

The word *rabb* came to mean only someone who brings up or rears or feeds another or provides for his worldly needs;

Ibadah begun to be understood as the performance of a set of rituals of “worship”;

Deen begun to mean a religion, or belief in some precepts; and the word *Taghoot* begun to be translated to mean an idol or the Devil.” (Mawdudi, n.d.,p.4). Mawdudi sorted these terms out with their modern meanings; including terms such as *Sultan*, *Mulk*, *Hukm*, *Amr*, *Wilayat*, etc., Mawdudi interpreted these terms from constitutional and political angles (Mawdudi, n.d., p.205-207).

In Mawdudi’s discourse the important thing is to understand Islamic revolutionary programme and to implement it as a complete system of life everywhere and everytime. For Mawdudi, modern era is not the barrier for Islamic revolutionary programme, but the very barrier is the lack of revivalist reinterpretation of the Qur’an and Sunnah in the modern era.

Also in Mawdudi's Islamic revolutionary ideology one central idea is running through his works that godhood and authority are inseparable and are, in essence and significance, the same thing. God should have authority, otherwise he is not God. In the regard of the idea, Mawdudi wrote a book titled "Four Basic Quranic Terms". The book talks about four terms in the Qur'an; *ilah*, *rabb*, *ibadah*, *deen*. In that book Mawdudi tried to articulate authoritative sides of the four terms and their interconnection with the godhood. It is the turning point in Mawdudi's revivalist reinterpretation of the verses.

Mawdudi's dominance and his conceptualization of the Qur'an and Sunnah enabled him to write prominent books regarding the Qur'an and *Sunnah*. Most important ones are: *Sunnet ki Aini Haysiyyet* (Constitutional meaning of Sunnah) *Hadis aor Kur'an* (Sunnah interpretation of Qur'an), *Mesleki I'tidal* (Balancing School of Thoughts Differences), *Resail u Mesail* (Questions and Answers). And according to one account he intended to write voluminous book about the *Sunnah* under name *Tafhim-ul-Hadith* but he passed away. His greatest work, is his monumental *tafseer* of the Qur'an in Urdu *Tafhim-ul-Qur'an*, a work which had taken thirty years to complete. He has presented the Qur'an as a book of guidance for life and as a guidebook for the movement to implement and enforce that guidance in life. This *tafseer* has made a far reaching impact on contemporary Islamic thinking in the subcontinent and was translated into different languages (Ahmad and Ishaq, n.d., p.7).

Mawdudi's political thought was also shaped by the events that took place between Muslims and Hindus. As Hindus harbored hostility to Muslim society, Muslims fought against Hindus and Hindus responded Muslims with their movements. According to Vali Rza Nasr, Shuddhi event was one of the biggest one: "The most noteworthy of these events was Shuddhi campaign, whose mission was to reconvert unwilling low-caste converts from Islam back to Hinduism; the campaign resulted in more communal strife and a renowned Shuddhi activist was assassinated." Mawdudi witnessed all these events. He plunged into considering all the solutions for the problems which Muslims experimented. Initially he was not a revivalist, just a Muslim tried to solve problems in his community. He thought that Islam is the best remedy for the problems (Nasr, 1993, p. 13).

Another factor which enhanced Mawdud's thought and achievements was the *khilafah* movement. No doubt that this movement was one of the political movements which shaped Mawdudi's religio-political vision. This movement was one of the biggest movements that Muslims had been suffering since 1857 in India. In fact, this uprising intensified Mawdudi's ambition to unite India's Muslims especially after failure of the *khilafah* movement (Dajani, 2011, p.9).

In the beginning of Pakistan discourse Mawdudi was against it. Instead of separation, he offered the 'two nation theory' platform of his own. This theory offers state within state (confederation), Muslim state in India like "Switzerland, Australia, or United States". Nevertheless, Mawdudi failed in this programme. Even though Mawdudi accepted the establishment of Pakistan, he refused to acknowledge the idea of the ML. His idea was to establish a true Pakistan (Nasr, 1993, p.85-89).

When India moved closer to the partition, the JI's challenge with the ML was aggravated. The JI increasingly focused its energy on overwhelming Jinnah's position in the movement. Therefore, Mawdudi proclaimed a religious decree (*fatwa*) to forbid Muslims to elect for the "secular" ML in the significant elections in 1945 (Nasr, 1993, p.93-94).

3. MAWDUDI'S CONTEMPORARIES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON MAWDUDI

3.1. Muhammad Ali Johar

Muhammad Ali Johar was born in Rampur in India. His ancestors were from Najibabad. Later his grandfather moved to Rampur state. Muhammad Ali comes from esteemed family of Pathans. His father Abdul Ali Khan passed away when Muhammad Ali was two years old. And this made financial problems for the family. Shaukat Ali was Muhammad Ali's brother. Both of them received modern education and English beginning from their childhood. For a strong education their mother sold all of their properties to educate them in the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, established by Sir Ahmad Khan. In the college Johar showed his performance as a groomed debater and poet. His speeches were attractive and forceful (Gonda, 2013, p. 1-2).

With exceptional performance in graduation from the college enabled Johar to pursue his education in London. He completed his education in Oxford and graduated from Department of Modern History. On his return to India Johar applied for a job in Aligarh Muslim University. His request was rejected. Johar shifted his way as a journalist and started to write about freedom of India. He later explained his shift: “ The reasons which no 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.” (Gonda, 2013, p. 1-2).

Johar propagated against the British policy in the subcontinent and in the Balkan wars. He criticized British politics in his articles to *the Comrade*, *the Times*, *the Observer* and *the Manchester*. His opinion was to unite Hindus and Muslims against the British Empire. He joined the Indian National Congress later. During his life Johar focused on the Hindu and Muslim unity. He was a strong Muslim as well as he was against frictions and conflicts between Hindus and Muslims (Gonda, 2013, p. 1-2).

Especially Johar is well-known with his struggle for *khilafah* movement. In the beginning of the 20th century Johar played an important role in the *khilafah* movement which had shaken the Islamic world. During this movement, Indian Muslims issued their help to support the Ottoman Muslims. However the movement was shaken up when Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) abolished the sultanate in late 1923, leaving only the title of *khalifa* to the Ottoman family. Disturbed by this development, Syed Ammeer Ali and the Agha Khan took a trip to Turkey in 1923, hoping to discuss the *khalifa*'s position again with Mustafa Kemal and Ismet İnönü, but their intervention obviously had a reverse effect and the *khilafah* was eventually abolished on March 3, 1924 (Schimmel, 2013, p.221). The *khilafah* movement not only sparked for the preservation of the Ottoman Empire, but also for India's freedom from the British colonization. Johar was a strong advocate of the *khilafah* movement as much as his elder brother Shaukat Ali. Thus, they were also known as 'Ali Brothers'. They published the *khilafah* manifesto (Schimmel, 2013, p.221). Muhammad Ali Johar in the *khilafah* movement supported plea for India freedom and strongly advocated the 'Muslim case' against British colonization. He wrote:

“I have a culture, a polity, and outlook on life – a complete synthesis which is Islam. 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, where India’s freedom is concerned, where the welfare of India is concerned, I am an Indian first, an Indian second, an Indian last, and nothing but an Indian” (Bose and Jalal, n.d., p.143).

Surely Johar was not alone in the *khilafah* movement: he was with his brother Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad and Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan. They even had their young and dynamic friends such as Mawdudi who supported them with his revivalist writings in the journal of the *Jam’iyat al-ulama*. In this meaning Mawdudi was influenced by them and this movement contributed to Mawdudi’s political career (Schimmel, 2013, p.219). All of them launched a massive media and political campaign in support of Turks, urging Indian Muslims to provide material support to the suffering Turks. For this purpose, in addition to the weekly *Comrade*, Muhammad Ali started publishing daily *Hamdard*, Mawlana Zafar launched the daily *Zamindar*, and Mawlana Azad started the weekly *al-Hilal* (Ahmad, 2012, p.3).

Mawdudi’s relation with Johar through the *khilafah* movement had grown his thought towards *umma* unity and fight against westernization idea. Also the *khilafah* movement pushed Mawdudi to produce a more comprehensive ideology in the following decades. It was the Islamic revolutionary ideology to unite Muslims under unique Islamic state and rule the all World.

3.2. Abul Kalam Azad

Abul Kalam Azad’s forefathers came to India from Herat in Babar’s days the 15th century. They first settled in Agra and later moved to Delhi. It was a scholar family in Akbar’s time. Mawlana Jalaladdin became famous in the religious issues. After his death, the family became more inclined to worldly affairs and took an important civil position in the government. In the 16th century of Shahjehan’s days, Mohammad Hadi was appointed as the governor of the Agra Fort. Abul Kalam Azad’s father’s maternal grandfather was Mawlana Munawaruddin. He became one of the Rukn-ul Mudarrisin in the Moghul period. This position had been established firstly in Shahjehan’s time and was targetted to supervise the activities of the state for the development of learning and scholarship. When Abul Kalam Azad’s

grandfather died, his father Mawlana Khairuddin was still very young. And his father was looked after by his maternal grandfather. Two years before them in India, Mawlana Munawaruddin was pressured in India with the state affairs and he decided to move to Mecca. But the Mutiny detained him for two years and could not leave the country. He came to Bombay and breathed lastly there without being able to migrate to Mecca (Azad, 1988, p.1).

Azad's father left the country for Mecca and settled there. He built a house for himself and married Sheikh Muhammad Zaher Watri's daughter. Shaikh Muhammad was a great scholar of Madina at that time. In addition, he was famous in the Arabic world as well. Azad's father was awarded by Sultan Abdul Majid, the Ottoman *kahlifah*, with Majidi Medal for his repairing of the Nahr Zubeida (Azad, 1988, p.2).

Abul Kalam Azad was born in 1888 in Mecca, where his father had migrated after the British government came to power in India. In 1890 his father moved to Calcutta and Azad received his primary education in Calcutta and learned English under the influence of Sir Sayyid's writings. Azad's father sincerely believed that Western education is not beneficial for his children, therefore has arranged traditional education for his son (Schimmel, 2013, p.217).

At that time, education system for Muslims in India was only for boys, learning in Persian and Arabic. When they completed their education in learning the languages, they were taught philosophy, geometry, mathematics and Algebra in Arabic. Education language of these sciences was Arabic. Azad also received education from his father. When he went through writings of Sir Sayyid Khan, he was impressed by Sayyid's view on modern education. After reading Sayyid's writings, he emphasized on the modern sciences including philosophy and literature (Azad, 1988, p.3).

Azad's conception of the Muslim community, strongly based on the *Shari'ah*, clearly focused on its scriptural roots in the Qur'an and *Sunnah*. But unlike his fellow theologians in Deoband, who were more concerned with *Shari'ah*'s legal ordinances, Azad stressed its broader moral and ethical principles (Shaikh, 2009, p.22). Azad became interested in the revolutionary, anti-British forces in Bengal in which

Chakravarti and Shri Aurobindo played a leading role (Schimmel, 2013, p. 217). Azad himself writes about his joining the revolutionary group of Chakravarty:

“It was during this period that I came into contact with Shri Shyam Sunder Chakravarty, who was one of important revolutionary workers of the day. Through him I met other revolutionaries. I remember I met Shri Arabindo Ghosh on two or three occasions. The result was that I was attracted to revolutionary politics and joined one of the groups.” (Azad, 1988, p.4-5).

Mawlana Azad was a true nationalist and a strong critic of the British settlement which caused to separate the Muslim community in the subcontinent. He condemned separatist politics of the AIML too. Azad vehemently opposed to the partition of Bengal in 1905. He published weekly newspaper *Al-Hilal* in order to encourage the young Muslims to join the fight for India’s independence, to develop Hindu-Muslim unity and create Indian nationalism (Habib, 2010, p.2).

Al-Hilal newspaper was the progressive paper of Abul Kalam Azad. His well-written, type printed journal took a clear stand against the pro-British politics of the Aligarh group, therefore, it was banned after a few years. In 1915, Azad published another paper; *Al-Balagh* (Schimmel, 2013, p. 217). Azad during his life published different journals and papers, including *Al-Misbah* paper and a monthly journal *Lissan-us-Sidq* (Habib, 2010, p.2). But the *Al-Hilal* was his best newspaper which helped him to become widely popular among Indian Muslims. Those followed the path of Azad of *Al-Hilal* days sought to emulate the various aspect of his religio-political career, and also to draw parallels between their own life stories and academic lives and those of Azad. Azad became a model for Islamist intellectual activism. Azad’s methods, organization and agitational politics were as influential as his ideas. His books focused on two themes; Islamic revival and anti-imperialism (Robinson, 2011, p.561).

In 1921, Abul Kalam Azad declared his views of Islamic ideals in the annual conference of the *Jamiyat al-ulama-yi Hind*, stating:

“That in the Muslim *Shari’ah* there is no distinction between this world and the next; that the Muslims can deserve the title of ‘best community’ only if they follow the Koran and the sunna; that the Islamic shari’a is the last and most perfect of all revealed and preoccupation not with the essentials but with the externals and minutiae of religion.” (Schimmel, 2013, p.220).

The Jamiyat-Ul-Ulamai-Hind (JUH) was founded in 1919, inspired by Deoband School. *Jamiyat al-ulama-yi Hind* established a special journal in which

one of its editors was the young Mawdudi (Schimmel, 2013, p.221). Mawdudi was a strong advocate for the *khilafah* movement where he utilized his work in journalism from 1920 to 1928 to advocate for the principles of pan-Islamism, and defend the agenda of the *khilafah* Movement. Mawdudi's experiences in the newspapers career seemed to weigh more heavily in supporting the *khilafah* movement in India. And at this defence Mawdudi presented Islam as 'absolute and self-sufficient ideology, completely distinct from and opposed to both the Western way of life and its Eastern socialist equivalents' (Dajani, 2011, p. 10).

Mawdudi was one of the activists influenced by Abul Kalam Azad during the *khilafah* movement. Azad's writings always put strong emphasis on the unity of the Muslim community and the importance of organization. In this concept Azad's organization ideal impacted on Mawdudi's later thoughts; JI, DI and Muslim community (Robinson, 2011, p.562).

Azad was more involved in the resolutions of Muslim problems in India. In 1923 Azad became the president of the Congress and had good ties with Mahatma Gandhi. Azad's nationalist approachment to the events made him closer to Gandhi. But in the *khilafah* movement Gandhi withdrew the support of his party. His main focus was on the issue of Hindu Muslim unity in India. He was looking for a chance to have a good deal with the ML and prevent the partition of the subcontinent. Despite all his efforts and sincerity, Azad's strategy to deal with the ML was not appreciated by the Congress leaders and his ideas had no importance. In post election scenario, Azad wanted collaboration between the Congress and the ML. But he faced difficulties on this way. He also failed to convince Gandhi regarding the matter. On the other hand the ML rejected Congress' proposal (Ahmad Dar, n.d., p.100-102).

Azad considered the idea of Pakistan as fallacious and impracticable. His opinion was of the winning freedom for all India including the Muslim community, no separately. Jinnah and others as head of the ML had never appreciated the idea of Azad being presented as the representative of Congress. When Gandhi asked Jinnah to negotiate with Azad, Jinnah refused. For Jinnah, Azad was not acceptable for a meeting and negotiation. To Jinnah, Azad had "completely forfeited the confidence of Muslim India" and was acting like a "Muslim show-boy Congress president." (Ahmad Dar, n.d., p.105). After all these efforts, Azad could not convince the ML

and Jinnah to keep Muslims within the unity of Indian state. But his struggles failed and India in 1947 was divided into two different countries.

3.3. Muhammad Iqbal

Muhammad Iqbal (commonly known as Allame Iqbal) is a poet, philosopher, lawyer, Muslim reformer, political ideologist and activist of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. He is always considered as one of the most prominent and dominant political figures of 20th century. While his primary reputation is that of a poet, Iqbal has not lacked admirers for his philosophical thought. Actually he was known as a serious scholar-philosophical thinker of modern years. The frequently used appellation of “poet-philosopher” is thus well deserved (Kashif, 2012, p.87).

Iqbal was born on November 9, 1887 in Sialkote, Punjab, a few days after the Agha Khan and the eleven months after Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was to be known by the Pakistani people the Qaud-i Azam. It was the very year that Aligarh was beginning to function. His ancestors were Kashmiri Brahmins who had settled in Sialkote in the northern in Punjab. He received his early education in the Scottish Mission College in his hometown, later in Lahore, where one of his teachers was British orientalist Sir Thomas Arnold (Schimmel, 2013, p.223). One of his teachers was Mir Hasan, an accomplished scholar, who commanded knowledge of several Islamic languages. Mir Hasan taught Iqbal Islamic literary tradition and his influence on Iqbal was formative. Even many years later (1922) when Iqbal was proposed by the British Governor of Punjab to be knighted for his accomplishment, Iqbal asked Mir Hasan to be awarded with the same title. But the response was that Mir Hasan did not publish any book. Iqbal replied that Iqbal is the book which Mir Hasan produced during his life (Kashif, 2012, p.1).

Iqbal was known as a fine poet in Urdu. Writing in the new style introduced by Hali: “his early poetry sings of nature and contains some free adaptations of English and Indian poetry as well as verses to be recited at the meetings of the Anjuman-i himayat-i Islam in Lahore.” (Schimmel, 2013, p. 223). In the studies of Master’s degree, Iqbal came under the wing of Sir Thomas Arnold, who made Iqbal seek to Western culture and ideas. Thomas played a role as a bridge for Iqbal between the West and the East (Ahmad Parry, 2011, p. 87).

In 1905 Iqbal went to England to study philosophy and law while his foremost teacher Sir Thomas Walker Arnold in Cambridge was the neo-Hegelian McTaggart. In 1907 he left England for Germany, studied some German in Heidelberg and graduated with the thesis called the *Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (November 1907) from the University of Munich. Iqbal's doctor of dissertation was Friedrich Hommel. Iqbal's thesis dealt with rather unknown aspects of Persian religiosity in which he presented a logical development from the time of Zarathustra to the most recent movements, such as Babism. His own ideology was mixed with the traditional sufi interpretation of the world, *wahdat al-wujud* (oneness of being), which fitted well into his neo-Hegelian interests (Schimmel, 2013, p. 223).

After completing his education in Germany, Iqbal returned to Lahore in 1908. Some spiritual changes happened on him. The vitalists became decisive for his approach to life. At the same time Iqbal started to teach philosophy at the Government College for a few years. In 1911 he left the governmental service in the College and set up a legal practice. Meanwhile, he continued to write poems in Urdu and Persian (Kashif, 2012, p.2). In the Balkan War days, he composed his first major reformist poem, *Shikwa* (Complaint) (Schimmel, 2013, p. 223).

Though Iqbal completed his education in the West, he did not adapt Western ideals and culture. On the contrary Iqbal took more critical approach towards Western ideas and institutions. At the same time he was not blind for aspects of Western civilization. Actually he wanted to create a new intellectual framework for a more true Islamic modernity and society. He tried to regenerate Muslim community on the basis which took its roots from the authentic sources (Ahmad Parry, 2011, p.87). Iqbal's aim was to spread the Islamic rules and culture among Muslims. To understand his love of Islam it was enough to look at his education and efforts given for the Islamic reformation (Sher Muhammad, 1995, p.5). His faith in Islam and his contact to Islamic dynamics was unshakable as he was introduced by Mawlana Muhammed Ali:

“Dr. Muhammad Iqbal declared in the strongest possible terms and in the compelling accents of sincerity his belief that Islam as a spiritual force would one day dominate the world, and with its simple nationalism purges it of the errors of superstition as well as of godless materialism.” (Schimmel, 2013, p.223).

In the beginning of the 20th century, Iqbal published many poems which created a huge impact on the Muslim community in the South Asia. Again he published continuously *mathnawi*, called *Rumuz-i bekhudi* (Mysteries of Selflessness) which deals with the role of the personality in a healthy Islamic society and contains what one may call his social ideas (Schimmel, 2013, p.225).

Iqbal wrote many books, letters and poems. His some works are given as follow: *Ilmul-Iqtisad* (Economics), *Javab-e-Shikvah* (Answer to the Complaint), *Rumuz-i Bekhudi* (Mysteries of Selflessness), *Bale-Jibril* (Gabriel's Wing), *Asrar-e-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self), The poetry of Allama Iqbal, *Zarb-e-Kaleem* (Oneness of God). (Kashif, 2012, p.4).

Iqbal lived in a time connecting former feudal culture and contemporary capitalism. Because of the place of his origin, his education and his journey in Europe, he was able to weigh and measure the advantages and deficiencies of both eras. Iqbal formed parts of the modern Islamic thought in the South Asia. Iqbal's political thoughts were close to those of Jinnah's and Sir Sayyid. In the following years after his return to Lahore, he participated in the activists of the Punjab ML. Iqbal was a modernist Muslim and his approach to the problem of revitalization of the Muslim world caused anxiety among the traditional Muslims. Once he wrote:

“The religious bigot considers me an infidel

And the infidel deems me to be a Muslim!” (Jalal, 2002, p.XII).

Despite agitations surrounding Iqbal, he did not put his pen down to write about reconstruction of the Islamic thought. After his participation in the ML, he delivered several lectures in Hyderabad, Madras, Aligarh and so on. In addition, he went on to publish his lectures as *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*.⁷ His aim was constructive and he tried to reinterpret Islamic thought using the modern philosophy and psychology. We can not say that Iqbal's method was welcomed in his time at all. On the contrary, Iqbal was surprised with bad results. At the same time Iqbal was aware of the Islamic thought and sources and devoted most of his time studying Islam, as he said:

⁷ “Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Lahore, 1930. 2nd edn., with revision at about six places and quite a few proof-reading corrections and changes, and more importantly with the addition of Lecture: ‘Is Religion Possible?’ and an Index, published under the title: *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, London, 1934.” (Iqbal, n.d., p.128).

“I have given the part of my life to a careful study of Islam, its law and policy, its culture, its history and its literature. This constant contact with the spirit of Islam, as it unfolds itself in time, I think, given me a kind of insight into its significance as a world fact. It is in the light of this insight, whatever its value, that while assuming the Muslims of India are determined to remain true to the spirit of Islam.” (Schimmel, 2013, p.225-226).

Iqbal remained active in the subcontinent politics. Especially we can classify his political attempts in three categories; his challenge against Qadianism⁸, his support to the *khilafah* movement and the most important one, separation of the Muslim community from India; Pakistan state. Allame Iqbal had close relations with the Ali Brothers during the *khilafah* movement as he paid utmost zeal for *khilafah* movement.

Iqbal had challenged the Ahmadism issue in his writings including his pamphlet called ‘Islam and Ahmadi’. While he provided different and unique information about Ahmadism movement, he condemned the movement by declaring his vision of Qadianism:

“The cultural value of the idea of the finality in Islam I have fully explained elsewhere. Its meaning is simple: no spiritual surrender to any human being after Muhammad who emancipated his followers by giving them a law which is realisable as arising from the very core of human conscience. Theologically, the doctrine is that: the socio-political organization called “Islam” is perfect and eternal. No revelation the denial of which entails heresy is possible after Muhammad. He who claims such a revelation is a traitor to Islam. Since the Qadianis believe the founder of the Ahmadiyyah movement to be bearer of such a revelation, they declare that the entire world of Islam is infidel.”(Iqbal, 1980, p.21). It can be clearly stated that Iqbal condemned the Ahmadiyyah movement as a dangerous thought and this problem must be eliminated from Islam.

The unique political role which Iqbal played during his life time was the idea of Pakistan state. Actually the idea of a separate Muslim state or federation on India place was not a new idea, but Iqbal re-elaborated it with his new contributions. In his address in Allahabad in 1930, he had drawn his programme to establish a separated homeland for the Muslim population in the sub-continent (Ahmad, 2006, p.5). Iqbal’s proposal was not an independent Muslim state as such, but an autonomous entity with the option of choosing either to remain ‘within or without’ the Indian

⁸ Or Ahmadism, was found by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in Lahore in 1914. In his books he makes the claim that he is in direct communication with Allah and he receives “revelations” (*wahi*) from Allah. Iqbal was critic of Qadaiani Movement and demanded that they must be expelled from the ranks of the Muslims. (Sher Muhammad, 1995, p.1).

federation (Shaikh, 2009, p.33). Firstly he declared his new idea in his presidential address to the annual session of AIML in 1930:

“Life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory. This centralisation of the more living portion of the Muslims of India... will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia.” (Mawdudi, 1980, p.14).

Iqbal's idea was accepted and supported by the Muslim communities in India, especially by Jinnah, the leader of the ML. The ML intended to divide the subcontinent, as they believed that the Muslims form a different nation and they should have their own homeland.

Iqbal's life and thoughts influenced many prominent figures in the subcontinent and he left a huge legacy behind himself. After the partition of India, the literature on Iqbal grew immensely. Iqbal became one of the most popular and prominent writers since his books, articles and poems became the most read books all over the Muslim community, especially in Pakistan (Schimmel, 2013, p. 229).

Iqbal's influence on Mawdudi was profound in his early intellectual activism in United India when Iqbal, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Mawdudi came to establish the Islamic state. Mawdudi had met Iqbal only twice in his entire life time. Later the JI often argued Mawdudi's mission and philosophy was the result of Iqbal's influence when the opponents accused it with anti-Pakistan activities. The connection between Iqbal and Mawdudi initially started relating to the *Daru'l Islam*. Mawdudi met Iqbal firstly in 1929 and later knew him through his book “*Jihad fi Islam*” and *Tarjuman* magazine, which Iqbal regularly received (Nasr, 2000, p.35-40). Iqbal wrote to Mawdudi to shift to Punjab and cooperate with him in the big project to reconstruct Islamic Jurisprudence. They met again and discussed the matter together. Finally it was decided that Mawdudi should move to Punjab (Pathankot) and establish an institute of Islamic research-*Daru-l Islam*. Unfortunately after his return to Punjab, Iqbal was in his last days of his life (Mawdudi, 1980, p.405).

As per the JI, *Daru'l Islam* had been Iqbal's brainchild and that Mawdudi referred to Iqbal as his “Spiritual Guide”, patron and participant in his movement. But Mawdudi in his own writings refute these claims as he said:

“When I came to Pathankot he breathed his last, and I was left alone the uphill task we had decided to undertake jointly” (Mawdudi, 1980, p.405). On the

other hand Nasr says: “In fact privately Mawdudi acknowledged very limited influence of Iqbal arguing that the commonality of views between Allama Iqbal and me are limited to our belief that Islamic law should underlie the revival of our religion, my thoughts and intellectual probing are my own” (Nasr, 2000, p.32-42).

The reality is that *Daru-l Islam* was realized after their meeting and agreement to grow Islamic leaders in this Islamic academy. Their agreement to build a headquarter means that they were working in a joint project. Islam and Islamic ideas brought Mawdudi and Iqbal together. Their claim was the same to instruct Muslims and urge them to learn the Islamic law and build a Muslim society based on the teachings of the Qur’an and *Sunnah*. They believed that *Shari’ah* is the only complete code which describes the path for establishing Allah’s will on earth. There can be no separation of secular and religious, and for this reason no institution of man can be considered in isolation. State, *millat*⁹, *imam*¹⁰, individual and government can not be treated separately. Islam should not be considered as a mere religion, but as a political ideology that should re-shape all aspects of the society including economy, foreign policy, and etc. All these notions mean that Iqbal had influence on Mawdudi, but when the idea of Iqbal came to partition of the subcontinent, Mawdudi disagreed, and polarization occurred between them (Riaz, 1998, p.70-72).

There is a similarity between Mawdudi and Iqbal in thinking form. Both of them focused on the Islamic revolutionary. But the methods are different, while Iqbal used philosophy to reinterpret Islamic thought, Mawdudi used Islamic sources to reinterpret Islamic thought. So Mawdudi in his reinterpretation of Islamic sources sought inspiration of Islam, he was loyal to the Qur’an and Sunnah. The result is that Mawdudi is a revivalist not modernist. He revived Islamic system and tried to find solutions for the modern problems. In reality he introduced the traditionalist remedy of Islam in a modernist method. Though the thought difference between them, they exchanged their opinions and realized some projects for Muslim mass in the Indian subcontinent.

⁹Religious community.

¹⁰The Leader of the community in ritual prayer, or in religious matters.

CHAPTER TWO

MAWDUDI'S POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN THOUGHT

1. STATE

In Mawdudi's discourse the Islamic state is the engine of the Islamic revolutionary programme. According to him the establishment of the Islamic state enhances the Islamic revolutionary programme across the world. Mawdudi advocated that the state must be based on Islamic values and principles. Mawdudi's Islamic state idea based on his revivalist interpretations of the Islamic sources. He was one of the most significant figures and symbols for the Islamic state as he basically provided intellectual basis for Islamic state through his political struggle.

According to Mawdudi the Islamic state has to adhere and abide by the laws of Allah, he analyzed the principles of an Islamic state within the Quran and *Sunnah*. Mawdudi stressed on the sovereignty of Allah in state organization. If the Islamic state, somehow, functions properly based on the guidelines of the Quran and *Sunnah*, it will eventually lead to the 'golden century' for the Muslim community in a short time. It is the very starting point of the Islamic state philosophy. In Islamic state and community, Mawdudi was greatly impressed by the way of the Prophet's organization of the first Muslims in Mecca and later Madina. He was able to build a single community of believers and establish thereby a system of life in Madina (Mawdudi, 1978, p.4). On the other hand We see Mawdudi's dynamic political reinterpretation for Islamic state, he relates the word *deen* with the Islamic state in term of worship and attachment to Allah. *Deen* is not merely religion but covers also the whole politico-social set-up. It means revolutionary change in the ultimate authority, tohatger with all the laws, rules and customes; whole new way of life. For Mawdudi, the very reason lays in the disobedience of Pharaoh against the prophet Musa is the revolutionary connotation of *deen* (Mawdudi, n.d.,p.52).Mawdudi's ideas of Islamic state is very universal:

"The Islamic ideological state dose not matter which nation will rule the Islamic state, here the necessary to be an Islamic State, regardless of which nation assumes the role, and regardless of which country assumes this ideology. In both case Islam wishes to destroy all states and governments

anywhere on the face of the earth which are opposed to the revolutionary ideology and programme of Islam. Islam has dominance on earth not just portion, whole planet, habitants need to complete justice and it cannot be provided except by Allah.” (Mawdudi, 2006, p.4). As he further argued: “The Islamic state has created its revolutionary creed, demanded from human beings obedience and devotion to Allah. In fact, the message of Islam is directed to the whole human race without any kind of discrimination based on color, race or religion. Islam addresses man in his capacity as human being. Only He has the right to be worshiped and obeyed. No one has the right to become a self-appointed ruler of men and issue orders and prohibitions on his own volition and authority. The Prophets never appreciated class conflict and always wanted to prevent the dominance of one class over the other. Again, they made a strong effort to establish a just and mutually respectful society that afforded equal opportunities to all human beings for self-improvement and for material and spiritual excellence. Islam addresses its call for affecting this programme of destruction and reconstruction, revolution and reform not just to one nation or a group of people, but to all humanity. Islam itself calls upon all the classes which oppress and exploit the people unlawfully.” (Mawdudi, 2006, p.10-11).

According to Mawdudi call of Islam is addressed even to the kings and the noblemen to affirm faith in Islam and bind themselves to remain within the lawful limits enjoined upon them by their Lord. Islam stresses upon them that if they accept this righteous system, they will achieve peace and salvation. This system is not hostile against any human being. The hostility of this system is directed against tyranny, strife, immorality and against the attempt of an individual to transgress his natural limits and expropriate what is not apportioned to him by the natural law of Allah (Mawdudi, 2006, p.18-20).

Mawdudi presented several majors which can be helpful to establish Islamic state as the Holy Prophet initiated his first invitation in Mecca but failed to establish an Islamic government. Thus the government can be crashed without standing on its legs because he considered that the Islamic state can be established in a community where they affirm their faith to Allah and embrace Islamic rules. Madina was a unique place to set up roots of this state and he migrated to Madina as it was ordered in the revelation of Allah to migrate to Madina for this Holy *dawah*. This is the way to establish Islamic state and make a holy community in the tradition and history of Islam. Mawdudi sampled Prophets’ reforms based on the belief in the unity of Allah, the life hereafter within in the messages brought about by all of Allah’s Messengers. For thirteen years, the Prophet Muhammad individually preached the divine message in Mecca. But he was no ordinary person- he was the embodiment of the type of

sublime individual that the Islamic way of life sought to produce. His thoughts, behaviors, words, motives, treatment of others and selfless deeds for humanity, showed the kind of character and moral excellence that Islam could develop. He was a shining example of how a believer in Allah should conduct himself throughout his life (Mawdudi, n.d.,p. 4).

We see that Mawdudi considers Islamic state engine of his discourse. Islamic state is crucial for Islamic revolutionary ideology and realization of the complete system of life. According to him the strongest of Islamic state dates back to right reinterpretation of the Islamic sources in the modern era. In his Islamic state discourse we see more conservative and pious state which has close ties with Islamic sources. It is the result of Mawdudi's revivalist reinterpretation. Looked at from practical angle Mawdudi sees his Islamic state feasible in the modern world. It is not a utopian, but a historical fact which was realized by the Prophet Muhammad.

1.1. The Significance of the Revolutionary Leadership

In Mawdudi's Islamic state scheme, the leader has important role to play in order to execute the Islamic canon law. Therefore he saw the leader's duty is to prevent the anarchy and disorder and to protect society from corruption in order to form a government and thus impart order to all the affairs of the country. The leader must be the head of administrative institutions of Muslim society and interpret the articles of faith and the ordinances of Islam. So Islam always urged its followers to conduct ruler's orders. The Prophet Muhammed described the essential role of the leadership: "It is not permitted for three men to be in a desert place without putting one of their numbers in leadership." (Sahih Bukhari; 6719), and in other *hadith* leadership was characterized as a social responsibility;

"Every one of you is a shepherd and is responsible for his flock. The leader of people is a guardian and is responsible for his subjects. A man is the guardian of his family and he is responsible for them. A woman is the guardian of her husband's home and his children and she is responsible for them. The servant of a man is a guardian of the property of his master and he is responsible for it" (Sahih Muslim; 1829).

Thus we cannot image Mawdudi's movement without a leader. According to him every leader who steps in revivalism has to make his guide the Holy Qur'an and

the traditions of the Prophet and there is no doubt that all the Prophets of Allah without any exception were revivalist and revolutionary leaders, and the illustrious Prophet Muhammad was the greatest revolutionary leader (Mawdudi, 2006, p.15-17).

Mawdudi sees Islam as a complete system of life not as traditional religion with some rituals. Therefore he sees Islam as a comprehensive system which envisages annihilating all tyrannical and evil systems in the world and enforces its own programme of reform for the best of the well-being of mankind. His programme of reformation includes politics, law, economy, social justice, foreign policy and so on. Separation of religion from the politics and demand that Islam should not intervene in social and political affairs has been formulated by the imperialists (Mawdudi, 2006, p.15-17).

For Mawdudi there are three major principles which everyone should regard for establishing Islamic state and society:

“The first basic principle is that the leader has to realize that the ultimate sovereignty vests in Allah and only. The Earth, the Air, the Water, the Light, and everything which sustains our life has been provided by Him and belongs to Him. We have no share in, or right to make a claim to, ultimate sovereignty. Nor should we accept any such claim from any individual or group. The Holy Prophet tried to impress on the mind of man and invited people to believe in that the kingdom belongs to Allah. The Second principle is that the teachings of divine law is not made by the Holy Prophet and not elected by any ruler, but he was appointed by Allah to train people and educate through the divine injunctions and orders. The third principle is that he was demanded as Allah’s Messenger and the mankind to believe in the concept of Life hereafter. If one did not believe in Allah, he has to go one day, after his death, before his Lord to account all deeds.” (Mawdudi, 1978, p.6-8).

In other place of his book Mawdudi identifies the skills of his revolutionary leader as follows:

“he is characterized by a clear mind, penetrating vision, unbiased straight thinking, special ability to see the Right Path clear of all extremes and keep balance, power to thing independently of the contemporary and centuries-old social and other prejudices, courage of fight against the evils of the time, inherent ability to lead and guide, and unusual competency to undertake *Ijtihad*¹¹ (religious decree) and the work of recontraction. Besides it must be devoted and conducted one to God’s orders...” (Mawdudi, 1963,p. 46:47).

¹¹ Mawdudi thinks that Islamic scholar should produce pure Islamic thoughts to revive the revolutionary ideology of Islam. And he sees that *ijtihad* should be applied to each era of human life. On the other hand Mawdudi observes that *ijtihad* plays important role in the whole process of thinking and understanding development. (Haque, 2010, p.133-134).

Importance of the true leader in the establishment of Islamic state comes in the forefront of Mawdudi's works. Mawdudi did not welcome incapable persons for his revolutionary programme. The genuine leader should be aware of social and political matters as much as he wants to see him as a pious person.

1.2. The Holy Community

As I have discussed earlier that Mawdudi sees prophetic method as an ideal method to establish Islamic state and society. He also felt that before establishing Islamic state Prophet Muhammad built a pious community to run the state. Mawdudi presented this following verse in favor of his idea: “(Muslims are) those who, if we give them power in the land, establish the system of *Salat* (worship and prayers) and *Zakat* (poor-due), enjoin right and virtue and forbid wrong and evil.” (Qur'an, 22,41). For Mawdudi, this verse reflects the objectives of the Islamic state, and this is also the responsibility of Muslims to make efforts for establishing Islamic state and implement *Shari'ah* when Muslim people get chance to have a power. As Mawdudi says:

“In their personal lives they adopt the way of piety and obedience. ...They behave like real gentlemen, offer prayers to their Lord, act humbly and establish the system of *Salat* in the collective life of the people. Their wealth and resources are not wasted on sensualities and luxuries. Instead they establish the institution of *Zakat* (poor-due)...They pay their own *Zakat* and organize the institution of *Zakat* so that the wealth of the community may have an equitable distribution and the state may fulfill its welfare functions. They use the powers of the state for the eradication of evil and of sin and for the promotion and establishment of virtue and goodness.” (Mawdudi, 1980, p.184).

Mawdudi perceives the holy community as an ideal community for establishment of Islamic state. The holy community should carry right understanding of *Jihad* to abolish dictatorship or any kind of un-Islamic systems. Mawdudi's understanding of *jihad* is quite different, he enlarged its scope. As he says:

“Like all revolutionary ideologies Islam adopts its programme and ideals and its ideologies has difference comparable with other ideologies, so Islam rejects word '*Harb*' and war, the term '*Jihad*' can be translated as war but the word '*Jihad*' has connotations and synonymous, and the best meaning is that 'to exert one's utmost endeavor in promotion a cause' so emerges with tongue and pen in our time, not like others explained word '*Jihad*' like war and tyranny.” (Mawdudi, 2006, p.4).

Of course Mawdudi did not reject “Jihad with Sword” completely in Islam, But had put it at the end of solutions. Also Mawdudi considered that there are two misconceptions regarding Islam;

“The first one is that Muslims consider Islam to be a religion in the conventional sense of the term ‘religion’. The second misconception is that they take Muslims to be a ‘Nation’ in the technical sense of this term. So if Islam be a ‘religion’ and the Muslims are a ‘nation’ then ‘*jihad*’ becomes useless term. The truth is that Islam is not the name of a ‘religion’, nor is ‘Muslim’, Islam is the title of nation and title of the revolutionary ideology and programme which set out to shift all ruling of the whole world and make it relevant to its basics. He thinks that Islam is a International Revolutionary Party carrying revolutionary programme and ‘Muslim’ is the name of this party, and ‘*Jihad*’ refers to that revolutionary struggle and utmost exertion which the Islamic party brings into play to achieve this object. Like all revolutionary ideologies Islam adopts its programme and ideals and its ideologies has difference comparable with other ideologies, so Islam rejects word ‘*Harb*’ and war, the term ‘Jihad’ can be translated as war but the word ‘*Jihad*’ has connotations and synonymous, and the best meaning is that ‘to exert one’s utmost endeavour in promoting a cause’ so emerges with tongue and pen in our time, not like others explained word ‘Jihad’ like war and tyranny (Mawdudi, 2006, p.4)”.

According to Mawdudi the holy community represent revolutionary programme of Islam on the way to make Islam complete system of life. Even they use their *salat*, *zakat* and other worships to make Islam dominant power in the community. Especially their *jihad* understanding is the main means to reach their goal. Members of this community exert their utmost efforts to establish Islamic system on the plan of *Shari’ah*.

1.3. The Shari’ah

Furthermore, Mawdudi continued to put emphasis on the necessity of establishment of an Islamic state based on the Qur’an and *Sunnah* principles. In which Islamic *Shari’ah* will have major role to play as the constitution of state. As he said:

“The *Shari’ah* prescribes directives for the regulation of people’s individual as well as collective life. These directives relate to people’s life in different areas including religion, rituals, personal character, morals, habits, family, relationships, social and economic affairs, administration, rights and duties of citizens, judicial system, laws of war and peace and international relations. The sources of the *Shari’ah* are the Holy Quran and the Hadiths. These sources instruct people about what

is good and evil, what is beneficial and harmful, etc. The *Shari'ah* is a complete scheme of life and an all-embracing social order.” (Mawdudi, n.d., p.17).

Mawdudi explains *Shari'ah* role in Islamic state as he said: “Ma'rufat (virtues) and Munkarat (vices). The term Ma'rufa constitutes all the virtues and good qualities. Conversely, the term Munkarat constitutes all the sins and evils. These classifications also combined all perpetration including state issues and human rights. To achieve this, the *Shari'ah* has embraced in its scheme everything that urges the growth of good and has recommended ways to remove obstacles that might prevent this growth. This process gives rise to a subsidiary series of *ma'rufat* consisting of ways of initiating and nurturing the good. Similarly, there is a subsidiary list of *munkarat* which might initiate or allow the growth of evil.” (Mawdudi, n.d., p.8-14).

Mawdudi primarily gave more attention to change un-Islamic systems and he firmly believed that changing it according to *Shari'ah* directives is necessary. Mawdudi thinks that the situation for Muslim countries are not good to implement Islamic *Shari'ah* because political leadership in all the Muslim countries has unfortunately passed into the hands of those who are hostile to Islam and *Shari'ah*. They seek to run the country under the system of secularism and just yet continue to pay lip service to Islam.

Mawdudi gives several examples from Muslim majority countries. For example in Turkey, there was an attempt to de-Islamize Muslims and it was accompanied by such violence and cruelty that cannot be imagined: “Thousands of people were killed simply because they refused to discard their Islamic head-dress.” (Mawdudi, n.d., p.17). It is very difficult to approve Mawdudi's idea related to India. *Shari'ah* had never been implemented fully in India when Muslims were in power. *Shari'ah* was limited to private affairs of life. *Shari'ah* had nothing to do with the state affairs.

Mawdudi articulated his vision about *Shari'ah* without obfuscation the mind of people. Mawdudi separated large room for *Shari'ah* and Islamic law within his works. Especially his book called “*The Islamic Law and Constitution*”. Though Mawdudi brought combination of tradition and modernity in this book, it does not embody paradox or contradiction, but revivalism and reformism through society and government.

1.4. The Constitution

According to Mawdudi Islamic state should have an Islamic constitution as he says:

“The first source of the Islamic system of life is a book, or to be more exact ‘The Book’. The world received several editions of it and the last and final editions being the one presented to mankind under the name of the *Quran*. The second source of this system is the people to whom the different editions of the book were revealed preserved by their preaching and their conduct, interpreted them to the people. As different personalities, but as the bearers and upholders of the same mission of life, all stand under the general title of ‘The Messenger’ (Prophet).” (Mawdudi, n.d., p.9).

Mawdudi illustrated that the sources of Islamic constitution should be Qur’an, *Sunnah*, *ijma*, *ijtihad*, *qiyas* (Nasr, 2000, p.208). He also added some further sources in constitution making. The Conventions of *Khilafat-e-Rashidah* (The Rightly Guided Caliphate) which they managed the Islamic state after death of the Prophet. Their conventions have been accepted in Islam from the very beginning. The way *Khilafat-e-Rashidah* has dealt with the problems and the methods that they embraced at the time can shed light on current issues. There has been a difference of opinion among the companions, but there was one decision which was accepted as the correct and the authoritative one. Another source for Mawdudi is the rulings of great jurists. Mawdudi considered this source as an important source besides other three sources. This is decisions of the top jurists, the four renowned sects, in regard to various constitutional problems of their times (Mawdudi, 1980, p.204).

There was a strong constitutional movement to make Pakistan constitution Islamic one. Because Pakistan came in existence in the name of Islam. Mawdudi’s thoughts of constitution arose in the wake of the subcontinent dismemberment. After the establishment of Pakistan, Muslims of Pakistan demanded that the constituent Assembly should unequivocally declare:

- 1) “That the sovereignty of the state of Pakistan vests in Allah Almighty and that the government of Pakistan shall be only an agent to execute the Sovereign’s Will.
- 2) That the Islamic *Shari’ah* shall form the inviolable basic code for all legislation in Pakistan.
- 3) That all existing or future legislation which may contravene, whether in letter or in spirit of Islamic *Shari’ah* shall be null and void and be considered ultra vires of the constitution.

- 4) That the powers of the government of Pakistan shall be derived from, circumscribed by and exercised within in limits of Islamic *Shari'ah* alone.

The powers of the government of Pakistan shall be derived from, circumscribed by and exercised within the limits of Islamic *Shari'ah* alone.”(Mawdudi,1980, p.27).

Mawdudi continued his struggle for the establishment of Islamic constitution. He criticised strongly the interim report of basic principle committee, because it did not contain even a single clause, characteristic of an Islamic state, the divine law was ignored. People having secular approach were spreading rumours that within in the Muslim religious *ulama* there is no consensus. They are loggerhead with each other. Therefore it is impossible to establish an Islamic state. In view of these developments a meeting of 31 *ulama*, belonging to different school of thoughts from the Deoband school, the Barelvi school, the Ahl-i Hadith and Shiite was successfully convened under the chairmanship of Mawlana Syed Suleman Nadwi at Karachi who Mawlana Mawdudi was his convener This assembly after long deliberation approved 22 basic principles of the Islamic constitution in January 1951¹² (Mawdudi, 1980,p.27).

The Constitution meant to tame the passion of the tyrannical public. Islamic constitution is not simply *theo-democratic* system but also a deliberative government. Mawdudi made close attention for the Islamic constitution building. Mawdudi was the major ideologue of this constitutional movement. He had prepared blueprint of future constitution of Pakistan. He tried his best to make Pakistan an Islamic state through constitutional process.

1.5. The Economy

Economy is one of the important principles of the Islamic state in Mawdudi's writings, so Mawdudi wrote about economy with details in his books. Mawdudi thinks that Islam is not only organically related to politics but it is also integral to the economic structure of the state. Mawdudi is credited with being the founder of Islamic economics, and having developed the idea of an Islamic economic system (Zaman, n.d., p. 1).

Mawdudi knew this fact very well that state cannot isolate itself from economy activities. Therefore Mawdudi realized that he needs to develop idea of an

¹² Please see details in Appendix.

Islamic economic system. For Mawdudi, Islamic economics was primarily a means for reasserting the primacy of Islam and secondarily an instrument for radical economic shift. Mawdudi mentioned on the necessity of Islamic economy and stressed also on the sovereignty of Allah in economic issues as well: “Whatever the things that have been created by Allah for the benefit of mankind should not be taken possession of, and then kept idle and useless” (Mawdudi, n.d., p.24-25). Mawdudi’s rare statements and writings on economics evolve on how best an Islamic state can provide the people with the basic necessities of life.

Mawdudi claims that only Islamic system can provide the nearest system to human nature in which everyone joins the economic struggle at his own and in the circumstances in which Allah has created him. And according to him, there are obligations and restrictions in Islamic economy, so he criticizes all the illegal means of livelihood which injure, morally and materially, the interests of other individuals and of society as a whole. He says:

“For example in capitalist system there are numerous illegal practices on making money, but Islam forbids all these illegal behavior by law and instead, encourages legal money making practices and earning. It is not at all objectionable in Islam if working within the Islamic limits, a man becomes a millionaire; rather, this will constitute a divine favor. But in the interests of the community as a whole, Islam imposes two conditions on the individual: first, that he should pay *zakat* on his commercial goods and ‘tithes’ (*ushr*) on the value of agricultural produce; second, that he should deal fairly and honestly with those he does business with in trade, industry or agriculture, with those he employs and with the government and the community at large.” (Mawdudi, n.d., p.27-28).

Mawdudi states that the economic justice is very important and along this economic justice Islam uses two methods which wipe out the social imbalance and contradictions:

“The First, it puts some restrictions on the earning and accumulation of wealth. For instance, in the means for the acquisition of wealth it makes a distinction between the permissible and the prohibited and imposes obligatory *zakah*, wealth, tax, at varying rates. Islam gives general command of voluntary spending in the way of Allah and thus establishes the rights of the state and the entire community over an individual’s wealth. The Second, Islam guarantees social security for those who are unable to earn a livelihood. It is the duty of an Islamic state to arrange for employment, clothing, education, and the like for all citizens”(Rashid, n.d.,p. 185).

According to Mawdudi in economic system social justice should be protected. Because of emphasizing on self-interest, profit motive and usury (*riba*) he condemned

the capitalist system extremely. On the other hand Mawdudi criticized the communist economy. The communist economy deprived people of their liberty and denied moral values, corruption became rampant. In this meaning only Islamic economy can strike a balance between individualism and collectivism. Mawdudi's economic ideas are more liberal and capable as well as he is quite sympathetic to the market process.

2. NATIONALISM

2.1. The Roots of Nationalism

After the French Revolution, nationalism was become a very powerful discourse, it influenced nations across the world. Several nations fought with each other to protect their national purity. The emergence of the nationalist movements in the West also impacted on the Indian nationalist discourse, especially after the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Muslims also got influenced by the nationalism. Some time it has been seen as opposite to concept of *umma*. As for composite nationalism is concerned, some Muslims became spectacle to congress intention they thought maybe the Congress Party wants to assimilate the Muslims into the Hindu culture. Congress leadership denied this allegation, some Muslim leaders accepted the idea of composite nationalism. As Azad, Madani and Kidwais. Jinnah also opposed idea of composite nationalism, but he proposed "two nation theory" on the basis of religion. Also Mawdudi rejected both form of nationalism (Kausar, n.d., p.3).

Mawdudi describes; "...nationalism owes its origin to a reaction against the universal oppression of the Popes and Caesars. It merely aims at making the various nationalities completely free to exercise their mastery over their own political and other affairs and not merely acting like puppets in the hands of any spiritual or political power of a universal character. From this innocent and small beginning the idea developed and reached a stage where it placed nationalism on the throne of Allah Who had already been rejected from his position under the impact of secularism." (Mawdudi, n.d., p.18-19).

According to Mawdudi's understanding of nation, neither nation is mere imagined community nor it has highest political values. In fact it replaced the God.

Therefore Islamic state cannot represent any specific nation. But Islam state represents every member of its system.

In fact Mawdudi has been vocal critic of nationalism, he made a connection between the failure of Muslim countries and their abrogation of the Islamic law and following nationalism:

“In those countries which suffered from foreign domination, politics and cultural movements fell into the hands of Westerners. They adopted the creed of nationalism, directed their efforts towards the cause of national independence and prosperity along secular lines and tried to copy, step by step advanced nations of this age. As a result nationalism has alienated them from their culture and spiritual life which Islamic ideology was on its perpetration.” (Mawdudi, n.d., p.3-4).

There is a point which I want to mention here is that Mawdudi did not reject “nationalism” completely, as far identity is concerned, he regards nationalism is natural for identity formation as he said:

“We do not object to ‘nationality’ which is a natural fact and reality. We do not oppose national patriotism providing that it does not comprise within itself ill-will towards other nations. We do not object to national love either, provided it does not involve and lead to national prejudice, an unreasonable favoritism towards one’s own nation, and hatred of other nations. We regard national freedom as right and proper as it is the birthright of every nation to regulate its own and look after its own domestic affairs. The rule of one nation over another is wrong and incorrect. What is, however, objectionable, nay even hateful, is ‘nationalism’. This nationalism has no reality except that it is another name for national selfishness.” (Mawdudi, n.d., p.26-27).

Nationalism is the disease to discriminate the nations. Also this disease is against unitary system of Islam. Mawdudi wanted to liberate Muslims mind from this disease, because Islamic revolutionary ideology only accepts one nation with the name of Muslim. Thus the secular nationalism idea is very strange to Islamic way of life. Mawdudi preferred to use the term; *umma*.

2.2. Umma Versus Secular Nationalism

As far discourse of nationalism is concerned, Mawdudi never promoted hatred toward other nations; on the contrary Mawdudi had drawn our attention to the natural side of the division among nations. Even it is an obligation to believe in division of the nations and it was mentioned in the Qur’an (49-13). Mawdudi expressed this fact as coming;

“...This means that the division of human beings into nations, races, groups and tribes is for the sake of distinction, so that people of one race or tribe may meet and be acquainted with the people belonging to another race or tribe and cooperate with one another. This division of the human race is neither meant for one nation to take pride in its superiority over other nor is it meant for one nation to treat another with contempt or disgrace, or regard them as a mean and degraded race and usurp their rights.” (Mawdudi,1995, p.20).

The main reason why Mawdudi criticized “nationalism” and even denounced it as blasphemy (*kufr*) (Nasr, 1993, p.15) was the discriminating nature of nationalism.

As I mentioned earlier that Mawdudi has been critic of both kind of nationalism whether Muslim or non-Muslim.As he realized that the nature of nationalism is embedded in secularism, especially in a country such as India where Muslims were minority of the population (Jackson, 2011, p.28).For that reason, Mawdudi heavily criticized the ML.ML’s preaching and demonstration were un-Islamic, because they embraced the secularist approach. Mawdudi’s version of the ‘two-nation theory’, formulated in response to the model of secular nationalism favored by the Congress Party, contained all the hallmarks of the crude binary opposition between Hindu nation and its Muslim counterpart (Shaikh, 2009, p.36).

Mawdudi elaborated ‘two-nation theory’ and believed that it will work to unite Muslims as he even was against Muslim nationalism. Pakistan movement was based on the theory that Muslims are entirely separate people from Hindus in every respect. They formed an ideological community with divine guidance for every field of human life, and it is a dictate of their faith to establish a state where they can rule according to the law revealed by the Allah. This theory is popularly known as *two-nation theory*. And Mawdudi was behind of ‘two-nation theory’ and a front against the United Indian nationalism. Mawdudi and also Muhammed Ali Jinnah both of them protected the *two nation theory*,but in the beginning,there was difference between their conception of this term, so for Mawdudi Islam is a religion with a comprehensive system of life to offer the world.He argued that Muslims have to order to all the world with its unique system, not only Muslims in India. While opposing Muslim nationalism, Mawdudi was promoting the cause of the *two-nation theory*. He proposed dividing India into two culturally autonomous democratic

entities functioning either as a federation or as a loose confederation (Moten, n.d.,p. 178).

Mawdudi's opposition to the ML was a result of his opposition to secular nationalism. Nasr claims that: "According to Mawdudi, secular nationalism was communalism behind facade of Islam-creating distinctions between the 'self' and the 'other'."(Nasr, 1993, p.89).

According to Mawdudi nationalism does not mean only distinction among nations and classes, also it pushes the members of nation follow and imitate the nations' will blindly. As he observed;

"...This nationalism has no reality except that it is another name for national selfishness. If the existence of an individual in a society, who is the slave of his own self and passions and is ready to do anything for his selfish interests, is a curse; if in a town it is a curse to have a family whose members blindly follow their selfish family interests and are bent on helping only themselves and this by all fair or foul means; if again, in a country that class is a curse which blindly pursues its own class interests and ends without caring for their good or bad consequences to others; then why should not, in the wider sphere of humanity, that nation be treated and looked upon as a curse which define its national interests and admires the principle that 'right is that which conforms to our national interests and wrong that which dose not conform to them?' Verily your conscience will bear witness to the fact that line other selfish desires and objects, this particular selfishness and slavish pursuit of one's own gains and interests is also truly a curse."(Mawdudi, n.d., p.27-28).

Mawdudi has been critic of any kind of discrimination on the grounds of class, color, race or territory and considered it absurdity. He objected nationalism and racialism the same reason which have torn the world into shreds (Mawdudi, n.d., p.24).

Mawdudi considered nationalism part of the *jahiliyya* (ignorance).Because *jahiliyya* is the antonym of Islam. He sees that every way different from and opposed to the way of Islam is the way of ignorance. According to him there is no doubt nationalism is one the acts of the pre-Islamic period of Arabia called the period of ignorance.

2.3. The Umma

Mawdudi's approach of nationalism seems that he took very extreme position regarding nationalism. Basically he perceived that the idea of *umma* is more

comprehensive as an identity than nationalism (Keskin, 2009, p.69). To him, there should be an identity and self-awareness for Muslim community which is established on the Islamic culture and orders envisaged by Allah. Establishment of this self-awareness on the basis of secular nationalism was indeed not possible. The secular nationalism is established on the inspiration by conceptual matters consists of 'homeland' and 'nation', but the Muslims can only seek inspiration from Allah and Islam. The inspiration of Muslim does not relate to 'homeland' and 'nation' (Riaz, 1998, 54-55). He stated that the loyalty cannot be given to the idea of nation because it was defined by characters other than Islam; while the *umma* was the identity that *ummatists* were obligated to give their loyalty to and sacrifice their lives for its safety (Dajani, 2011, p.11). It means that Muslim nationalism was unacceptable to Mawdudi. He objected that;

“Muslim should be called 'nation' and Islam 'religion'. As per his understanding Islam is not mere religion, but Islam is a revolutionary ideology and programme that seeks to rebuild the universe in conformity with its own tenets and ideals. And the Muslim is the title of that International Revolutionary Party organized by Islam to carry into effect its revolutionary programme.” (Mawdudi, 2006, p.5).

Mawdudi described the Western nationalism: “as a disease that was inspired by *jahiliyya* as well. At that time, there was *Asabiyya* (social solidarity among groups of people based on their ethnic, racial and tribal ties), the dominant element in the formation of group solidarity. Nationalism is the foremost threat to the realization of *umma*. In the conception of *umma*, ethnic, racial and tribal classifications of the social life were prohibited. The citizenship and territorial nationalism and Muslim nationalism do not define the reality of Islam, on the contrary narrows the Muslim *umma* understanding (Keskin, 2009, p.70).

Mawdudi has two main implications against nationalism. Firstly, the “two nation theory”, is more comprehensive term includes identity of Muslims. Secondly, the *umma* term, is the common term to identify Muslims' ideology. For his Islamic revolutionary programme Mawdudi produced common terms. On the contrast with his reinterpretation of some terms he materialized enemy powers and ideologies with common meanings against Islam like; *jahiliyya*, *tagoot*, *kufur* and so on.

3. MAWDUDI'S APPROACH TO THE DEMOCRACY

According to Mawdudi the political system of Islam has been based on three principles; *tawhid* (Unity of God), *risala* (prophethood) and *khilafah* (Caliphate) (Mawdudi,1995, p.48). Interpretation of the terms *risala* and *khilafah* as a political principle or governmental system is known, but thus adding the term *tawhid* to the political principles is the superiority of Mawdudi's political understanding. On the other hand his revivalist reinterpretation of the term *tawhid* enhanced his Islamic revolutionary programme vehemently. For Mawdudi's understanding it means that every Muslim should intervene in political issues, otherwise he is not a Muslim on *tawhid*. Mawdudi related the politics with the most important condition of Islam; *tawhid*.

Also Mawdudi's understanding of democracy has been based on these basic principles. It means that Mawdudi opposed the Western idea of democracy. Mawdudi presented the concept of *khilafah* as an alternative to Western democracy;

He says; "...the term *khilafah* also makes it abundantly clear that no individual or dynasty or class can be *khalifah*, but that the authority of *khilafa*, is bestowed on the entire group of people, the community as a whole, which is ready to fulfill the conditions of representation after subscribing to the principles of *tawhid* (Unity of God) and *risala* (prophethood). Such a society carries the responsibility of the *khilafah* as a whole and each one of its individuals shares the Divine *khilafah*. The point where democracy begins in Islam. Every person in an Islamic society enjoys the rights and powers of the caliphate of God and in this respect all individuals are equal. No one takes precedence over another or can deprive anyone else of his rights and powers. The agency for running the affairs of the state will be formed with the will of these individuals, and the authority of the state will only be an extension of the powers of the individuals delegated to it..."(Mawdudi,1995, p.6).

The turning point came in Mawdudi's understanding of democracy when he realized that in Western democracy people became sovereign and in Islam sovereignty belongs to Allah. This contrast led him to distinguish Islamic democracy from Western democracy. While the Western democracy was based on the concept of popular sovereignty, the Islamic democracy was based on the principle of popular *khilafah*. (Mawdudi, 1995, p.7).

He therefore said; "...democracy or sovereignty of people was originally put forward to loosen the oppressive grip of monarchs and feudal landlords over the masses. To the extent to which

it sought to expound the idea that no individual, family, or class, has any right to force its will on millions of other peoples and use them for their own selfish ends it was perfectly correct and laudable.” (Mawdudi, n.d., p.20).

Mawdudi did not refute democracy in totality. He is critical of particular aspects of democracy. Especially nationalist and secularist democracy is the dangerous ones. Democracy in the discourse of Mawdudi is inevitable. The Islamic democracy was based on the popular *khilafah* and stands in contrast to Western democracy.

3.1. Islamic Democracy as an Alternative

Mawdudi did not see Western democracy as a good model for Muslim society. As I mentioned he sees both as a contrast to each other. He did not oppose the idea of democracy outrightly but he tried to reconstruct the democracy on the Islamic revolutionary ideology. According to Mawdudi, the true term of democracy in Islam should be not like Western democracy; because it is ‘theo-democracy’ which means that it is;

“Democracy only for those who are sufficiently learned to know what they are voting for. The logic of this was based on the belief that the best person to rule the Islamic state should be the best Muslim, not someone who may be particularly good at rhetoric or playing the popularity card. Therefore, only those who have a degree of expertise in what it means to be a good Muslim, i.e. have knowledge of Islamic law, history and so on, are equipped to vote.” (Jackson, 2011, p.52).

Theo-democracy or sovereignty of Allah is one of the Mawdudi’s elaborated ideas which enable sovereignty explicitly to Allah in the state governance, and thus that the principal function of an Islamic polity must be to enforce the rules laid down in the Qur’an and the Prophet’s traditions. The restriction of staying within limits of *Shari’ah* constitutes the *theo* element in the Islamic political system. There is no special or privileged class, persons or societies of divines in Islam. The inclusion of the word *theo*, therefore, does not imply the rule of any particular ecclesiastic class or group. Instead, it refers to the fact that, just like an individual Muslim, the Islamic state remains within the limits of *Shari’ah*, and must not transgress the *hudud of Allah* (Laws and Panishments of Allah). Islamic polity is different than Western democracy or other democracies which were built by mankind. But it means that the guidance of the world should be yielded up to the Qur’an and *Sunnah* (Mawdudi,

1980, p.31). This the basic distinction between Islamic democracy and the secular democracy as he explained further:

“A more apt name for the Islamic polity would be the ‘kingdom of Allah’ which is described in English as a ‘theocracy’. But *Islamic theo-democracy* is something altogether different from the theocracy of which Europe had a bitter experience wherein a priestly class, sharply marked off from the rest of the population, exercises unchecked domination and enforces laws of its own making in the name of Allah, thus virtually imposing its own divinity and godhood upon the common people. Such a system of government is satanic rather than divine. Contrary to this, the *theo-democracy* was built up by Islam is not ruled by any particular religious class but by whole community of Muslims including the rank and file. The entire Muslim population runs the state in accordance with the Book of Allah and the practice of His Prophet...” (Mawdudi, 1980, p.20).

Mawdudi developed the idea *theo-democracy* against Western democracy, He says:

“The Western democracy is based on the sovereignty of people, it means the people of each country and territory is their own masters and rulers. This positive aspect later developed into democracy which meant that every nation is entirely independent in its will and actions. There is nothing to restrict its collective desire, in practice, the desires and aspirations of its majority whether it is in the sphere of morals, culture, social relations or politics.” (Mawdudi, 1980, p.21).

There is a very close relation between *theo-democracy* and establishment of Islamic system of life. Mawdudi presented several necessary conditions to establish Islamic democratic state, but he did not advocate any kind of revolution to carry out these conditions. He only wanted to follow the example of the Holy Prophet to realize Islamic revolutionary programme in the modern era. For that his *Theo-Democracy* idea plays important role to implemnet Islamic system of life;

“All these steps should follow each other and further. The first step would be muslimising of the state, turning the state from the secular bases to the *theo-democracy* bases. *Theo-Democracy* ideology should be employed in the constitution, by this way muslimising programme will have a far-reaching effect on every department of the national life. The second step is the practice of this ideology by the people transferring to them the reins of power and these people were capable of using this power. Surely the unique mean to achieve it is the well-known democratic procedure of general elections.” (Mawdudi, 1980, p.100-102).

Many of parties or anti-Islam ideologies and the Western minds accused Mawdudi to be leader of the extremist movements and terror. In the contrary, his above-mentioned urging to gain government only with democratic elections, as he insisted that *jihad* must only be by tongue and pen. Also similar evidences show us

Mawdudi never intended to handle the state system by shooting with guns, on the contrary he headed off warring and clashes.

Also we can define the *theo-democracy* as a *viceregency (Khilafah)* which is synonym of “kingdom of Allah’. Mawdudi clarified that the kingdom of Islam is different from kingdom of Europe, because kingdom of Islam is not ruled by any particular religious class but by the whole community of Muslims. This community runs the state in accordance with the book of Allah and the practice of the Prophet’s training. The Muslims have been given limited will and sovereignty by Allah. *Theo-Democracy* is democracy but it is a limited democracy. Beside Islamic rules people power is important in the *theo-democracy*:

“Under the system of *Khilafah* all the higher values of democracy can be incorporated within the circle of lawful or *mubah* however it should be clear that one of the basic principles of democracy better known as ‘sovereignty belongs to the people’ is totally incompatible with the Islamic spirit, as it challenges the basic Islamic principle of ‘Divine Sovereignty’ which again necessitates the supremacy of the Qur’an and *Sunnah*.” (Ahmad, 2006, p.17-18).

Mawdudi sees the sovereignty of Allah as the basis of *theo-democracy* not the people, because every aspect of Muslim life is bound to be regulated by Allah’s orders, human has no right to enact a law for themselves. As he writes;

“The first principle implies that all of us accept Allah as our Creator, Master and Sovereign as well as of this universe. We seek to regulate our life according to His guidance, and not pose as if we be independent of Him and care not for Him. We should not merely offer *pujah* (ceremonial rites) to Him but also obey Him and submit ourselves to Him. We should not merely observe His commands and directions as individual in our private capacity but should do so in every aspect of our social and collective life too. In the sphere of our social, cultural and economic life, in our educational and training institutions, in framing our laws, setting up our judicial courts, running our government, in making war or peace, and in our international relations, we should observe the principles and restrictions laid down by Allah. We should not be absolutely free to regulate our secular and mundane affairs in whatever way we like; this freedom should be observed within the limits prescribed by the checks and balances imposed by Allah. These principles and limitations must, in any event, be regarded as beyond our jurisdiction to challenge modify or change.” (Mawdudi, n.d., p.31-32).

According to Mawdudi, Islamic democracy is a practical illustration democracy long centuries before the birth of Western democracy and there is nothing to learn from the West regarding democracy. Islamic democracy is the very essence as it was of true democracy (Mawdudi, n.d., p.35-36).

In Mawdudi's discourse Islamic state is not totalitarian and autocratic as he says: "an Islamic state shall not be totalitarian and autocratic in its nature such modern forms of government. There shall not be any dictatorship which squeezes freedom of its citizens."(Rafiuddin, n.d., p.8).

Mawdudi basically did not regard any merit in the Western democracy, in other words he is not ready to accept the Western idea of democracy to be imitated, as he sees all merits in Islamic democracy whether it is related to equal rights and free and equal opportunities for each and every person exist in Islam, which are regarded essential merits of Western democracy. Mawdudi thinks that governmental administration and the elections of rulers should be made by the inhabitants and he is opposed to a social system which there is not freedom of expression of opinion, of assembly and of action. In this meaning Mawdudi widened room of democracy in Islamic political thought. On the other hand we see an interaction between democracy and human rights in Mawdudi's movement.

4. HUMAN RIGHTS

4.1. Mawdudi's Perception of Human Rights

Mawdudi's universal outlook appears at his prolific writings about every issue related to life. Human rights are one of them. For him, though Islam rejects all un-Islamic social and political matters, at the same time Islam implements it in suitable way, preserving right of Muslims and non-Muslims. With persuasion, no violence. The Measure of human rights is *Shari'ah*. In this meaning Mawdudi reintroduces to us function of *Shari'ah* which includes human rights too:

"Man has been endowed and empowered with power to understand this bountiful to him and provision. He possesses intellect and wisdom to understand this system which established by Allah. His obedience to this system will facilitate his life and hereafter. But just he is demanded to vest the sovereignty to Allah and affirm Muhammad's *risala*. In this case he will enjoy the *Shari'ah* and its nature and purpose. The *Shari'ah* stipulates the law of Allah and provides guidance for the regulation of life in the best interest of man. So the fundamental principles of law and life system were determined within *Shari'ah*. Human rights also were determined in this system. Productivity of the human rights starts with the acceptance and understanding of Allah's rights. The primary and foremost right of Allah is that man should have faith in Him alone. He should acknowledge His authority and associate none with Him." (Mawdudi, n.d., p.81).

As he says “Westerners’ human rights concept stems from the *Magna Carta* of Britain. And it is known that the *Magna Carta* thought was born after the advent of Islam. But the *Magna Carta* thought was not known until the seventeenth century. Mawdudi claims that Westerners had no concept of human rights and civil rights only after seventeenth century. Even they found the rights after seventeenth century in the proclamations and constitutions of America and France. The human rights continued on the constitution, and in the middle of the 20th century, the United Nations was established. It made a declaration of Universal Human Rights. Mawdudi condemned the United Nations as ‘Divided Nations’ and claimed that this organization did not sign for any resolution and regulation during its availability except an expression of a pious hope.” (Mawdudi, 1995, p.11-12).

Mawdudi provided examples from his present time on how Westerners have constantly violated the human rights. According to him genocide of the Muslims has been taking place for the last couple of years in neighboring of Pakistan and in other countries, but the United Nations (UN) absolutely took no action against India in the region (Mawdudi, 1995, p.11-12).

As per Mawdudi’s perception of human rights, he thinks that Islamic approach to human rights is totally different from Western approach as he says:

“In the approach to the human rights they have not been granted by any human being (king) and legislative assembly. If these rights have been granted by kings, then they can be withdrawn in the same manner by others, and therefore it cannot maintain its stability. On the other hand, the rights in the hands of dictators can be changed at any time; they can confer them when they please and withdraw them when they wish.” (Mawdudi, 1995, p.12). He further explains Islamic approach:

“...But since in Islam human rights have been conferred by God, no legislative assembly in the world, or any government on earth has the right or authority to make any amendment or change in the rights conferred by God. No one has the right to abrogate them or withdraw them. Nor are they the basic human rights are conferred on paper for the sake of show and exhibition and denied in actual life when the show is over. Nor are they like philosophical concepts which have no sanctions behind them....The charter and proclamations and the resolutions of the United Nations can not be compared with the rights sanctioned by God; because the former is not applicable on anybody while the latter is applicable on every Believer.” (Mawdudi, 1995, p.12).

According to Mawdudi, Muslim community should model human rights on Allah’s revelation and on the *Sunnah*. Mawdudi rejected explicitly the modernist programme and went to adapt *Shari’ah* to the modern world, including human rights. In this meaning Mawdudi initiated a new self-confidence and self –assertiveness of

his Islamic revolutionary programme, reviving of human rights understanding based on Islamic roots (Antony, 2011,p.308).

Mawdudi also declared that Muslims have to accept and recognize the human rights according Allah's ordinances. If they deny and change the rights that have been granted by Allah they will deserve His punishment. Mawdudi stated the verses of the Qur'an; 1)“Those who do not judge by what God has sent down are the disbelievers (*Kafirun*)”.(5:44). 2) “They are wrong-doers (*Zalimun*)”(5:44). Mawdudi interpreted the verses as follow;

“In other words this means that if the temporal authorities regard their own word and decision to be right and those given by God as wrong they are disbelievers. If on the other hand they regard God's commands as right but wittingly reject them and enforce their own decisions against God's then they are the mischief-makers and the wrong doers.” (Mawdudi, 1995,p.12-13).

According to Mawdudi in Islam every human being has some rights, in other words every man whether she or he belongs to this country or that, she or he is a believer or disbeliever. He can live in a city or in a forest or in a desert, whatever be the case, she or he has some human rights, because he is a human being. His basic human rights should be recognized and accepted by every Muslim (Mawdudi, 1995, p.14).

As a first right of human being, Mawdudi identified the right of life. It is the right of every man to live on this earth. Islam determined it as a respect for human life (Mawdudi, 1995, p.12). The Qur'an says; “Whoever kills a human being (without any reason like) manslaughter, or corruption on earth, it is though he had killed all mankind.” (Qur'an, 5:32). In the interpretation of this verse Mawdudi accepted retaliation of murder or the question of punishment for spreading corruption as the verse mentioned. He also added that if there is any war with any country or nation it should be regulated by a proper government. If anyone has killed a human being, it is as if he has slaughtered the entire human race. In the basic human rights the right of life is sacred. Mawdudi mentioned that even Prophet Muhammad considered the homicide as one of the greatest sins; the association with Allah and killing of human being (Mawdudi, 1995, p.14).

While defending the right to life, Mawdudi criticized the concept of 'Right to life' in Western approach. He informs us that Westerners mentioned the right to life

in their Constitutions and Declarations. The right to life was only guaranteed or protected of their citizens, the regard life of white race more sainted than others. Mawdudi explained;

“This can clearly be gleaned by the fact that human beings were hunted down like animals in Australia and the land was cleared of the aborigines for the white man. Similarly the aboriginal population of America was systematically destroyed and the Red Indians who somehow survived this genocide were confined to specified areas called ‘Reservations’. They also penetrated into Africa and hunted down human beings like wild animals.” (Mawdudi, 1995, p.15).

As per Mawdudi’s understanding to save a life is as much important as not killing it unjustly. There are several forms of saving man from death. A man can be ill or wounded, irrespective of his nationality, race or color; it is the duty of other people to arrange for his treatment or wound. If he is drowning or his life is at stake, then it is our duty to save him. There is the same order in Talmud to save human being. But they interpreted the verse that it should be the life of an Israelite (Mawdudi, 1995, p.15).

Mawdudi considered that the other important thing which included in the Charter of human rights is the chastity right of woman. It should be respected and protected under all circumstances, whether she is Muslim or belongs to other religion. A Muslim cannot outrage her under any circumstances. In this respect Islam has prescribed heavy punishment for who wanted promiscuous relationship with the woman. Violation of chastity of woman is forbidden in Islam and its perpetrators will receive its punishment in this world or in the hereafter (Mawdudi, 1995, p.16).

To enslave human is not desirable thing in Islam. As per Mawdudi in Islam every human being is equal. There is no discrimination of any kind exist in Islam. As He says:

“Another right for human being granted by Allah is the freedom of a man; to make him slave and to sell him into slavery is forbidden in Islam. In this subject Mawdudi explained Islamic perspective on the matter. Several verses and hadiths exist regarding this issue and Mawdudi has drawn our attention to the generality of the traditions. Those traditions have not been qualified or made applicable to a particular nation, race, country or followers of a particular religion.” (Mawdudi, 1995, p.17). Europe West in general portrait itself as champion of human rights, but the again made the people slave by colonizing their territory and occupying the resources as Mawdudi observed: “Not only free men were captured, also they invaded the nation contains mines, or their lands yield bumper crops, or oil has been struck there.” (Mawdudi, 2006, p.2).

As far right to life is concerned, first Islam recognizes dignity of the people with their safety and security, Mawdudi says:

“The protection of honor is one of the rights that recognized for a man who lives in Islamic state. In the *Farewell Hajj* the Prophet did not only prohibit the life and property of the Muslims to one another, but he ordered to be respectful and chastely to each other. This is another kind of protection granted by Allah. According to this right, one should not defame another, insult by using nicknames, backbite one another and isolate one another.” (Mawdudi, 2006, p.23).

As per Mawdudi, Islam approves right to dissent and accept rights of citizens to raise their voice against government’s tyranny. In this regard Mawdudi made references to the verse “God does not love evil talk in public unless it is by someone who has been injured thereby.” (Qur’an, 4:148). By interpreting this verse Mawdudi says;

“This means that God strongly disapproves of abusive language or strong words of condemnation, but the person who has been the victim of injustice or tyranny, God gives him the right to openly protest against the injury that has been done to him. This right is not limited to individuals. The words of verse are general.” (Mawdudi, 1995, p.27).

This right includes the ‘right of expression’ against the government of tyranny and freedom of thought. It can be used for the propagation of virtue and truth and not for spreading evil and wickedness. Mawdudi claims that this Islamic concept of freedom of expression is much superior to the concept prevalent in the West. In other words we can derive from the right of expression in Mawdudi’s approach to the right of *dawa*. He says: “The right to freedom of expression for the sake of propagating virtue and righteousness is not only a right in Islam but an obligation. One who tries to deny this right to his people is openly at war with God, the All-Powerful.” (Mawdudi, 1995, p.28).

As per Mawdudi in Islam every one has preserved rights from birth up to death. Regardless of color, race, even religion. Concept of freedom of expression, education, life, religious rituals and so on. were determined in Islamic sources. The most noteworthy aspect of Mwdudi’s understanding of human rights is the right of expression against the government of tyranny and un-Islamic systems. It is a part of Mawdudi’s Islamic revolutionary ideology. He left a door of propagation against the government in case of disobedience for Islamic system. We also see Mawdudi’s respectful approach to the rights of non-Muslims in Islamic state.

4.2. The Rights of Non-Muslims

As part from significance of human rights in Islam, Mawdudi also dealt with the right of non-Muslims in an Islamic state. Because he regards that non-Muslims are also titled to get especial protection from the Islamic state. The question of the rights of non-Muslims in an Islamic State has been one of the most discussed questions when Pakistan came into being. Mawdudi has discussed the problem from the Islamic viewpoint in his articles and writings. He classified the states into two forms regarding this problem, so there is an Islamic state which it is essentially ideological state and thus is radically different from a nation state. (Mawdudi, 1980, p.275-277).

Nation state classifies its citizens into groups of people and evaluates from nation or racial perspective. In the nation state people further are divided into two groups, 'majority' and 'minority' and the guidance and policy making in the nation state always remains in the hands of the majority community. On the contrary, the Islamic state divides people into Muslims and non-Muslims and guidance of the state remains in the hands of those who believe in the Islamic state. After this classification, Mawdudi stressed that non-Muslims preserved rights that are within in the boundaries of an Islamic state, so Islamic state guarantees them certain specific state rights. Beyond those rights, it does not permit to meddle with the affairs of the state which is based on an ideology to which they honestly do not subscribe. But a national state solves the minority problems mostly with three methods. First: to gradually destroy the separate entity of the minority community; second: to exterminate it physically by means of genocide; third: to allow them to exist as untouchables. These methods have been and are still being employed by nation states all over the world. On the contrary Islamic state nevertheless does not distinguish among race, color or territory, its door always is open for the minority and non-Muslims to embrace Islamic principles of life and become equal participants in all matters regarded by state and government (Mawdudi, 1980, p.275-277).

According to Mawdudi the above rights have been conferred to non-Muslims by the *Shari'ah*, and no one has the right to transgress their rights. However, minorities' rights which granted to them settle in nation state are dependent on the sanction of the majority. The majority always has the power to curtail the minority

class and even to deprive them at will even the fundamental human rights (Mawdudi, 1980, p.275-277).

Mawdudi put non-Muslims into three categories with evidences from the *Shari'ah* requirements:

- a) Those who become the subjects of an Islamic state under some treaty or agreement;
- b) Those who become its subjects after being defeated by the Muslims in a war , and
- c) Those who are there in Islamic state in any other way.” (Mawdudi, 1980, p. 277).

Mawdudi says that rights for non-Muslims living in an Islamic state should be preserved by the Islamic state, so he divides above three categories into two categories again, first of them accepted living in an Islamic state with any contract and second one is defeated and obliged to live in an Islamic state. For the first group there is not any *jizyah* and penalty, but second group should pay *jizyah* for their prosperity living (Mawdudi, 1980, p.281).

Mawdudi argues that rights of Non-Muslims in preserved in their social life if they are in convenience with the Islamic rules *haram* (unlawful) and *halal* (lawful): “In an Islamic state they have freedom regarding their faith, ideology, rituals of worship and social customs. Islam does not seek to interfere with their issues. Islam allows them absolute freedom of religious belief and permits them to act according to their creed. However, an Islamic state does not recognize their right to administrate state affairs according to a system which, in the view of Islam. Also, Islamic state refuses to admit their right to continue their practices which effected Islamic society and being bad paradigms for Muslim society. For instance, form of business prosecuted on the basis of usury or interest, the practice of gambling, all forms of business and financial dealings which are forbidden by Islamic law, all dens of prostitution and other vices and all.” (Mawdudi, 2006, p.27-28).

Mawdudi thinks that all these evils and similar should be banned by the Islamic state even these are practiced by non-Muslims. Because similar rituals are dangerous to the Islamic revolutionary programme and decrease Islamic power to be the complete system of life.

Mawdudi calls non-Muslims to rid themselves of the prejudices which have unfortunately resulted from past history and the present mutual national struggle. He tries to wake up the people, declaring that secularism, nationalism, and Western democracy have all come to them from Englishmen. These systems belong to a

particular country or a particular class of people so that people of other classes or communities should be inclined to them. He brings several evidences and enlightens the people that socialism and communism, which the people felt attracted, is a result of Marx's mind and has been developed in Russia. Indian and Muslims people do not have any relation of this system and nation. He criticizes other ideologies and principles, at the same time puts forward ideologies for non-Muslims. He advocates an ideology which is better for the people and for the whole of mankind. He invites non-Muslims to think with an open mind and observe that their welfare and prosperity lie in accepting these principles, and invites them to test for themselves whether Allah's worship, subservience and obedience to Him is better or secularism; nationalism or humanism, whether the unbridled sovereignty of the masses is good or the vicegerency (*khilafah*) of the masses under the sovereignty of Allah? And he states that being the administration of human affairs should be in the hands of men who fear Allah and following His Path. Then the non-Muslim's rights will be preserved totally, and Islamic state gives them opportunities to even run the government when they embraced Islam (Mawdudi, n.d.,p.41-44).

Though Mawdudi's condemnation of non-Muslims, he articulated their rights in Islamic state. He did not discriminate them from Muslims in regard of human rights except several rights that to be Muslim is necessity to gain those rights, like assumption of administrative position at the Islamic state.¹³

¹³ When Mawdudi prepared blueprint of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan he added some articles regarding non-Muslims. Please see details in Appendix.

CHAPTER THREE

MAWDUDI'S POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN PRACTICE

1. JAMA'AT-I ISLAM-I (JI): ITS PURPOSE AND METHOD

1.1. Origins and Strategy

As we know the origins of the JI is based on the ideas of Mawdudi who established an organization on Islamic principles in 1932. After that he started to explain his vision in numerous lectures, articles, books and the newspapers which he run and worked for. Mawdudi systematically interpreted the religion with politics, in giving new meanings and connotations. In this movement the emphasis upon political values of Islam made Mawdudi to carry religious piety into authority reconstruction and to mix all the society with Islamic political ideology. (Nasr, 1993, p.15). His political ideas consist of religion and politics which can not be segregated from each other. Politics should be based on religious teachings.

From 1939 onwards his political aspirations witnessed growing, and there is no doubt, he decided to move to Lahore due to political reasons. Soon after arriving in Lahore Mawdudi visited the Mewat district of Haryana in North-Western India in order to meet with a prominent man, Maulana Muhammad Ilyas (1885-1944). Mewat was identified with the group called the Tablighi Jama'at (TJ) which was founded by Ilyas. Till that time Mawdudi had been acquaintance in numerous newspapers as *Al-Jamiat* and etc. Mawdudi's political vision was formed on the Muslim community decay and rise since colonization of the subcontinent starting from 1857. This had culminated with the *khilafah* movement which resulted in the collapse of the Ottoman *khilafah*. Mawdudi's political thought rapidly effected paradigm of Islam towards Muslim societies. Also Mawdudi advocated for Islamic revolutionary ideology that aimed for restoring *khilafah*. And for him *ummatism* and community are very important ideas which are useful in gaining the power to build Islamic state and to make Islam complete system of life. The national political societies used religion as an instrument to keep posts in the governments, by contrast Muslim societies have to harness their religion power as their postulate in the politics. The

aim is to establish an Islamic state, so genuine Islamic movement should be centralized on Islamic ordinances. The roots of establishment of the JI dates back to the different problems which Mawdudi confronted on the eve of the dismemberment (Nasr, 1993, p.17).

Mawdudi observed other Muslim parties before taking decision to establish new party, in fact thought process of establishing new party was going on when he was editor of *Al-Jamiat* newspaper. He also has differences with the ML which used Islamic symbols to mobilize Indian Muslim masses, the leadership of the ML consist of the Westernized Muslim elites whom have nothing to do with Islam. All of them headed off his meddling with other parties. He had not sought to build a new party. In Mawdudi's political ideology firstly the JI must be kept away from Western influences and must be used to realize Islamic revolutionary programme. Because of collapse all secular regimes dates back to be empty from Islamic rules and orders, he mobilized his all motivation to expose nature of *jahiliyya* (ignorance) and rebut its tenets which Muslim society dissolved in its nightmares at that time (Asyraf, 2012, p.223). As he mentioned in his book "*Our Message*" all efforts of Muslims should be for Allah and for his orders:

"...Hence my first and foremost advance, to you and to all others who wish to participate in this movement, is to keep the concept of Allah and His attributes ever fresh in your mind and to concentrate on seeking His pleasure in all of your activities. The movements which have nothing but only the worldly interests before them can afford to work without thinking of Allah for a moment, but this movement cannot proceed even a step further unless its devotees keep communion and close relationship with all consciousness, fear His wrath and seek His pleasure..."(Mawdudi, n.d., p.6).

Above mentioned arguments show that Mawdudi has made his mind to establish an organization which has Islamic roots. He was disillusioned with other parties included the ML, despite having differences with the ML. He allowed the ML to use his criticism of composite nationalism to alienate Muslims from the Congress. As after that he argued "two nation theory", It was Mawdudi's revivalist reinterpretation of Islamic sources as it sounded broadly;

"Mawdudi's this theory was his new developed tendency, as a result, in short time this theory even accepted by the ML in trying to open new ambitions for Muslim land, Pakistan. Mawdudi believed that entity of the theoretical notions firstly superior that of practical social change, as the true law the government should be occupied by a leader risen according to Islamic rules. Mawdudi's

teaching was to wipe up the wrong religious interpretations and rituals which dominated Muslim society upper classes and attempted to keep them on the *jahiliyya* way.” (Asyraf, 2012, p.223).

Mawdudi’s basic goal regarding the Muslim society forming was to led Islam dominant power in every aspect of life as social, political, cultural, and so on. He called for a stripping away of many wrong rituals and traditions dose not worth with the *iqamat-i din* (substitution of religion) theory to establish Islamic true rules. According to this idea, all departments of the state should be left totally to the authority of Allah’s law as laid down in the Qur’an and narrated from the Prophet Muhammed. (Moten, n.d., p.177). Although Mawdudi harbored a desire for a United Muslim, though he condemned Muslims’ situation as he said:

“Let us look at ourselves, we have created among us many castes, like Rajputs, Gakhars, Mughuls, Jats and many others. Islam asked all these ethnic groups to become one *umma*, to be brothers and to unites harmoniously like a solidly build wall of cemented bricks. But we are still clinging to the old pagan ideas. Just as there are separate castes among Hindus, so are we also split. We do not intermarry as Muslims should. There is trace of brotherhood and fraternity between, but in reality we are observer all these distinctions which were prevalent before Islam...” (Mawdudi, 1980, p.6). Mawdudi was vocal critic of Indian social system, especially he criticized Indian Muslims to follow cast based hierarchy which is again very notion of *umma*.

Mawdudi claims that the ideal Islamic society constitutes people dedicated their life for Islam and believed in that all sovereignty vests in Allah. In these conditions also they believe in that all citizens of the world is free and they are equal. To be a member of this ideology means to prepare a trained group that work for authority of Islam in the whole world. Mawdudi, first of all, worked on the consolidation of his followers’ faith and good conduct during his preaching and talking, in order to be a party governing with Islamic system. The strategy of the Quran and *Sunnah* not alike other parties that separated little room for Islamic laws to seize power in bureaucracy.

1.2. Emergence of the JI

Emergence of the JI was brainchild of Mawdudi. His Islamic revolutionary ideology idea shaped the Jama’at thoroughly, first he started this project as *Daru’l-Islam* DI. DI was established in July 1938, and through this organization the aim was to disseminate his ideas.

Before establishing DI Mawdudi propagated through his magazine *Tarjumanu-l-Qur'an*. But after existence of DI and the JI he used both of them as platform for practical politics and mobilized the Indian Muslim intelligencia. He used his *Tarjuman* newspaper for his new born party, he established the party organization Jama'at-i Islami which came into existence on 26 August 1941. On the occasion of the foundation there were 75 (Giylani, 2000, p.48) men, most of them Mawdudi met first time, gathered and professed the Muslim testament of faith (*shahadah*) with Mawdudi to become new community. This meeting lasted for three days, during which the constitution was discussed. In front of the gathering Mawdudi delivered historical speech:

“You have to know that our party is not the same of The Prophet’s community, so anyone must stay away of exalting the party position and its leader never. This party must not become religious sect and resignation from the party dose not mean rejecting of Islam. And continued I am just a preacher of Islam and my efforts are for the party establishment. After establishment of the party I am not any thing for it, except member, appointment of party secretary or *ameer* (head of the party) among the members depends on them. Promotion of this movement and accomplishing the mission is *ameer*’s task. Nobody thinks I have to assume leadership of this movement because of I started this movement. I am not eager for this position, and I do not agree that who calls to Islam realities must be leader of that movement. My biggest ambition is that we should have a genuine Islamic organization and I want myself within this organization. It is better for me to be a member in an Islamic organization than to be president of a non-Islamic organization and system. Consequently you should not think that I think to keep leadership of this Jama’at because of my efforts for it. It is not necessary to continue my leadership for the Jama’at after its establishmet eventually. In the future all responsibilities would be transfered to the Jama’at. And I will obey and support like other members to the *ameer* who will take responsibility of the Jama’at”. (Islamoglu, 2011, p.89-90).

At the above message Mawdudi had given his humble speech inspired by the Prophetic traditions which reflect soul of Islam, and he observed the new organization would have those Islamic norms and values which Muslims have inherited for centuries. He hoped that his speech which was delivered at the occasion of the foundation would influence the members as he delivered another speech following year at the JI headquarter in 1947. As he says:

“...Next I would like to advise you to observe complete discipline, orderliness, sobriety, calmness and other etiquettes of Islam in all your social activities and gatherings. You have no doubt showed remarkable progress in this respect during the last few years for which I offer thanks to the Almighty and congratulations to you. It is only by the grace of God and blessings of His guidance

that you have succeeded in this short space of time in regulating your social behavior in such a disciplined, civilized and sober manner which even in its initial stages prominently Marks you out from all other communities in this country..." (Mawdudi, n.d.,p. 43).

Ameer is the head of the party and Jama'at would be led by an *ameer* with limited powers. Then Mawdudi and party's founding members turned to select their first *ameer* as under following rules:

"The debate then turned to the selection of the party's first *ameer*. The founding members agreed that, in the interests of minimizing the corrupting effects of politics, no one would be permitted to forward his own candidacy. In addition to Mawdudi another possible contender for the office of *ameer* was Muhammad Manzur Nu'mani, a Deobandi religious leader, who was the editor of *Al-Furkan* a respectable religious journal in Lucknow. Nu'mani used his journal to support Mawdudi's call for Jama'at and his influence to get prominent men such as Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Nadwi to attend the first session of the Jama'at. Nu'mani therefore wielded considerable clout in that first session, and as his differences with Mawdudi in later years indicate, he was not uninterested in being the Jama'at's leader. Amin Ahsan Islahi, too, was strong contender for the position of *ameer*. As the editor of *Al-Islah*, a student of Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi (1884-1953) and Hamidu'ddin Farahi (d.1930), he was a towering figure among the Jama'at's founders. Islahi was not under the sway of Mawdudi's intellect and had, in fact in 1937-1938 period taken issue with some views expressed by Mawdudi which had led to an open and spirited debate between the two." (Nasr, 1993, p.27).

However, most of those present felt that since the Jama'at was Mawdudi's idea and brainchild he should serve as its first head, an a committee was formed to nominate Mawdudi and Muhammad ibn 'Ali Kakwarwi for the office of *ameer*. Mawdudi was elected by a majority of the founding members on August 27, 1941. Their mandate was not religious,they simply chose the best manager among them to lead the party. (Nasr,1993, p. 27).

After appointment of the *ameer* and determination of the initial rules for the organization, the next step was to propagate its message and gather new members. The *Tarjuman* and *Al-Furqan* newspapers played important role in this matter regarding increasing party membership. Activists of the Jama'at were sharing the same ideas, hostile to the anti-Islam groups and imperialism, and advocating an Islamic system. In the JI party board a point is drawing our attention, it is the huge numerous of educated and intellectual members who joint the organization from onset. Establishment of the Jama'at-i Islami party intended do not win the elections and save scores, but it was first to enlighten Muslim society propagating its mission,

which was broadly to make Islamic laws dominate over all parts of life, and liberating Muslim society from British education system in establishing the DI in this meaning. Indeed, Mawdudi's party authored a big plan as establishment an Islamic state on the Prophetic paradigm, so the party had to move its headquarter to Pathankot to make its organizing easily on 15 June 1942. And also another reason which pulled the party into moving decision was its being under threat, so Mawdudi had to save the new born party with carrying it to safety region. (Dajani, 2011, p.66-67).

After DI Mawdudi found JI to disseminate the message of Islam across the world. In the reality JI is the biggest organization of Mawdudi to realize his Islamic revolutionary programme. The huge numbers of educated and intellectual peoples joint the party professing the *shahadah*. According to Mawdudi, the task of JI was important, therefore every thing should be convenience for the originality of Islamic way.

1.3. As an Islamist Movement

Essentially the JI started as Islamic movement. But it came under influence of politics of its time. Basically Indian politics in colonial era shaped the JI future outlook as Nasr observed:

“Jama'at-i Islami is a party based on Islamic tenets and social traditional rituals. As we stressed that Mawdudi's political career shaped with the events and conflicts between Muslims and Hindus, these conflicts culminated in dismemberment of the subcontinent. Establishment of the party came on the eve of the partition, as the party profoundly impressed of the conflicts with reflection on the suffering of Muslim population from Hindus.”(Nasr, 1993, p.17).

The essential condition of emergence of the JI party is to start Islamic revolutionary programme against anti-Islamist powers. Mawdudi alleged that if any Muslim really believes in Islam, the Holy Quran and the Holy Prophet his duty should be consisted of opposition to the national-secular-democracy. Opposition is not enough action for these false systems, at the same time Muslims have to subordinate to the authority of divine law for criteria held by Allah. (Mawdudi, n.d., p.39). Mawdudi had taken strong sources from the Prophets' mission for his party establishment which Husain Haqqani classified them as follows:

1. “To revolutionize the intellectual and mental outlook of humanity and to instill the Islamic attitude towards life and morality to such an extent that their way of thinking, ideal of life, and standards of values and behavior become Islamic;
2. To regiment all such people who have accepted Islamic ideals and molded their lives after the Islamic pattern with a view to struggling for power and seizing it by the use of all available means and equipment;
3. To establish Islamic rule and organize the various aspects of social life of Islamic bases, to adopt such means as will widen the sphere of Islamic influence in the world, and to arrange for the moral and intellectual training, by contact and example, of all those people who enter the fold of Islam from time to time” (Haqqani, 2005, p.16).

In the book entitled “*Guideline for Workers*” Mawdudi explains hostility of opposition parties against Mawdudi and hisJI;

“... Different groups are active in mounting a false propaganda campaign against us. On the one hand there are the leaders of the power cliques and journalists who do not want to see Pakistan as an Islamic state. On the other hand the protagonists of western secularism, atheism and licentiousness who can not afford the limitations imposed by Islam on their unbridled liberty of thought and action. Moreover there are different heretic elements and groups who apprehend that an Islamic society would never allow them a free hand for their heretic activities. Another element is of these socialists who know pretty well that the only hurdle in their way is Jama’at-i Islami...” (Mawdudi, n.d., p.42). Mawdudi countered criticism of his opponents and claimed that are not keen to make Pakistan an Islamic state.

1.4. Party Structure

After establishment of the JI Mawdudi concentrated his energies on the party structure, especially after prelude to Pakistan, the Jama’at began to deepen its organizational structure by reproducing “the offices of *ameer*, deputy *ameer*, secretary-general, and the *shur’ah*, with some variations, at provincial, division, district, city, town/zone, and village/circle levels.”(Nasr, 1993, p. 47).At the organizational level the JI was headed by an *ameer* who is elected by the party members through secret ballot. The *Ameer* holds the office for five years and could be re-elected. Ameer’s position is very important in the Jama’at-i Islami. According to Mawdudi the *ameer* is the administrator in the party but his appointment should be through democratic election, and the election should be made by the franchise of the masses (Mawdudi, n.d., p. 37).

Central Consultative Council plays important role in withdrawing of *ameer*, as Riaz says:

“The *Ameer*, as per party constitution can be withdrawn by a two third majority of Central Consultative Council (CCC-*Majlis-e-Shura*). The Central Consultative Council has fifty members. There is election for each three years by the members of the party. The *Shura* adjust all politics and party route, in case of needed the *Shura* has a right to reinterpret the constitution as an advisory department of the party in issues regarding governance of political action.” (Riaz, 1998, p.243).

Ameer (President) has seven *naib ameers* (vice president) and a *qayyim* (secretary general), beside the similar terms has been added to the others in leading of the party after the death of the founder Mawdudi. (Ahmed, 2010, p.63). Also, there are *maqam* or *halqa* (concentric circles), after settling of the party propagation of the party spread via them. In the financial and administrative matters *Ameer* behaves due to *Majlis-e-Amelah*'s (Working Committee) decisions. The *Ameer* is the unique authority in the JI, but he is bound constitutionally because doctrinal issues are dealt with the *Shura*. *Ameer* has a right of veto to turn the matter to the *Shura* in case of his opposition to the *Shura* for any matter. In addition, the general secretary of *ameer* assists *ameer* for any required responsibilities as he represents *ameer* in case of his absence. Though election of *ameer* commanded by the *Shura* originally, after 1956 reformations it has been held by the Jama'at members. (Nasr, 1993, p.49).

After *ameer* the most important position in the party belongs to the deputy *ameer* (*naib*) and a secretary-general (*qayyim*). “Each lower-level *ameer*, provincial or regional, is elected by members of that particular constituency. From this aspect the party's structure is similar to that of communist parties, the JI clearly more democratic than other political parties as much as eternal issues of party had disciplined rules.”(Ahmed, n.d., p.62). Fig. 1 Shows the organizational structure of the JI:

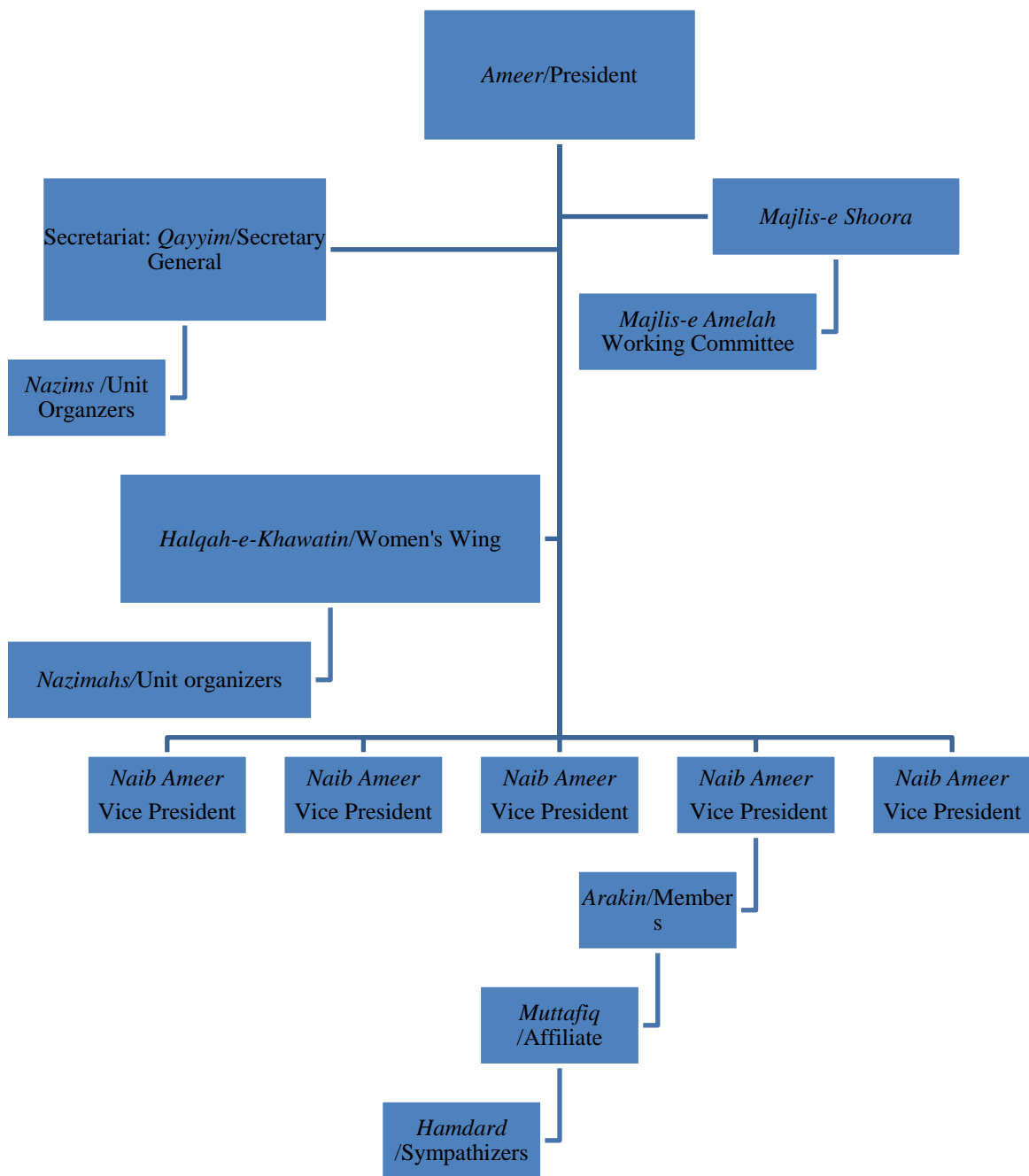


Fig. 1 Organization of the JI (Ahmed, n.d., p. 64).

The structure of the JI is very disciplined and democratic. Even in Mawdudi's first party speech he showed his democratic approach to the *ameer* election. Though *ameer* is the head of the party he is bound constitutionally. *Ameer* is under control of *Shura*. The structure of the JI is based on Islamic outlook.

1.5. A Party with Differences

As I have mentioned earlier Jama'at primarily was an Islamic movement, having usually propagated fundamental values of Islam. As we know that the JI Islami shares many similarities and differences with other Islamic organizations across the world, but it is very similar to Muslim Brotherhood. They both represent modern and revivalist trends in the Muslim societies. After colonization of subcontinent several organizations came into existence such as The Deobandies¹⁴, Ahl-i Hadith¹⁵ and Bareilvis¹⁶. In contrast to the JI these organizations represent traditional values of Islam.

Gandhi had for some years struggled to keep Muslims within the Congress Party which was a leading secularist party in India which planned to unite Muslims, Hindus and other religious parties in India under a secular state. But the religious conflict was towering swiftly. (Jackson, 2011, p.70). By the 1930s and early 1940s,

¹⁴ Its founder Muhammad Qasim Nanautvi and Rashid Amhad Gangohi had been educated in the reform atmosphere of pre-Mutiny Delhi and were determined to make its traditions live in the post-mutiny world. Education was their answer to enabling Muslims to be Muslims without political power. The focus of the movement was a *madrassa* (Islamic secondary school) founded at Deoband, a Qasba (country town occupied by Muslim gentry) in Saharanpur district some ninety miles northeast of Delhi. What Deoband offered was a way of being Muslim with as limited a relationship as possible with the state. As far as beliefs went, it laid emphasis following the reformist tradition on close adherence to the sharia, which was closely associated with an emphasis on the study of the revealed sciences as opposed to the rational ones. (Jama'at in South Asia, p. 5)

¹⁵ The Ahl-i Hadith come from Delhi and the same background of revival and reform as the Deobandis. They were, however, more extreme in their religious ideas, more intense in their commitment to them, more elitist in their social background, more consciously sectarian in their behaviour, and less influential. Many came from once great Muslim families which had fallen on hard times, as did their best-known figures in the late nineteenth century, Maulana Nazir Hussain, who was descended from a family of qazis of the Mughal court, and Nawab Siddiq Hasan, who restored his fortunes by marrying the Begum of Bhopal. By the twentieth century the movement had begun to acquire institutionalised forms with its own madrasas, mosques, journals, and from 1912 its own All-India Ahl-i Hadith Conference which met annually. (Jama'at in South Asia, p. 6)

¹⁶ The origins of the Bareilvis can be traced back to early nineteenth century Delhi, although they are to be found not so much in the movement of revival and reform as in the resistance to it. The movement crystallised in the late nineteenth century around the scholar and polymath, Ahmad Riza Khan of Bareilly (1856-1921). He used his Hanafi legal scholarship to justify Islam as it had been handed down - a custom-laden Islam which was closely tied to the sufi world of the shrines where believers sought the help of saints to intercede from them with God. (Jama'at in South Asia, p. 7)

the Indian freedom struggle against British rule had inaugurated a new chapter on the way to independence. Muslims were separated into two groups. One was led by the Deobandi scholars and their Jama'at-i *ulama Daru'l Uluum*, as majority of them backed the INC to build secular India. (Ahmad, 2005, p.283-284). Mawdudi was well-known among Indian Muslim. Without wasting time Mawdudi formed the JI as an alternative to both the Congress and the ML. Mawdudi's opposition argument against the ML was that they are an un-Islamic party and they embraced secular pluralism. As Jama'at intellectuals opposed both form of nationalism. But they have sympathy with the ML.

The ML first emerged in Dhaka (now the capital of Bangladesh), in 1906 aiming to support Muslim interests in India by representing their needs and problems to the government. The first president of the ML was Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan (1877-1957), who belongs to Nizari Muslims; a arm of Ismaili Shi'ism (Jackson, 2011, p.58). But The ML gained the grass root at Jinnah time. Jinnah restructured the party. Before Jinnah, the party was perceived as Muslim land lords' party, at that time land lords' used together annually and passed the resolution in favor of British Empire, but Jinnah tried to present the ML as a representative of Muslims in the subcontinent.

The JI had a history of questioning the Western democracy as well as the basic principles of secularism, according to Mawdudi all the parties claim themselves Islamic parties are un-Islamic parties. Mawdudi pressured on the ML and criticized their politics. As he continued on his attacks at the ML without showing the same reflection on the other parties, it should be the ML's powering at that time. Mawdudi's opposition to the ML was about its ideology not its aim to create Muslim land or partition of the India. The Party should not use Islam as a tool, it should declare Western style or divine law (*Shari'ah*) way. Since, in Mawdudi's vision, the ML came for an anti-Islam system found on human laws as opposed to *Shari'ah*, at the same time he enlightened Muslims not to attend the ML party because it meant rebellion against their belief in monotheism. Participation to secular system and becoming member of this system according to Mawdudi is *haram* (unlawful). (Ahmad, 2005, p.284).

The JI was against the ML and the JUH. Because they supported the INC, the party supported Indian nationalism and aimed to build secular India. Mawdudi propagated against the ML and JUH, especially the ML. For Mawdudi their *dawa* was ambiguous, not clearly *Shari'ah* way or Western style.

2. JAMA'AT-I ISLAM-I (JI) AND ITS CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SUBCONTINENT

2.1. The Muslim League (ML)

The ML is a political party found in the early years of the 20th century in the British Indian Empire. Its full name is All-India Muslim League (AIML), but popularized as the ML. The ML was formed on December 30, 1906 by Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan, mainly to advance and protect the political rights and interests of the Indian Muslims including upper and gentry of the Indian Muslims. The ML also involved in the extra-territorial issues. Therefore, references to the international issues started to appear in the ML activities in the coming years (Malik, 2012, p.1-3).

From 1906 to 1909 the ML played a key role in advancing the Muslim cause as what came to be known as the Morley Minto council reforms went through Parliament. In India the ML developed domestic branches, even in London opened its branch, the office was led by Amir Ali. He played an important role in lobbying in press in the international arena (Robinson, 2011, p.235).

From the outset, the ML campaigned for the protection of Muslim interests and openly questioned the validity of Indian nationalism. It was defensive right of the Indian Muslims, because Hindu mind antagonized the Indian Muslim in different ways. Even they claimed that Indian Muslims had originally been Hindus but had been forced to embrace Islam (Qalb-i and Massarat, 2008, p.141). From other side Muslim organizations were established against the British Empire. As mostly leaders of the Muslim organizations came from Aligarh University and Deoband school which was established against British colony.

Though the party was established on conservative bases, Jinnah reformed rules of the party:

“The Party’s famous period is Muhammad Jinnah’s time, Jinnah reformed party’s ruling and ideology. Party was established on the conservative basis and its aim was to be the spokesman for the Muslim society in India and to win the elections in the Muslim majority regions. Jinnah was a Mombay-based lawyer with an uncommon aversion to all forms of Islamic orthodoxy. He was modernist and nationalist Muslim in India. Muhammad Ali Jinnah joined the Muslim League in 1913, when the party took decision against loyalty to British Raj and called for independence. And under leadership of Jinnah the party became sole representative of Indian Muslims.”(Jackson, 2011, p.23). And Ayesha Jalal says: “More cosmopolitan than communitarian in outlook, Jinnah’s career exemplifies the constant reconfiguring of the balance between the individual and the community in Islam.”(Jalal, 2002, p.182).

Previously Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a member of both the INC and the ML. Then he left the Congress to concentrate upon the League (Schimmel, 2011, p.222). No late Jinnah turned to a more nationalist Muslim policy. His aim was to construct a religious nationalism:

“...Muslims for him were a people belonging to a distinct cultural grouping who shared a common identity separate from that of the majority population. For Jinnah the secularism of an Indian republic would serve as no guarantee for Muslims. The only truly secular state for Muslims would be a state in which they would predominate, for only then would their cultural identity be irrelevant to their social progress and political rights. Muslim separatism was thus forged by Jinnah as a foil for secular nationalism. It sought to construct a form of nationalism that would be based on religious rather than ethnic identity.” (Robinson, 2011, p.565).

There is other important figure of the ML was Iqbal. Poet philosopher, lawyer, Muslim reformer, great political ideologist, activist, was one of the prominent writer of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. One of the most prominent and dominant political figures of 20th century. While his primary reputation is that of a poet. Iqbal has not lacked admirers for his philosophical thought. Actually he was known as the more serious scholar-philosophical thinker of modern years. The frequently used appellation of “Poet-Philosopher” which he deserved this name most.(Kashif, 2012, p.1).

Iqbal formed parts of the modern Islamic thought in the South Asia. Iqbal’s political thoughts were close to Jinnah’s (Jalal, 2002, p.XII). Despite agitations against Iqbal he did not put down to write about reconstruction of the Islamic

thought. After his participation in the ML organization he delivered several lectures in Hyderabad, Madras, Aligarh and so on, and he published his lectures as '*Six Lectures on the reconstruction of religious Thought in Islam*'. His aim was constructive and he tried to reinterpret Islamic thought using the modern philosophy and psychology Iqbal's idea was accepted and supported by Muslim mass in India. Especially by Jinnah, the leader of the ML Party. The ML party intended to dismember the subcontinent and its aim on this purpose was growing steadily; Muslim population is a different nation and they have to seek their own homeland (Schimmel, 2011, p.225-229).

Jinnah reestablished the party on the new ideology; "Organize yourselves, establish your solidarity and complete unity... There are forces which may bully you, tyrannize over you and intimidate you...and maintaining your true convictions and loyalty, that a nation will emerge, worthy of its past glory and history..." (Nasr, 1993, p.18). And Iqbal supported Jinnah on the partition of India as party spokesmen. Iqbal's proposal was not an independent Muslim state as such, but an autonomous entity with the option of choosing either to remain 'within or without' the Indian federation (Shaikh, 2009, p.33). Firstly he declared his new idea in his presidential address to the annual session of the AIML in 1930, said that: "Life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory. This centralization of the more living portion of the Muslims of India... will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia." (Mawdudi, 1980, p.14). With the new vision of Jinnah and Iqbal the new decisive phase begun in Indian Muslims' history. Jinnah transformed his ideas into a true Muslim movement and used the ML as a vehicle for the Pakistan plan (Schimmel, 2011, p.242). Iqbal wrote to Jinnah on June 21, 1937; "You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming." (Schimmel, 2011, p.242).

Between 1940 and 1947 after numerous meetings, missions, conferences that took place among Jinnah, Gandhi and various British authorities regarding the partition, the result was the dismemberment of the Indian subcontinent. On August 14, 1947 Sir Percival Spear says: "The Ideology of Iqbal, the visions of Rahmat Ali, and the fears of the Muslims were ...united by the practical genius of Jinnah to bind

Muslims together as never before during the British period and led to affect an act of political creation.” (Schimmel, 2011, p.244).

Despite the JI and the ML were established on the tenets to defend and support Muslim communities against Hindus and British Empire, the leader of the JI Mawdudi criticized the ML vehemently. Jama’at-i Islami had a history of questioning Western democracy as well as the basic principles of secularism. According to Mawdudi all the parties claim themselves Islamic parties are un-Islamic parties. Mawdudi pressured on the ML and criticized their politics. As he continued on his attacks at the ML without showing the same reflection on the other parties, it should be the ML’s powering at that time. Mawdudi’s opposition to the ML was about its ideology not its aim to create Muslim land or partition of the India. The Party should not use Islam as a tool, it should declare Western style or *Shari’ah* (divine law) way. Since, in Mawdudi’s vision, the ML came for an anti-Islam system found on human laws as opposed to *Shari’ah*, at the same time he enlightened Muslims do not attend the ML party because it meant rebellion against their belief in monotheism. Participation to secular system and becoming member of this system according to Mawdudi was *haram*. (Ahmad, 2005, p.284).

It is very difficult to agree with other, Mawdudi kept distance from League, but he was not as much vocal critic of the ML as of the INC and those *ulama* who supported the INC. After creation of Pakistan Mawdudi’s criticism of the ML increased, because he saw the ML as a major opponent of his ideas of Islamic state.

By 1940, when the ML decided to separate Pakistan, the JI was born as “counter-League.” (Nasr, 1993, p.14). When the subcontinent was divided into Pakistan and India, Mawdudi declared that Pakistan as envisaged by Jinnah “would be a pagan state”. (Schimmel, 2011, p.242). In the beginning Mawdudi was of the opinion to convert all Hindus to Islam. But later he accepted the inevitability of some form of partition of the subcontinent (Nasr, 1993, p.14).

Mawdudi opposed the ML, because he saw it as a partner for Western systems. Cooperation of the ML with the INC was not acceptable by Mawdudi. He kept distance from the ML and criticized it. But in the eve of the partition Mawdudi showed soft relations with the ML.

2.2. The Tablighi Jama'at (TJ)

The TJ organization was found in the 1927, by Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas Kandahlawi (1885-1944) in North India (Nelson, 2010, p.10). His family was closely linked to the Deobandi leadership and its sister school, the Mazahiru'l-Uluum in Saharanpur. Ilyas was known for both his knowledge of Islam and his Sufi inclinations. His *dawa* was continued by his followers, Yusuf Kandhalawi and Muhammad Zakariya Kandhalawi (Noor, 2012, p.28).

Ilyas and his brother Muhammad Yahya were students of Mawlana Rashid Ahmad Gangodhi (d.1905). Ilyas studied with Rashid Ahmad Gangodhi until his death. After his death Ilyas started his own teaching career. He taught at Mazahiru'l-Ulum Sharanpur for several years, he begun teaching at a mosque at Nizam-ud-Din in Delhi in 1917 (Nelson, 2010, p.11). During his teachings and preaching Ilyas did not emphasize on public debates and frictions as much as he rejected the use of violence and preferred to remain apolitical. Instead, he initially preferred to meet Muslims on direct face-to-face communication (Nelson, 2010, p.10). As the members of the TJ avoided direct confrontation with Hindu or Christian groups (Noor, 2012, p.28).

If we look the context of the TJ, it emerged as a movement to save Indian Muslims from the Christian missionaries and Hindu revivalists. Especially by 1920s political mobilizations across the India intensified and organized along religious communitarian-sectarian line. The ML was one of the Islamic parties was actively mobilizing at the time. And the TJ was formed at a time of intense rivalry between Muslims and Hindus in India (Noor, 2012, p.28).The Organization sought to reform their followers and improve their moral qualities;

“Rejecting politics (*fikrah siyasah*) , militant *jihadism* (*fikrah jihadiyyah*) , and any kind of secret, subversive activity (*tanzhim sirri*), the movement emphasized its peaceful (*sukun*) and gradualist approach instead. Members of the movement were expected to take part in communal activities and join in their lay missionary labour of *Dakwat-u Tablighi* (*Dawt'o' Tableegh*)- that is, to follow in the footsteps of the Prophet to go out and spread the message of Islam.” (Noor, 2012, p.29).

Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas considered that Muslims had failed on the complete adoption of Islam and practice of Prophet's trainings. Being powerful and performing the ordinances of Islam Ilyas proposed the principles:

“1) Inculcating missionary spirit; 2) acquiring and transmitting Islamic knowledge; 3) enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong ; 4) working together in mutual love.” (Robinson, 1988, p.11). The spread of Islam according to Ilyas was very important. With regard to religious reform by compulsion was not accepted in his *dawa* method. On the contrary he urged only by persuasion. Beside above directives Ilyas declared that there are six-point programme Allah had revealed to his Prophet:

“(1)the profession of faith ; (2) the ritually prescribed prayers; (3) knowledge and remembrance of God; (4) respect for all Muslims; (5) sincere intentions; (6) the giving of time.” (Robinson, 1988, p.12).

Ilyas considered truth as important segment in a Muslim’s religious life: “It is advised to always keep your tongue under your control. The truth is that the best way to be saved from all transgressions is to keep close guard of the tongue because excessive talking alone becomes a reason for sins such as lying, slandering, back-biting, ribaldry, and fighting or disorderly conduct.” (Robinson, 1988, p.12).

The TJ is famous with its tours: “Another feature of the Tablighi Jama’at is its *tabligh* tours. Irrespective of Muslims educational or economic background, Ilyas urged them to come together and spare their time for sake of Allah teaching and preaching Islamic principles throughout the country. Ilyas’s *tabligh* idea begun on coming back from the second *Haj*, he initiated the *tabligh* tours and called upon others to propagate the fundamental tenets of Islam like *Kalima* and *Namaz*. Thought Ilyas’s this call was found strange, later big groups joined the movement.” (Robinson, 1988, p.12).

Members of the Jama’at claimed that the movement is apolitical party and is not any involvement in political issues. And many scholars confirmed their self-assessment. Characterization of the TJ as apolitical party is relevant to its mission and programme. This fact has been seen in main literatures of the party, as the literature focused on the spritual reformation of individuals while explicitly withdrawing from the emerging public arena of elections and parties. Actually the party did not take opposition to politics, but referred to avoid them. Also the TJ refuted to be nationalist party, in fact this idea which claimed by others, is in contrast with the party’s fundamental tenets. Language and nationality did not divide members of the TJ; rather, the community extended beyond these traditional borders. Also the leaders of the Tablighi Jama’at believed that the true religious is not

appropriate to politics because policy-making requires unstable dealing and talking (Robinson, 1988, p.13).

Ilyas was a prominent figure that had influence on Mawdudi. We have to mention that Mawdudi's political view was not formed by Ilyas, just high personal character and spiritual life of Ilyas had affected Mawdudi's life. Mohammad Manzoor Nomani described the relations between Mawdudi and Ilyas in the introduction to the book called "*Life and Mission of Maulana Muhammad Ilyas*" stating:

"At about the sometime, Mawlana Syed Abul 'Ala Mawdudi, with whom I had close relations during those days and was very much impressed by his understanding and good judgment, went to Nizamuddin (Delhi) to meet Maulana Muhammad Ilyas and obtain a first-hand knowledge of his work, and, also, undertook a tour of Mewat which was the main center of Maulana's activities. He, then, published an article in his journal, *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*, giving his impressions of the journey and expressing a high opinion of the *Tabligh* endeavor." (Nadwi, n.d., p.5-6).

Mawdudi described Ilyas among the venerable names from Indian history as Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624) and Sayyid Ahmad Shahid (1781-1831). Mawdudi's meeting with Ilyas enhanced Mawdudi's decision to establish his own 'jama'at', the Tablighi had reasonable following group in Mewat, which became a major player in India (Jackson, 2011, p.57).

Though Mawdudi was influenced by Ilyas in term of pious, Ilyas has not any influence on Mawdudi in term of politics, Jackson says:

"Though Mawdudi had impressed by Ilyas in spiritual terms, Mawdudi did not confirm manner of the Tablighi Jama't. The reason was that the Tablighi Jama'at rejected to remain active in political arena. Mawdudi had accused the Tablighi Jama'at of being unable and unconcerned with the social matters. At the same time Mawdudi considered the Tablighi as an ultra-religious party. Mawdudi intended to follow the middle way as he declared his another concern regarding the Muslim League. While accusing the Tablighi of being more religious community, he condemned the Muslim League to be more secular party. The both manners were alien to Mawdudi's political and religious outlook." (Jackson, 2011, p.60).

the TJ remained a traditional organization that does not use modern methods to propagate their *dawa*, on the contrast, the JI adopted Western style of communication and function.

2.3. The Jamiat-Ul-Ulama-i-Hind (JUH)

The (JUH) is another organization of traditional *ulama*, established under the guiding spirit of Mawlana Mahmud Hassan, a prominent theologian in 1920s. This was an organization of clerics, the purpose of which was to provide an opportunity for joint discussion and decision by the body of the Ulama on matters of religious importance facing the Muslim community in India. The JUH was founded at the time when the Indian Muslims were deeply involved with the *khilafah* movement. This organization supported Muslim *khilafah* in Turkey. The Jamiat was closely connected with the Indian National Congress (INC), and regarding to their political interpretation of the principles of nationalism was concerned they were in complete agreement with the Congress, while their ideology was based on preservation of *khilafah* (Riaz, 1998, p.58).

The Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind draws its establishment directives from a tradition of the Prophet. This hadith sheds light on the aim of the organization. The hadith is as follows:

“Ali (the forth *khaliph*) had said that when I asked the Prophet of Allah (peace be upon him and his followers) ‘O Prophet of Allah, if anything happens which the *Shari’ah* neither forbids nor permits, what line of action should be taken?’ the Prophet’s answer was that ‘the Ulama and the sincere worshipers should be consulted and in no case should the opinion of one person be allowed to prevail.” (Riaz, 1998, p.58).

The JUH included lots of Deobandi *ulama* to maintain their pan-Islamic outlook against British rule in the subcontinent. In the beginning of 20th the ongoing nationalist movement was directed against the British rule which had drawn Muslim population into the campaign. By wake of the World War I the movement reflected on Muslim population as establishment of different Islamic parties. Though some Deobandi historians insisted that the JUH did not participate in anti-colonial rebellion (Metcalf, 2002, p.7). Some *ulama* distanced themselves from politics, but majority of them actively participated in anti-colonial struggle against the British.

The Jamiat has been able to base its theological notion on Islamic political theory. The party connected between religious life with the social and political matters. Especially the JUH became powerful in Indian politics regards in representation of Muslims needs and interests significantly, the party extended the

borders of the India and urged Muslims to support the Muslim *khilafah* in Turkey (Riaz, 1998, p.59).

The *khilafah* movement was a pan-Islamic political protest campaign launched by Muslims in British India against British Empire. The Movement sparked after capture of Baghdad by Britishers. And the Ottoman Emperor Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909) launched his pan-Islamic program in a bid to protect the Ottoman Empire from Western attack (Schimmel, 2011, p.219). In the same year, the JUH was founded recently, though frictions between Muslims and Hindus, the JUH allied with Gandhi to support the nationalist movement, while Gandhi in turn promised his help for a Muslim movement for the maintenance and strengthening of the *khilafah* (Schimmel, 2011,p.219).

When Atatürk wanted to abolish the *khilafah*, Indian Muslims sought British support to foil Atatürk's decision. But the British Empire rejected their call. The Jamiat held a conference for restoration of the *Ottoman khilafah* (Jackson, 2011, p.26). Already the *khilafah* movement lost its strength, so the Jamiat called a convention in December 1921, for the election of an *ameer al-hind*, who was supposed to be the deputy of the *khalifah*. They were aiming to save identity of the Muslims in the subcontinent which embodies large Muslim community (Schimmel, 2011,p.220).

In the partition period of the subcontinent one section of the JUH supported the ML. One section of the opinion that Muslims deserve separate homeland to live their religion. Ulama of the party organized a campaign to support the ML and the demand for a separate Muslim state (Metcalf, 2002, p.12).

After the partition, the Jamiat found itself with a Pakistani wing, the JUH (Robinson, 1988, p.6). Since its formation the party had gone to some reformation and changes within it. The Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Islam split into two wings; the JUH - Fazlur Rahman and the Markazi-JUH. The JUH-Fazlur Rahman led by Fazlur Rahman and based its organizational structure heavily on a *madrasa* network. The party had joined election in Pakistan and scored successes in election. The other wing of the party (Markazi Jamit-ul-Ulama-i-Islam) which was here of Mawlana Shabir Ahmad Usmani campaigned for an Islamic constitution and sought to enforce political based on *Sunnah* in an independent Pakistan. The JUH played decisive role

in the Objective Resolution in 1949, which was intended to provide Pakistan Islamic constitution (International Crisis Group, 2011, p.10-11).

Mawdudi has associated with the JUH as a journalist from 1921- to 1928 namely the *Muslim* and *Al-Jami'at*. He was the editor of the *Muslim* which was prescribed by the government in 1923. The next year Mawdudi was assigned the editorship of the *Al-Jami'at*. The *Al-Jami'at* was of course pro-*khilafah* during his editorship, Mawdudi produced a serial of articles that subsequently appeared in the form of the book *Al-Jihad fi'l-Islam* which brought him into prominence in religious circles. Also *Al-Jamiat* years helped him to complete his education (Riaz, 1998, p.59).

By 1928 the intellectual stature of Mawdudi had become remarkable. But his disagreement with the nationalist *Ulema* and *leaders* also began to grow which resulted in the culmination of his association with the *Al-Jami'at* and the JUH. Mawdudi was influenced by the JUH at the beginning of his political career, but later Mawdudi left the *Jami'at* because of some notions of the *Jami'at* were not acceptable by Mawdudi. Important one of them was that Muslims and non-Muslims have entered upon a mutual contract in India since independence, to establish a secular state and India after independence should be a secular state (Riaz, 1998, p.59). Mawdudi had directed attacks against the head of the Jamiat-Ul-Ulama-i-Hind Mawlana Husain Ahmad Madani (1879-1957) who was the most ardent supporter of Congress party among Indian *ulama*. The INC party used him as an instrumental in founding a base of support for the Congress among Muslims. According to Mawdudi the party had dangerous interpretation of Islam as 'Composite Nationalism and Islam' which built by Madani (Nasr, 1993, p. 86). Mawdudi considered the JUH un-Islamic party which seeks secular government run on man-made (Khan, 2013, p.3).

After the partition, campaigns against the JI, the party of Mawdudi, spread throughout Pakistan. They were Mawdudi's old rivals, Bareilvi *ulama* in both India and Pakistan. "The Ulama considered ideas of Mawdudi as religiously suspect. The JUH directed attacks at the JI to damage its popular prestige. Actually the government agitated the both parties to create trouble between the *Jama'at* and Deobandi *ulama* in Pakistan. Though the JUH did not trust the JI in religious matters, since 1947 the Jamiat was willing to cooperate with the JI in politics. At the same time Mawdudi tried to bring them into political arena. In the 1970 elections, both of the parties

joined the elections, the share of the JUH was 3.98 percent, the Jama'at-i Islami won only four seats.” (Nasr, 1993, p.131).

Mawdudi was influenced by the JUH, especially by the leaders of the party during the *khilafah* movement. Mawdudi worked for their newspaper *Al-Jamiat*. But there were dangerous ideas supported by the party. The JUH backed ‘Composite Nationalism and Islam’ idea and supported the INC to built secular government. Any way Mawdudi was not a severe critic of the JUH, on the contrast he tried to forge politics of the JUH.

CONCLUSION

In comparison with his contemporaries Mawdudi was self-taught, erudite person, well-versed in Islamic theology and social sciences. He perceived the impact of the colonialism on the Muslim mind, he tried his best to provide alternative interpretation of Islam which is parallel to Western ideas. He realized that Muslim land was not only physically colonized, but Muslim mind was also colonized. He started his anti-colonial struggle on intellectual front to make Muslim mind free. He not only presented Islam as a viable religion but also he advocated it as a complete system of life.

In my thesis, I argued that Mawdudi has started his Islamic revolutionary programme with an unique explanation and interpretation. He tried to revive Islamic ordinances and materialize them as a complete system of life. Especially I emphasized on Mawdudi's approach to state, nationalism, democracy and human rights. Mawdudi is still perceived one of the significant figures of Islamic movement who challenged the Western ideas and thoughts in Muslim land. He criticized those Muslim who saw West as a model of achievements and successes, and they deliberately ignored Islamic ethos and values in their day today life.

It became necessary to understand Mawdudi through his elaborated terms (coining) which inspired by the Qur'an and *Sunnah*. Actually Mawdudi's all ideological dimensions and thoughts are hidden in those terms and classifications. From this point, the study can be seen as a contribution to understanding Mawdudi's revivalist ideas. His reinterpretation of the terms, though have been seen in classic work, in the modern manner filled the great vacuum in the mind of modern Muslims and led them to choose true way of life. During his reinterpretation of these terms Mawdudi based them on the Islamic revolutionary programme and claimed to be based on a true understanding of what Islam demands from Muslim society.

In addition large number of Islamists followed his path and welcomed his revolutionary programme. Surely Mawdudi's all these revivalist ideas were to bring *Shari'ah*, which would essentially resolve all problems in every aspect of life; economy, education, governmental administrations and so on. This *Shari'ah* will

change system completely, not from hand to hand. Indeed, the *Shari'ah* will offer an uncomplicated reformist touchstone for most affairs in the new governmental system.

One goal of this work is to demonstrate that the practical movements of Mawdudi should not be segregated from his movement in thoughts, as he went far in his practical movements and established his political party; the JI, to implement his ideas. In the beginning, this party was formulated as a holy community, but in time the party adapted itself to support Muslim society in general and parliament elections. Establishing political party is one of the key events in Mawdudi's life. This study sheds light on the party structure and methods. The JI has created a powerful and distinct edifice in Mawdudi's political career, especially has been seen in the governmental relations. In this meaning the JI led other Jama'ats in approval and disapproval demonstrations.

One more can be said that Mawdudi with his revivalist movement has added a new chapter to the ongoing development of the Islamic movements. I think that he opened a new chapter in the Islamic political thought with his revivalist reinterpretation of Islam. But there is a reality that I want to touch on: Mawdudi and his JI failed to complete its revolutionary programme in the governmental level and we see it clearly in the elections, in the practical angle Mawdudi faced obstacles to implement his political thoughts toward Islamic movements.

APPENDIX

- “1. Ultimate Sovereignty over all Nature and all Law vests in Allah, the Lord of the universe alone.
2. The law of the land shall be based on the Qur’an and the *Sunnah*, and no law shall be enacted nor any administrative order issued, in contravention of the Qur’an and the *Sunnah*.
3. The State shall be based not on geographical, racial, linguistic or any other materialistic concepts, but on the principles and ideals of Islamic ideology.
4. It shall be incumbent upon the State to uphold and establish the Right (*Ma’ruf*) and to suppress and eradicate the wrong (*Munkar*) as presented in the Qur’an and the *Sunnah*, to take all necessary measures for the revival and advancement of the cultural pattern of Islam, and to make provision for Islamic education in accordance with the requirements of the various recognised schools of Islamic thought.
5. It shall be incumbent upon the State to strengthen the bonds of unity and brotherhood among the Muslims of the world and to inhibit the growth of all prejudicial tendencies based on distinctions of race or language or territory or any other materialistic consideration and to preserve and strengthen the unity of the *Millat al-Islamiah*.
6. It shall be the responsibility of the government to guarantee the basic necessities of life, *i.e.*, food, clothing, housing, medical relief and education to all citizens without distinction of race or religion, who might temporarily or permanently be incapable of earning their livelihood due to un-employment, sickness, or other reason.

CITIZENS’ RIGHTS

7. The citizens shall be entitled to all the rights conferred upon them by the Islamic Law *i.e.*, they shall be assured within the limits of the law, of full security of life, property and honour, freedom of religion and belief, freedom of worship, freedom of person, freedom of expression, freedom of movement, freedom of association, freedom of occupation, equality of opportunity and the right to benefit from public services.

8. No citizen shall, at any time, be deprived of these rights, except under the law and none shall be awarded any punishment of any charge without being given full opportunity of defence and without the decision of a court of law.

9. The recognized Muslim schools of thought shall have, within the limits of the law, complete religious freedom. They shall have the right to impart religious instruction to their adherents and the freedom to propagate their views. Matters coming under the purview of Personal Law shall be administered in accordance with their respective codes of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and it will be desirable to make provision for the administration of such matters by judges (*Qadis*) belonging to their respective schools of thought.

10. The non-Muslim citizens of the State shall have, within the limits of the law, complete freedom of religion and worship, mode of life culture and religious education. They shall be entitled to have all their matters concerning Personal Law administered in accordance with their own religious code, usages and customs.

11. All obligations assumed by the State, within the limits of the *Shari'ah*, towards the non-Muslim citizens shall be fully honoured. They shall be entitled equally with the Muslim citizens to the rights of citizenship as enunciated in paragraph 7 above.

12. The Head of the State always be a male Muslim in whose piety, learning and soundness of judgment the people or their elected representatives have confidence.

13. The responsibility for the administration of the State shall primarily vest in the Head of the State although he may delegate any part of his powers to any individual or body.

GOVERNANCE OF THE STATE

14. The Head of the State shall function not in an autocratic but in a consultative (*Shura'i*) manner, *i.e.*, he will discharge his duties in consultation with persons holding responsible positions in the Government and with the elected representatives of the people.

15. The Head of the State shall have no right to suspend the Constitution wholly or partly or to run the administration without a *Shura*.

16. The body empowered to elect the Head of the State shall also have the power to remove him by a majority of votes.

17. In respect of civic rights, the Head of the State shall be on the level of equality with other Muslims and shall not be above the law.

18. All citizens, whether members of the Government, officials or private persons, shall be subject to the same laws and the jurisdiction of the same courts.

19. The Judiciary shall be separate from and independent of the Executive, so that it may not be influenced by the Executive in the discharge of its duties.

20. The propagation and publicity of such views and ideologies as are calculated to undermine the basic principles and ideals on which the Islamic State rests, shall be prohibited.

21. The various zones or regions of the country shall be considered administrative unites of a single State. They shall not be racial, linguistic or tribal units but only administrative areas which may be given such powers under the supremacy of the Centre as may be necessary for administrative convenience. They shall not have the right to secede.

22. No interpretation of the Constitution which is in conflict with the provisions of the Qur'an or the *Sunnah* shall be valid." (Mawdudi, 1980, p.332-335).

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