Chapter-3

Formation of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind

3.1-Khilafat and the Indian Muslims:

During the first world war, Indian Muslims had expressed their concern about the post war settlement and the policy that would be followed by the alliance with special reference to Turkey and the Khilafat. The British prime minister Lloyd George, by his various public utterances had assured the world that the alliance had no intention to dismember Turkey and that after the war all Turkish possession would be made over to her. Muslim India was following with expectant eyes the march of events. The peace, however, brought tutelage and not freedom to the holy cities of Islam. Signs were manifest that the alliance would not do justice to the vanquished. Nothing short of complete disintegration of Turkey was being aimed at this would have meant that passing of, all Holy places into non-Muslims hands and the reduction of Turkey to a subordinate state. Muslim India was naturally enraged and demanded that the pledges given to them during the war must be honored. all sections of thought and shades of opinion united to form a national front on this issue.

For the Muslim of subcontinent, the institution of Khilafat and the personality of Khalifa had always been pious and important. They regarded him as the fountain of all temporal and spiritual powers. It is why all the Muslims kings of India, except the Mughals had been loyal to the Khalifa and always sought for his grace.
Soon after the post war settlement, the Muslim divines of India entered into practical politics nationwide scale with definite aims and objectives, and the Ulama of Deoband founded Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind in 1919. The jamiat became the spokesman of the feelings of the common Muslims on the question of Khilafat and the Holy places.

Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind, though formally launched in 1919 A.D., was inheritor of a rich legacy dating back to early 18th century when Shah Waliullah of Delhi led a revolution to change the whole system by drawing attention of people to the depredations of European imperialism, degeneration and corruption among oriental rulers.

During 1808 to 1915 the Ulama (Islamic Scholars) of hid legacy fought organized battles against the mighty British for the freedom of the country. The edict issued by Shah Abdul Aziz Dehlawi “Our country has been enslaved. To struggle for independence and to put an end to slavery is our duty.” Provided the impetus for raising up arms against imperialist forces by prominent Ulama like Haji Imdadullah Mohajir Makki and his close disciples Maulana Qasim Nanotavi, Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi and Hafiz zamin Shaheed.

After the defeat of 1857 A.D. revolt Ulama were the main target of the British oppression. Maulvi and rebel had become synonymous in their eyes. Of the lakhs of

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people martyred during the revolt, approximately 50,000 were Ulama. Edward Timus himself admitted that in Delhi alone 500 Ulamas were hanged.

The Ulama started their struggle with armed resistance, but repeated failure in such attempts motivated them to revise their approach and adopt a new strategy. Particularly the failure of Silk Letter conspiracy in 1916 A.D. and arrest of many Ulama, prominent amongst them, Shaikh-ul-Hind Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan and his disciple Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, along with Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and others forced them to restructure their strategy for resistance opting for non-violent struggle for freedom with the support and cooperation of their fellow countrymen.

3.2- Establishment of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind:

The Jamiat Ulama-I-Hind had been setup in the backdrop of Jallianwala Bagh massacre to put Muslims on the path of political struggle in cooperation with non-Muslims. It was founded in 1919 A.D. by Abdul Mohasim Sajjad, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, Ahmed Sayeed Delhvi and Abdul Bari Firangi Mahli. Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan a leading Islamic scholar of the time was the guiding force behind the initiative.

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In November 1919, the revolutionary Ulama, on the occasion of the Khilafat conference held at Delhi\(^4\), resolved to constitute a new organization for carrying on non-violent freedom struggle in cooperation with fellow countrymen. The organization was designated as ‘Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind’. Mufti-e-Azam, Maulana Kifayatullah was elected as the first President\(^5\). The establishment of the organization was a decisive turning point in their revolutionary movement. They gave up armed struggle and chose non-violent struggle and adopted non-co-operation. That strategy eventually led to freedom of the country.

**3.3-Aims and objectives of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind:**

The main aims of Jamiat are as follows:

1- Unity and affection with non-Muslim Indian fellows.

2- Growth of religious rights and responsibility of proper guidance of Muslims

3- To protect civil, cultural, religious and educational rights of Muslim community.

4- To establish such an organization which will help in the development and consolidation of the cultural and social life of Muslims\(^6\).

With the above aims and objectives Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind has started its journey by taking share in affairs of Muslim community and in the interest of the country.

\(^4\) Ibid.


\(^6\) Al Jamiat weekly (Special issue, Jamiat Ulama Number).(p.42). New Delhi: Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind.
The establishment of a separate political-cum religious party of the Ulama, known as Jamiat Ulama-I-Hind had rendered glorious service to the country for its independence, had synchronized with the same Khilafat movement. The majority of its members consisted of the Ulama of Deoband only. Accordingly, the history of Jamiat Ulama-I-Hind is as it were, a part of the political history of the Dar-ul- uloom Deoband itself.

The political history of Dar-ul- uloom Deoband should be reckoned to have begun nine or ten years prior to establishment of Dar-ul- uloom in 1857 A.D., with the determination to free India from English yoke, the Ulama of Dar-ul- uloom Deoband, particularly the Haji Imdadullah and his favorite disciples, Maulana Mohammed Maulana Qasim Nanotavi and Maulana Rasheed Ahmed Gangohi and some other respectable men, participated in the event which makes the first ever page of the history of the Dar-ul- uloom Deoband.

The Ulama of Deoband with resoluteness and trust in all mighty have always been not only in the foremost rank of those who had struggled in the movement for the independence of India but they have also frequently been in the lead of this movement for independence; and if it is seen more thoughtfully and justly, they were the first persons, the pioneers who initiated this idea. The warmth, vigor and catholicity which was created in this movement in fact is indebted to them. Most of these gentlemen raised the banner of revolt against the English government, fought face to face with the English army and many of them passed a good part of their lives in jail.
In 1913 Nanotvi’s well guided pupil, Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan prepared a scheme of stirring a revolution against the British Government which has been called “Silken letters Conspiracy” in the report Rowlett Committee⁷.

But by chance this scheme of Silken letters, miscarried and the Shaikhul Hind, along with his accompanies, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, Maulana Ozair Gul and others were arrested and kept under detention in the Island of Malta in the Mediterranean sea for a number of years.⁸

In 1920 A.D. after his release from Malta, Shaikhul Hind joined the Jamiat Ulama-I-Hind with his disciples had founded in 1919 A.D. to give a fillip to the independence movement. The Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind shoulder to shoulder with Indian National Congress, spent its force in awakening the country politically and socially.⁹

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, Maulana Mufti Kifayat ullah Dehlvi, Maulana Syed Mohammed Miyan and many other Ulama of Deoband not only remained in the forefront of the movement for the freedom of the country but they have also been the cause of coming into being of several other movements and have consequently suffered the hardships of imprisonment and jail¹⁰.

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⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.(p 391)

¹⁰ Ibid.
3.4-Jamiat and Nationalist Movement:

Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind was setup by the Islamic scholars who had been most disturbed by the British governments efforts to consolidate their hold over India by penetrating the minds of Indians through introduction of their language and culture. When the draconian laws like Rowlett act, oppressive measures like the un human massacre of innocents in Jallianwala Bagh followed by imposition of material law coupled with the betrayal of promises regarding Khilafat and other symbols of Islam created an atmosphere in which different religious communities forgot their difference and join hands against the British un justice. The Ulama setup an organization that should persuade Indian Muslims to join hands with other religious communities to throw the British out\(^{11}\).

It was a new on the part of Muslims religious leaders who had after 1857 withdrawn from political field while the modernist Muslims , influenced by Sir Sayyed had opted to carry favor with British rulers . It had the distinction of demanding complete independence before Congress could persuade itself to adopt that as its goal .yet, it preferred to cooperate with Congress rather than with a separate Muslim political organization like Muslim League.

The first conference of the Jamiat was held at Amritsar\(^{12}\) on Dec.28, 1919 A.D. under the president ship of Maulana Abdul Bari Firangi Mahali. The conference


\(^{12}\) Ibid.
expressed anxiety and prelist over the non-release of Shaikhul Hind and Maulana Azad\(^\text{13}\).

In a special conference of the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind held in Calcutta under the president ship of Maulana Taj Mahmood Sindhi. Maulana Azad moved the resolution on non-cooperation.\(^\text{14}\)

Maulana Mahmood-ul- Hassan presided over the second jamiat conference. In his presidential address, he exhorted people to join the freedom and call upon the forces of freedom to come together on the Congress platform. In the same conference, Jamiat passed the noncooperation resolution and declared that any kind of cooperation or association with the British government is Haraam. The government declared this fatwa for noncooperation illegal on August 08, 1921 A.D. but the Jamiat continued to illegally publish it.

When Maulana Mahmood-ul- Hassan, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani and other companions arrived from Malta to Mumbai in 1920 A.D. , they realized the need for Hindu Muslim joint platform and joint leadership for spearheading the freedom movement. They were also convinced that India could never attain independence without forging a joint alliance of Hindu and Muslims. Therefore, they persuaded the Indian National Congress to spearhead the freedom movement under the leadership of Gandhiji.\(^\text{15}\)

\(^{13}\) Madani Asjad, Role of Jamiat ulama Hind in Freedom struggle.(pp.08-11). New Delhi: Jamiat ulama Hind.

\(^{14}\) Ibid.

Maulana Abdul Bari Firangi Mahali in the very presence of Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan issued a declaration that, from that day onwards Gandhiji will be called Mahatma Gandhi. After that, freedom movement gained further momentum.\textsuperscript{16}

Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan supported Gandhi, Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali. He advocated non-violence of Gandhi and supported it by signing a religious edict-\textit{i.e.}, fatwa, which has popularly known as fatwa on non-cooperation issued on July 15, 1920. This fatwa strengthen the confidence of the Muslims and it was signed by five hundred Ulama. It dealt with the following:

1 Denouncing all degrees, awards and all appreciating accorded by the British government. People should boycott regional law boards and abstain from voting\textsuperscript{17}.

2- To boycott all British goods and ensure that all benefit does not go to the British traders and businesspersons.\textsuperscript{18}

3- To boycott all schools and colleges run and controlled by the Britishers and refuse their aid and grants.\textsuperscript{19}

4- To boycott recruitment drive in British army and not to extend any sort of help to them.\textsuperscript{20}

5- To boycott all the British courts\textsuperscript{21}.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} Falahi Ubaiddullah Fahad. (1996).\textit{Tahreek- Dawat wo Jihad}. (p.174).Delhi: Hindustan publications.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
The fatwa sparked anger and hatred against through British government. Appeals were made to the parents not to send their wards to the government schools and colleges. Maulana had given instructions to the students of Madarsa-tul-Uloom of Aligarh regarding the non-cooperation. He asked them to follow these instructions strictly. Maulana urged people including students, teachers, and parents to make every effort for the success of non-cooperation movement. This fatwa proved a death knell to the British government. Another important aspect of this fatwa was its appeal to adopt non-violent methods.

According to Dr. Rafiq Zakaria:

“Muslims joined hands with Hindus and under the combined leadership of Gandhi and the Ali Brothers, a massive spectacle of Hindu Muslim unity was witnessed throughout the length and breadth of the country a spectacle which was unparalleled in the history of India” 22.”

Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan presided over the second conference of Jamiat Ulama-I-Hind at Delhi gave expression to his political conviction on the politics of India. He called upon the religious leaders of the Muslims to continue their fight for restoration of Muslim authority over their holy land and for the liberation of India from the imperialist yoke. He advised them to strengthen and maintain the ties of unity and social cohesion between the communities in these words.

“You should know if the contrary condition (disunity) prevailed they will make the freedom of India unattainable for all time. The iron claws of the bureaucratic

21 Ibid.  
government will grab. Closer every day and whatever dim imprints of Islamic influence have remained will be wiped off. The page of existence, like a letter, which is crossed out, therefore if the two communities of India and including the material race of Sikhs—all the three, will in friendship and peace, then I could not understand how a fourth community however strong it may be, can defeat the common ideas of the Indians by its violence and despotic rule.”

Five hundred scholars (Ulama) assembled at the conference signed the decree calling upon the Muslims to non cooperate with the government and withdraw from all civil and military services.

Under his leadership, the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind worked in collaboration with the Congress. In the non-cooperation movement of 1920-21, the Muslim participation was much more than that of the Hindus; statistics proved that more Muslims courted arrest than Hindus and suffered imprisonment in jail; also, their confiscation of property was so much more than that of the Hindus. While as many left government service and boycotted schools and colleges as the Hindus.

Dr. Ambekar said:

“The effect of its taking up the Khilafat caused upon the dimensions of the Congress was tremendous. The Congress was really made great and powerful not by the Hindus but by the Muslims.”

23 Tara Chand, op. cit. vol. III. (pp. 256-257).

24 Zakaria Rafiq, op. cit. (p. 67)

25 Quoted in Dr. I.H. Qureshi, “The Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.” (p. 286)
Maulana Mahmood-ul- Hassan during his presidential speech at Jamiat conference threw light on all burning issues. He underlined the need of Hindus Muslims unity. He said that Hindus had given full support to the Khilafat movement. They fought against the Britishers. Meetings, processions, special sessions were held for the success of the movement.

Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan by reminding these facts in his speech also emphasized on the principle of nonviolence. He said that in any struggle or movement the Indian brethren should come together irrespective of caste, creed and religion. The Hindus and the Muslims being the major communities of the country must come together. They must always maintain unity, integrity, love and affection. Maulana further said that, the success of freedom movement depends largely on unit Hindus and Muslims.

Maulana Mahmood-ul- Hassan died on 20th Nov.1920 A.D. , just one week after the second conference of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind and he was laid to rest in the graveyard of Deoband. His mantle fell upon the worthy shoulders of his favorite pupil Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani who had been his companion in Malta, and who shared his ideas on Islamic revival and Indian independence.

In the third conference of Jamiat (Nov.18-20, 1921) under the president ship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad a resolution to boycott foreign goods was passed.26

The fourth conference of Jamiat (Dec.1922 A.D. ) held under the president ship of Maulana Habib -ur-Rahman Usmani adopted a resolution to boycott the assemblies27.

26 Madani Asjad, op. cit. (p. 10)
In the fifth conference at Cocanada (Dec.31st 1923- Jan 2nd.1924) Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, in his presidential address raised the demand for complete independence. His presidential address at the Cocanada conference typical of his approach. It started with recounting the events showing the hostile attitude of the British. Then follows the exhortation for non-cooperation with British and cause them as much damage as possible. Here are the some excerpts:

The British have the broken all the promises made in the context of India as well as the holy places of Islam. It is therefore a religious as well as political obligation of the Muslims to oppose them. In support of this contention, he gives following arguments.

1. The British have used India’s military resources to oppress and dishonor the Muslims everywhere and hence India’s freedom is the key to getting rid of that sinister policy.

2. The voice of Indian Muslims in protest of hostile actions against Muslims holy places and Khilafat can be effective only if India is free. The reason is that India is a country with which all countries would like to have close relations. Therefore, its voice is bound to be effective but only if it is free.

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28 Ibid.


30 Ibid.
3. The evil British policy uses Indian army to loot and plunder Muslims nations. If a soldier performs this duty as legitimate action he would, in terms of Islamic jurisprudence, be considered an infidel\(^{31}\).

Therefore, our primary, important and inevitable duty is to oppose this sinister policy with all the power and determination. He concludes by exhorting the Muslims to not only work shoulder to shoulder with others for attainment of Swaraj but also be ahead of others in the struggle. In pursuing this course, he, off course, has a word of caution: while joining them in action care should be taken not to neglect religious faith and its obligations. The communal unity is no transitory affair, as some people believe. Says the Maulana:

As this unity is based on the benefit and gain to India and Indians as also for the defense of their political and religious rights, it cannot be confined to a limited period. It is necessary as long as India and Indians are alive on this earth and as long as their religious and national rights are relevant.\(^{32}\)

After the fifth session of Jamiat on 26\(^{th}\) sept.1924\(^{33}\) unity conference was held in the president ship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malvya. Jamiat had fully participated in this Conference with its main leaders, like Mufti Kifayatullah, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, Subhan-Ulama-hind Ahmad Sayeed Dehlvi, Imam-Ulama-Hind, Maulana Abul kalam Azad.

\(^{31}\) Ibid.
\(^{32}\) Ibid.
\(^{33}\) Aljamiat weekly, op. cit. (p. 61)
The sixth conference of Jamiat was held under the presidency of Maulana Syed Mohammad Sajjad, on 11\textsuperscript{th} to 16\textsuperscript{th} Jan.1925 A.D. \textsuperscript{34} at Moradabad. In this session, the stress was given on the unity of the scattered organizations of Muslims.

The seventh conference of Jamiat held under the presidency of Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, at Calcutta (March 14, 1926 A.D. )\textsuperscript{35}, the Jamiat adopted a resolution demanding complete independence.

And the following points were discussed in the session.

The Muslims in general and specifically Ulama should take interest in political affairs. They should understand the importance of freedom of the country. And should read the national newspapers, magazines, which throw light on the national issues of the country. And try to remove the poverty of Muslims.\textsuperscript{36}

\textbf{3.5-Jamiat and Simon Commission:}

In 1927, the Jamiat was the first to declare the boycott of the Simon Commission. A resolution to this effect was passed at the Pishawar conference held on Dec.05, 1927\textsuperscript{37} under the presidency of Maulana Anwar Shah Kashmiri. Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani made fervent speeches against the Britisher’s intention of sending the Simon commission and asked the people not to extend any cooperation to it. Interestingly, the Congress followed Jamiat in opposing the Simon commission. Thereafter, the Jamiat and the Congress jointly organized the strikes against the

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{35} Syed Tufail Ahmed, op.cit.(pp.513-514)
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{37} Aljamiat,op.cit.
commission when it actually arrived in 1928 A.D. in India. Finally, the commission went back without achieving its purpose, largely due to the combine efforts of the Jamiat and the Congress.

### 3.6-Jamiat and Nehru Report:

In 1927, the secretary of state for India Lord Birkenhead challenged the Indians to prepare a constitution acceptable to all political parties in India, the Congress took up the challenge, arranged for an all India conference at Delhi in 1928 A.D. consisting representative of all political parties and got appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru to frame a constitution. The committee submitted its report called the Nehru Report in August 1928 before the all India parties conference held at Lucknow. The Jamiat also participated in the all parties conference it criticized the Nehru Report. The Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind rejected it because the report suggested dominion status for India. Unfortunately, however, no party accepted the report.

At last, by the end of 1929 A.D., the Congress changed its stand. At its Lahore session on Dec.25, 1929, the party adopted a resolution demanding total independence.

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39 Aljamiat,op.cit.(p.61)

Later in Dec. 1929 when the Congress moved on adopting complete independence as its goal, Jamiat felt that it made incumbent upon every Muslim fully cooperate with it. After a month, on Jan. 26, 1930 A.D., it celebrated the Independence Day. Meetings were held, processions were taken out, flags were unfurled and oaths were taken to make any sacrifice that the total independence demanded. The Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind was the party representing those Ulama who sacrificed their lives and wealth in pressing the demand that the British quit India. The Jamiat at its Calcutta session had already passed the resolution demanding total independence.

3.7-Amroha Session of Jamiat:

Jamiat organized a general body meeting at Amroha (May 3-6, 1930 A.D.) and decided that when the Indian National Congress dumped the Nehru Report and made total independence its goal, there was no reason for Muslims to stay away from the Congress. The Amroha session held under the chairmanship of Maulana Moinduddin Ajmeri, passed a resolution asserting that it is the duty of Muslims to join hands with the Congress while fully conforming to the commandments of Shariat.

And with full determination and perseverance, they should coordinate with the Congress and start marching on the nonviolent path towards independence. A resolution supporting the Congress was passed largely due to the efforts of Madani. Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani asked Maulana Hifzur Rahman to present the resolution at the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind session. And lest any other leader take the lead, he himself seconded it. He shed light on the resolution from all angles,

41 Syed Tufail Ahmed, op.cit.(pp.514-515)
42 Ibid.
including religious and termed struggle for independence as a religious obligation. However not all members of the Jamiat were happy with the decision of Madani.

Some Ulama were of the opinion that instead of extending blind support to the Congress it would be advisable to get the Congress round to accept the demands of Jamiat about rights of minority first. This was termed as first agreement and then cooperation. Interestingly, Ali brothers played a prominent role in forwarding this demand. It would be advisable to get rights of minority first. This was termed as compromise first movement later. This led to differences between the Congress and Jamiat. Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani did not want Jamiat to drift away from the Congress. Madani was a supporter of the Congress party largely because he felt it was the only nationalist party that could accommodate both the Hindus and Muslims with ease.

3.8-Jamiat and Civil disobedience Movement:

Civil disobedience of the laws of the unjust and tyrannical government is a strong and extreme form of political agitation according to Mahatma Gandhi. The Congress working committee has authorized Mahatma Gandhi to launch a program of Civil disobedience with the ultimate object of attaining complete independence for India. Gandhiji’s decision to start the Civil disobedience movement infused a new lease of life in the national movement, which was at a low ebb right from the time of suspension of the non-cooperation movement. The Congress started the agitation with the Dandi march. Gandhi took up the issue of opposing the, Salt act and started his symbolic Dandy March, on March 12, 1930 A.D. from Sabarmati.

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Gujarat. Hindus Muslims patriot run together shoulder to shoulder and began to
march with Gandhiji that made the Dandi march a historic event in India’s
independence movement. The moment won wide spread participation including
involvement for the first time of large numbers of women.

Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind under the guidance of Madani whole-heartedly took part in
this agitation. Madani was the sixth of the dictator from Jamiat who were arrested
immediately after the names were declared. Mr. Fazal-ur-Rahman Sahervi and Mufti
Ateeq-ur-Rahman usmani participated in Salt agitation. Maulana Abudl Kalam
Azad, Maulana Hafeezur Rahman , Maulana Syed Mohammed Mian, Mufti
Kifayatullah and the general secretary Maulana Ahmed Sayeed Dehelvi of the
Jamiat were arrested by the British government.

It may be mentioned here that, apart from logistical support to the salt agitation,
Jamiat also played a vital role in creating mass awareness through its newspaper Al-
Jamiat. Jamiat’s active role in the agitation brought it openly against the
government. In addition to the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind, two other major Muslims
organizations allied themselves with the Congress as active participants in the
movement. One was the ‘Majlis-E-Ahrar, closely tied to the Deobandis and
especially significant in the Punjab.

Formed in 1929, the Ahrar not only stressed in Indian freedom but also need to
address the interest of the poor. The second pro Congress party was the

44 Ibid.(p.187)
45 Asiravardi,op.cit.(p.226)
46 Farhat Tabbasum,op.cit.(p.148)
publication Oxford.
extraordinary ‘Khudai Khidmatgaar’ among the Pathans of frontier. Its main leader was Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. He embraced the Congress political agenda and specifically the program of Gandhian non-cooperation.\textsuperscript{48}

At the Round table conference held in 1930, a few basic principles were agreed upon. However, without the Congress participation their implementation would have been a mere dream. Therefore, the viceroy of India, Lord Irwin, tilted towards the Congress.\textsuperscript{48} The Gandhi-Irwin pact was the result of that. The second round table conference was held in Dec. 1931.\textsuperscript{48} With its failure the independence movement once again got a fillip. The year was not yet over and the tension had not decreased when in December 1932, the third Round Table conference was held. A white paper for all three conferences held was later published. It depicts a dim outline of the future government for the country. There was a promise for devolution of more powers, and to implement that promise a parliamentary committee was formed. The committee prepared a legal draft, which was later endorsed by the British parliament and became the India act of 1935 A.D.

\textbf{3.9-Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind and Muslim League:}

In 1936 A.D.,\textsuperscript{49} arouse the question of contesting elections under the government of India act of 1935\textsuperscript{49}. The act provided for separate electorate for Muslims and federal setup in which the powers of the centre were restricted to defense, communication, railways, postage and shipping.\textsuperscript{49} There was not much differences in political parties but the veto power of viceroy at the centre and of the governors at the provisional level repugnant to Congress which was committed to complete independence. It

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid.(p.103)

\textsuperscript{49} Asiravardi,op.cit.(p.231)
was therefore reluctant to participate in the elections but it decided for participation with the reservation that it would utilize the opportunity of debate in the legislatures to expose the inequities of the government.

The nationalist Muslims were apprehensive that they would not get elected easily under the separate electorate system and were therefore reluctant to contest under the banner of Congress. They had earlier achieved success through the platform of unity Board, a board front of different Muslims organizations. The unity board suffered from a serious handicapped in that it was not an all India organization, its constituent being regional or sectional outfits. Muslim League had an India-wide organization but had lost popular support because of its negative role during the Khilafat and non-cooperation movements. It had been badly defeated in the previous elections.

While the discussions were on regarding ways of ensuring effective Muslims presence in the legislature the Jamiat held its conference in Delhi at the end of March. Simultaneously unity board was also meeting to decide its strategy about election. Mr. Abdul Mateen, secretary of Jinnah came to the meeting and put forward the proposal that Muslim candidates may be put up under the banner of Muslims League. There was no support initially for the proposal. It began to be taken seriously, however when Mr. Mateen gave the impression that Mr. Jinnah was fed up with the pro-British reactionary elements that dominated the League and wanted to get rid of them and work with liberal section of the community. At its convention held in March 1936 A.D. the Delhi branch of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind

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50 Ibid.(p.232)  
51 Ibid.(p.232)  
52 Ibid.
invited Mohammed Ali Jinnah to attend the convention in the large interest of the Muslims. In the meeting, Mr. Jinnah was confronted with the questions that the league parliamentary board being dominated by those who he himself declared reactionary how will other Muslims leaders find scope for cooperation. At this Mr. Jinnah suggested that he should be given full authority to re constitute the board. The board consisted of as many as 56 members in which there were twenty nominees from Jamiat. The proposal was agreed and Mr. Jinnah, according to his promise, included adequate number of liberal Muslims in the board. That created a very congenial atmosphere in which liberal Muslims, especially Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind, threw themselves whole-heartedly to see that Muslims league succeeded in the elections.

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani addressed several election meetings across the country. He introduced the Muslim league in those areas where it was a non-entity. He made appeals to the public at large to repose trust in the Muslim League and send its candidate to the parliament. Maulana made fervent appeals to his followers, students and members of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind to support the Muslim League. Consequently, the candidate of Muslim league parliamentary board achieved a big success.

However after the election Mr. Jinnah forgot all the promises, he had made steered the league back to its old ways. Mr. Jinnah severed his ties with Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind possibly because Jinnah was not happy with Jamiat’s relation with Congress.

53 Ibid.
54 Ibid.(p.234)
55 Farhat Tabassum, op.cit.(p.152)
The League had selfish motives while entering an alliance with the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind. The Muslim league exploited the goodwill of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind. Had it’s contested on its own; the league would not have managed to record such a big win. The League taking advantage of the pact, became all the more powerful and ultimately raised the demand for Pakistan. It did not consult any member of Jamiat on this issue.

(\textit{It is very sad that Muslim League had broken all its promises after getting success in the election. The league was recommending the people to join the party, whom they had decided to dismiss from the party before election. About such people, everybody knew very well that these people were always against the any national movement and they were in favor of British government. When they were asked that you had promised to dismiss such people from the party, but today you are talking about them to join the party. Then they replied, “Those were political promises.\textsuperscript{56”}})

Maulana Madani did not leave the matter at personal level and made the betrayal public through a pamphlet “Mr. Jinnah ka pur Asrar Muamma aur Uska Hal”(The mysterious riddle of Mr. Jinnah and its resolution).

\textbf{3.10-The Jaunpur Session of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind:}

The working committee of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind had passed a resolution about the war. And it had to be endorsed by the open session. That was organized at Joumpur

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
and Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani was elected to preside over it due to ill health of Mufti kifayatullah. Maulana Madani was made the president and the reins of leadership were handed over to him. The war was at its peak. The floods of German forces were taking empires into their sway. India was then governed under, “The defense of India Rule.” In this heated atmosphere, the general body meeting of the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind was organized on June 8-9, 1940. Excerpts from Maulana’s long and diver’s presidential address- the declaration of truth and a rare example of courage and clarity of thought-are presented here. After repeating in detail all the breaches of promises by the British from the beginning of the imperial authority over India till June 1940 A.D., he pointed out:

a- **The issue of giving help to Britain in the war situation:**

Maulana Madani said: the shortsighted and the foolish from the amongst our brothers say that at this critical time of war, the British government should not be troubled. This philosophy is wrong. This is the time when Britain should display love and concern for well being of its subjects. Britain has for long forgotten his duty. It has caused pain and humiliation to thirty-five cores souls living in this country. Because of that almighty is in rage and is bent upon avenging his poor and helpless creatures. Even as tyrannical people and rulers have been destroyed to render justice to the weak. These governments of England and France are subjected to his rage.

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57 Miyan Syed Mohammed, op.cit. (p.241)
58 Syed Tufail Ahmed, op.cit. (p.517)
59 Miyan Syed Mohammed, op.cit. (p.88)
b- The right way to help Britain:

Several shortsighted people say that the proper form of support to the British is to provide them men and money for war purposes and they should be helped to win it. In our opinion, according to divine law, such people are Britain’s worst enemies.

“Britain has usurped the freedom of the nations of this world; Britain enslaves free nations, pushes them into great troubles and keeps them there for ages; in comparison to the European nations, Britain considers all Asians and African inhuman and barbaric; without any remorse, Britain commits barbarism against hundreds of thousands of slaves of God; Britain snatches trades, handicrafts, science, wealth, government, honor, agriculture, industry etc. from other nations for its selfish end; though its sly and deceitful acts, by breaking promises, and by making false promises, Britain tortures nations after nations. If there can be any help for a country committing all these sinful acts, it is to stop it from committing these. Those helping them with men materials would be partners in committing and propagating such barbarism. They want to torture humanity. Such people will be inviting wrath of god and will be accountable before their Lord.60

c- Our struggle concerning India’s freedom:

The present situation obliges us to accelerate our freedom struggle and to relieve God’s creation in general and particularly the people of India of the yoke of oppressive British rule. Our slavery is a torture not only for us but also for several other nations of the world.

60 Ibid.(p.89)
d- Muslims owe greater responsibility for India’s freedom:

“Although the responsibility for India’s freedom rest on all residents, this duty rests on Muslims more due to certain reasons:

1- India is the homeland of Muslims since the time of Hazrat Adam.

2- Muslims are too benefited from this land even after death.

3- The British have snatched this country from Muslims hands.

4- Freedom of this country will save the neighboring countries like Afghanistan, Iran and Yaghistan; they will be saved from several dangers.

5- The British government has harmed Muslims more than any other community.

6- Without complete freedom, this object poverty, scarcity and high price cannot be removed.

7- Without freedom, there cannot be end to unemployment, and without its end, it would be impossible to attain both worldly as well as spiritual bliss.

Therefore, it is an absolute necessity for Muslims to become free from the bondage of this slavery. And for this, it is necessary for them to struggle hard, more than other residents of India.”61

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61 Ibid.(p.91)
e-Regarding Pakistan:

Maulana Madani said, these days, Pakistan is the subject of common discussion. If it means establishing Islamic Law in Muslims majority provinces, it is welcome but in the present circumstances, it is beyond the pail of possibility. And if the object is to establish a government under British tutelage and call it Islamic, then it is a cowardly and stupid idea. It only provides support to Britain’s ‘divide and rule policy’ which it is using everywhere.62 Turkey was divided, so was Arab world. In India, it is manifest in many forms. It will not be a surprise if the inspiration for it also has come from Oxford, Cambridge, Shimla or New Delhi; that is the view of some reliable people.

On the other hand, this is a great hurdle in the way of all embracing nature of Islam. It is a great ditch in the way of forming a united front in defense of this country. It is gunpowder for the communal clashes. It is fatal for India’s peace and progress and particularly for Muslim majority provinces. The benefits that are being attributed to the proposal are beyond logical understanding. In my opinion, the League leaders have thought of this gimmick to hoodwink in Muslims because after the resignation of the Congress ministers they were losing ground.

f-Composite Nationalism:

The Maulana took the opportunity to once again put before people his concept of Composite Nationalism, about which he had already published thoroughly argued pamphlet. And Ulama had accepted them without refutation from a single reputed one, followers of the Muslims league, whose aim was not to investigate and conduct research but to agitate and launch propaganda, where still objecting them.

62 Ibid.(p.92)
Therefore, in his presidential address Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani argued for Composite Nationalism felt it necessary to shed light on this issue as well. He said:

“We, the residents of India, being Indians have something in common that remains along with the religious and cultural differences. Our religious and cultural differences do not become a hurdle in our national partnership. From the point of view of nationality, we all are Indians. Therefore, to think of the benefit of the country and the concern for its protection from any harm is the equal responsibility of Muslims as of any other nation and religious entity. It is necessary to strive and adequately jointly to achieve it. Differences of religion cannot become any weakness or a hurdle. This is the meaning of Composite Nationalism here. 63

3.11-Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind and Second World War:

At the time of the second world war, the British once again sought the support of Indians, but this time most of the Congress leaders were conscious. They had a bitter experience with the British during the First World War. However, Gandhiji chose to be with the British in their fight against dictatorial Germany. Gandhiji clarified that he was not happy with the British, but he nonetheless supported them only because they were fighting against the enemies of democracy. Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind, however did not share the enthusiasm of Gandhi. It opposed any support to the British in the war. At the annual session of its conference held on 16th sept. 193964, Jamiat condemned the British policy of imperialism and declared complete independence at its goal.

63 Ibid.
64 Madani Asjad, op. cit. (p. 13)
In 1940, the British government banned Mohammad Mian’s book titled, “Ulama-e-Hind ka Shandar Maazi” and arrested the author. The book questioned the relevance of the British rule in India.

3.12-Jamiat conference of Bachar Ayun:

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani raised the issue of complete independence held at Bachar Ayun Uttar Pradesh, from 23rd to 25th April 1942. Consequently, he was arrested on 24 June 1942 and imprisoned for six months. He was released thereafter only to be rearrested.

3.13-Cripps Mission, Lahore Session of the Jamiat and its Formula:

The Cripps mission was an effort on the part of the British for settling the Indian political problem. The Cripps Mission stressed the need for holding fresh elections in the provincial legislature. The elected members from the lower houses of the new provincial legislatures along with representatives of the seats were to function as Electoral College. Which would then elect the constitution – making body. While the constitution drafting body would draft the constitution for the Indian union, it would allow right of secession from Indian union to any province, which so demanded. Such a province would have right to formulate its own constitution and such a constitution would have same status, powers and functions as the Union of India. One of the objectives of the British in granting the provinces right of not acceding to a union was to offer the solution to the communal problem.

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65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.(pp.13-14)
Sir Strafford Cripps formula, political parties to the proposal and the proposal prepared by various parties are not the subject matter here. Since Maulana Madani was, the president of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind. Madani rejected the proposal of Cripps Mission. In his address at the Lahore session of Jamiat held in March 20-22, 1942.\textsuperscript{67} A resolution regarding the Cripps Mission was presented. Excerpts from the resolution are given below.

“The Cripps Mission has arrived late and the time for the implementation of the proposal presented by it has passed too. No proposal other than total freedom is acceptable to us. We appeal all Muslims parties and all other organizations to work in partnership and take a united decision after a thorough discussion exchange of views.”\textsuperscript{68}

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani presented a formula, through which he put forth the demand for complete freedom.

**Madani Formula:**

The formula adopted by the Lahore Session of Jamiat was based on four\textsuperscript{69} principles:

1. Total freedom for the country.
2. Freedom for Muslims to pursue their own religion, culture and civilization.
3. Freedom in which provinces will have full autonomy. The centre will be given powers decided by provinces. Powers not mentioned in the centre’s lists would rest with the provinces.

\textsuperscript{67} Miyan Syed Mohammed, op. cit. (p. 251)

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{69} Ibid. (pp. 251-253)
4. India should be such a federation in which Muslims should be fully satisfied about their religion, political and cultural freedom. They shall not be at mercy of any sort of numerical majority.

The Cripps proposals were:

“India under the British rule shall be made a sovereign dominion, that will not be subject to any interference in its internal and external affairs. Provinces shall be made independent in their affairs. They should the right to secede or not enter into the dominion while maintaining their present relationship with the British government. A legislative assembly be elected that would prepare a constitution for the whole country. The constitution should be accepted by the British too.\textsuperscript{70}

Cripps Formula in its wording was encouraging. It was a welcome proposal for the Muslim League too, because it had pointed towards the partition as well. However all these were mere promises for the future course. And India was to continue to bow its head before the British government till the war was over. Cripps formula was like a beautiful imaginary garden for which the Indian were asked to offer their lives and properties. On the contrary, three hundred years experience before the Indians was that the British made promises just to pass time and never to fulfill them. Therefore, not only the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind and the Indian National Congress, but also all other political parties declined to accept the Cripps Mission proposal.

Cripps Mission stated for two weeks but had to return empty handed as no party was prepare to accept its proposal. As the freedom gathered strength, the government resorted to repression.

3.14- Jamiat’s Saharanpur Session:

The fourteenth annual session of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind was held at Saharanpur from May 7-8-9, 1945 A.D. Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani delivered a 46 page long presidential address.\(^{71}\) After a long period of his imprisonment, the courage and truthfulness with which the Maulana criticized, the British government was undoubtedly surprising. Although he was secluded from the current political development for such a long time, his presidential address showed the alertness of his mind.

In his presidential address, Maulana Madani in detail shed light on the following issues:

a- Even before the war, in the time of peace, the expenditure on army was out of proportion. This increase manifold in the period of war. On the other side, India was afflicted with hunger and famine. One should look at the per capita income of the Indians as compared to the citizens of the other countries to understand the magnitude of poverty.

b- From a hunger and famine stricken India, Rs 8,350,000,000 was siphoned off as the war loan.

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\(^{71}\) Syed Tufail Ahmed, op.cit.(p.519 )
c- Money was collected forcibly in the name of war contribution. More than 50% amount remained in the pockets of collectors.

d- The Indian army and officers often surpassed the Europeans in daredevil actions and display of courage at the battlefield. But they were always neglected, and instead of them Europeans were promoted to higher ranks.

Maulana further said:

“This was the reason why Mr. Philips said: “The harm that the modern world has caused to India, perhaps no other country has suffered this much ever before.”

His statement was made in view of the fact that Russia, Germany, Italy, France and China had to pass through many a trouble. The fact is that these countries have faced wars and are still facing one, and have suffered losses of men and materials and are still suffering them but the travails through which India has passed, none of these countries has faced. And this is the reason why Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru consider India as a big jail and the viceroy its jailer. But I am opposed to this view of the two and consider them wrong. That is because in a prison a prisoner cannot live hungry because it is an offence to keep him hungry. No prisoners have died or can die from hunger in a jail. And here in Bengal alone more than nine million people have, lost their lives in famine. Only God knows how many people have lost lives all over India.

Maulana further said, no prisoners dies due to lack of medical treatment, in every jail, there is an arrangement for doctors, medicines and the necessary medical treatment. Therefore, more or less every prisoner receives the medical attention. But

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73 Ibid.(pp.286-287)
reports published in newspapers say that more than million people died from Malaria, Small pox, Cholera and other diseases in Bengal alone. And according to the statement of Mr. Sadder Patel, 87 percent deaths in the year 1933 were due to the lack of medical attention.  

Besides, there always are some sorts of clothes for prisoners to wear. No prisoners live naked. But in period when there was scarcity of textiles in Bengal, many women were committing suicide because they could not live naked. Thus, to call India a jail is not correct; it should be termed as institution worse even than a jail. These cruel–hearted British rulers have turned our heaven like India into the hell.

The address was Jamie’s declaration of continued non-cooperation with the British government and support to the nationalist cause spearheaded by the Congress. The Maulana however took care to precisely define the nature of relationship with the Congress. It was not a relation of subservience but cooperation for a common cause. In the Congress, despite its membership being predominantly Hindus rule would not be as inimical to Islam as was the record of the British.

The Saharanpur session also considered the detailed explanation of the formula for future Constitution of India suggested at Lahore session. It was adopted in all detail with an overwhelming majority of delegates, only thirty votes against from among 500 members and delegates’. The final formula later came as to be ‘Madani Formula’.

74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.
Although the Lahore resolution in this respect is quite clear in terms of principle and aimed at Jamiat is not prepared to compromise on the issue of religious, political and cultural freedom for Muslims. It does agree with federal center of India because in its opinion united India is more in the interest of people. Especially of Muslims but federal government is accepted on condition that the principle of self-determination for a provinces be accepted and the federal centre be so constituted that a majority is not in a position to ride roughshod over the religious, political and cultural rights of Muslims. By mutual agreement either one of the following proposals or another mutually acceptable agreement should be decided:

1. The parliament may have the following ratio: Hindus 45 percent, Muslims 45 percent, and other minorities 10 percent.\(^\text{76}\)

2. If the Muslims members reject any proposal by 2/3 majority, it will not be placed and passed in the house.\(^\text{77}\)

3. There will be a supreme court having equal number of Muslim and non-Muslim judges. The committee will make the appointment of the judges from the various provinces. The Supreme Court will settle the disputes between the centre and provinces, and provinces themselves.

4. Any other proposal that the parties concerned may decide upon by consensus.\(^\text{78}\)

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani was an ardent follower of the policy of national unity. His various addresses emphasized its importance. He also brought out the

\(^{76}\) Ibid. (p.270)

\(^{77}\) Ibid.

\(^{78}\) Ibid.
journal named national unity. In Indian people of different faiths and cultures have been residing since centuries. It is a unique example of unity in diversity. He criticized those people who blame the Congress. According to him, the Congress was the only body, which advocated the liberty of religion, culture and language.

3.15-Post War Struggle for Independence:

With the end of the war in Europe in April 1945 A.D., India’s struggle for freedom entered a new phase. The revolt of 1942 A.D. and the Indian National army had revealed the heroism and determination of the Indian people. With the release of the national leaders from jail, the people began to look forward to another, perhaps the final, struggle for freedom. The war had changed the balance of power in the world. Not Britain but the United States of America and the Soviet Union emerged out of the war as big powers. Both supported India’s demand for freedom. The general elections in England were held soon after the end of war. The labor party came into power with clement Atlee as the prime minister. The labor government realizes the urgency of solving the India problem and ordered fresh election to the central and provincial legislature to test the relative strength of political parties. The election resulted in a sweeping victory for the Congress in the general seats while the Muslim League won overwhelmingly majority in the Muslim seats. The British government now decided to send a mission of cabinet ministers to negotiate the final settlement. The members of the mission were Lord Pethick Lawrence, secretary of

the state for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, president of the board of the trade and A.V. Alexander. The Cabinet Mission arrived in India in March 1946 A.D. and for about a month held meetings with the leaders of Congress, the Muslim League and other sections of public opinion.

3.16-Wavell Scheme and Shimla conference:

One month after the Jounpur session, viceroy of India Lord Wavell brought from London a new proposal to resolve the deadlock in the efforts to reconciliation with India. On June 14, 1945, all members of the Congress working committee were released from prison and the same day the viceroy broadcast the new proposal which came to be known as Wavell scheme. After that, leaders of Congress and Muslim League gathered at Shimla for negotiations about transfer of power that went on for two weeks. The Wavell scheme continued in it the seeds of communal separation, as it seemed to indicate that the British government considered Muslim League the sole representative of the Muslims community whereas the Congress was deemed to be the representative only of Hindu majority community. Mr. Jinnah had been given hints that if took that position and demanded a separate state for his community the British would support his contention.

At the Shimla Conference Mr. Jinnah became adamant on formal recognition of the League as the sole representative of community. Yet Mr. Jinnah made bold to stake his claim and, among other demands, asked the viceroy to promise that in the future constitutional setup the demand for separate state of Pakistan would be given

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80 Ibid.(pp.201-205)
81 Ibid.
recognition. The attitude of Mr. Jinnah convinced the sanguine Muslim leaders that the Sheila conference would end in fiasco which would only give a bad name to India that its leadership was incapable of developing a consensus even on securing power from the British. The Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind thought it advisable in the circumstances to make it known that the claim of Mr. Jinnah was false and thus clarify that it was not Indian leadership that was responsible for the failure but stubborn attitude of Mr. Jinnah who was playing into the hands of British.

An urgent meeting of the working committee was convened at a short notice of three days and leaders of other Muslim organizations were invited to participate. The meeting was held on June 28, 1945 A.D. with Maulana Madani in the chair. It adopted a resolution which, in view of the prevailing circumstances, expressed satisfaction with the Wavell scheme and declared that Muslim League could not be treated as the sole representative of the Muslim community, that there were other organizations of the community that had made more sacrifices and had therefore better understanding among people besides telegrams were sent from all over the country expressing confidence on Maulana Azad.

To decide the names of its nominees in the transitional government proposed in the Wavell scheme Maulana Azad as president of Indian National Congress convened a meeting of the Congress working committee. Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani was invited to that meeting as the common leader of all the nationalists’ organizations. He along with general secretary of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind, Maulana Hafizur Rahaman participated in some of the sittings of that meeting.

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82 Barbara, op.cit(p.141).

83 Miyan Syed Mohammed, op.cit.(p.297)
The Congress sent to the viceroy a list of fifteen names on July 06, but Mr.Jinnah, still dancing to the tune of the British rulers, raised objections and the viceroy, instead of ruling out his objections, declared the failure of the conference on 15th July.

3.17-Foundation of Muslim Parliamentary Board:

The government support to the League and the latter’s rising popularity shattered the confidence of the other parties. They became restless. They considered the League’s policy destructive and they also considered it their religious and national duty to struggle against it. Maulana Madani called an all India conference of the nationalist parties that were invited to the conference had acquired popularity and an important place in the Indian politics because of their setup and selfless services. The parties invited included,

1-All India Muslim Majlis which had been formed as an alternative to Muslim League84

2-Majlis-e-Ahrar, well known for its sacrifice in the national cause85.

3-All India Momin conference86.

4- Khudai-khidmatgar87

84 Ibid.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.
5- Independent party, Bihar, that had won nearly half the Muslims seats in 1937 A.D. and had been part of the government formed thereafter.\textsuperscript{88}

6- Krishak Parja party, the party had its base in Bengal and had succeeded in the elections held in 1937, the party had ruled Bengal for a long period.\textsuperscript{89}

The leaders of these parties had themselves felt the need for such a conference. Therefore, they warmly accepted the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind’s invitation and sent their representatives to participate in the conference. Around fifty representatives of these parties and approximately and 125 members of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind assembled for three days. (Sept.17 to 19, 1945). At the seraglio of Nawab Qadeeruddin at Qasimjaan in Delhi\textsuperscript{90}.

The conference took stock of the political situation from every angle. Various suggestions came in from the participants and free and frank decisions were held. In the end, the conference decided to form a joint parliamentary Board, and also decided that the elections would be fought under its banner. Since there was no person better suited to preside over joint parliamentary board than Shaikh-ul-Islam, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, the delegate selected him to preside over it. After a great deal of persuasion and delegates insistences, he accepted it.

In the work of this parliamentary Board the major contribution in every respect was made by Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani. He was instrumental in collecting major

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.

part of funds for it, he wrote maximum literature and he spent most time in tours and
addressing meetings.

**3.18-Cabinet Mission and Jamiat:** As president of the all India Muslims parliamentary board, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani met with this Commission. This meeting had historical importance because the proposal that Cabinet Mission had devised was on the lines of the formula of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind. The members of the mission closely questioned the Maulana about its details and implications. According to Mohammed Mian, they were so impressed that a month later when they presented their own formula it was virtually of the Madani formula. There was however one changed, the mission plan proposed full autonomy in all subjects except defense, communications and external affairs and divided the provinces into three groups.

The Congress accepted the mission plan but, the League proved to be hurdle in the way because it posed as the sole representative of Muslims and remained adamant on its demand for separate country.

When the League objected to the formula of the Cabinet Mission a proposal for temporary government was put forward. For the time being Mr. Jinnah accepted the temporary government proposal and gave up the idea of Pakistan. Once again differences cropped up on the issue of nominating Muslim League alone. His most repressive measure was the declaration of direct action on August 16, 1946. And

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91 Miyan Syed Mohammed.(2002),op.cit.(p.312)
declaration of non-cooperation to the Congress and its convention in Bombay.  

3.19 Opposition to Partition of India from Jamiat:

Maulana Madani and the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind, long focused on the anti-colonial struggle, now faced a campaigning against a Muslim opponent. Madani wrote ceaselessly during this critical year, publishing a series of statements against the League with titles like, “What is the Muslim League?” “And what is Pakistan?” he emphasized the league’s close relationship to the British, and he questioned the League’s Islamic credibility. It was obvious, moreover, Maulana Madani argued, that the League had no clear vision of the kind of the state it planned to inaugurate, with Jinnah and others speaking of a constitution following European models on some occasions; on others, invoking plans for a state modeled on Shariat. He pointed to the League’s domination by the aristocratic classes and he insisted, based on his own painful experience with Jinnah in 1936 A.D., that League promises meant nothing.

3.20 Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani and Jamiat:

In the year that followed the Shaikhul Hind’s death, it fell to Maulana Madani to be the authoritative Islamic voice that confirmed the Shaikhul Hind’s widely supported fatwa in favor of non-cooperation. This was a period of great excitement, of expectation that self-government would come soon and of cooperation between Congress and Khilafat.

Maulana Madani attended Khilafat and Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind meetings in Calcutta and throughout rural Bengal; he came twice to the united provinces and chaired a
joint meeting of the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind and Khilafat; and he spoke at the joint meeting organized by Congress and the Khilafat committee in Seohara.93

At every point he struck the same themes: the role of imperialism in undermining Islamic power; the British conquest of India as a tool in this destruction; the glorious economical and cultural past of India in contrast to the deplorable conditions of the present; and the need for the Hindus and Muslims to struggle together for freedom.

In those days a joint session, Congress and Khilafat committee was held at Maulvi Baazar, district Sylhet of Assam.

According to Maulana Madani, success of India’s struggle for freedom depended upon unity of the Hindus and Muslims, indeed of all communities of India. As a way to consolidate that unity he recommended the course recommended by leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Shaukat Ali at the annual session of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind at Delhi saying that, they would not like to ignore any aspect of the religious problem. They had recommended complete freedom of religion for all.

The speeches breathe Maulana’s intense love for the country. He often pointed out that,

It is natural that a person loves his homeland more than any other place on earth. The soil on which he is born and bred may be uncomfortable but human mind accepts its thorns as flowers.

In the Sylhet speech, for instance he talked of the golden past of India when it was treated by the entire world as the source of knowledge, as India was leader in the fields of Arts, crafts and industries. And he proceeds to demonstrated with the help

93 Barbara, op.cit (p.79)
statistics how India’s wealth and resources had been plundered. He repeated the same argument in his Seohara address. He expressed pride in the past of India in following words.

“India was cultured when the whole world was wild, she was source of knowledge and wisdom when ignorance was the lot of the rest of humanity, India was fed at the time when famine stalked the other parts of the world.”

Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind participated in freedom struggle from 1919 A.D. -1947 A.D. under the president ship of Maulana Madani. Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind never liked communalism. Whereas it was adhered to the principles of unity and secularism. The great sacrifices of jamiat never confined themselves within the self-benefit and gain. It represented its sacrifices for the international benefits and human welfare. Thousands of Ulama of jamiat never tried or expected to get any political position or designation in free India. Whatever they sacrificed it was only for the country.

But, whether the new generation of this country is aware of the work and sacrifices of Jamiat? This question is remained unanswered.
### 3.21-Annual sessions of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind:

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<td>1919</td>
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<td>Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani</td>
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**Source:** Syed Tufail Ahmed. Musalmao ka Roshan Mustaqbil.

**Note:** From 1940 A.D. -1957 A.D. almost seventeen years Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani remained the president of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind.