

Pages: 49-57

The Role of Ulema in the Political Struggle for Pakistan's Independence

Abstract: Ulama played a crucial role in the struggle for independence in British India. They had a significant role in various aspects of life, ranging from educating Muslims about society and culture to governing the nation. The involvement of Ulama in politics in British India commenced in 1803 and persisted until 1947. Darul Uloom-i-Deoband, like a religious institution, was established with the aim of assisting the Muslim community in India in regaining stability. The Ulama were the pioneers in their pursuit of liberation from the authority of the monarchy. The Ulama's perpetual and ceaseless conflict is what rendered this movement benevolent, vibrant, and all-encompassing. Undoubtedly, the historical narratives surrounding the Ulemas and religious personalities have become intricately intertwined with the history of the liberation movement and the Indo-Pak subcontinent, rendering it challenging to distinguish between the two.

Key Words: Ulema, Political Struggle, Pakistan, Jamiat Ulama-e-Hind, Subcontinent, Darul Uloom-i-Deoband

Introduction

Zahid Ahmed ¹

¹ Assistant Professor (History), Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, National University of Medical Sciences, Rawalpindi, Punjab, Pakistan.

Corresponding Author:

Zahid Ahmed

Zahid.ahmed@numspak.edu.pk

Assistant Professor (History), Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, National University of Medical Sciences, Rawalpindi, Punjab, Pakistan.

Citation:

Ahmed, Z. (2022). The Role of Ulema in the Political Struggle for Pakistan's Independence. *Regional Lens, 1*(1), 49-57. https://doi.org/10.62997/rl.2022a.15714

The role of religion in Pakistani politics has been significant, particularly during the struggle for independence by the Muslim population residing in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent (Fair et al., 2004). Prior to the proposal and advocacy for a distinct nation for Muslims, religion and religious authorities wielded significant influence inside India's government. The Ulama, a collection of individuals, played a significant role in many national organisations in India that aimed to liberate the country from British colonial authority. Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi, in the year 1803, issued a fatwa, a religious proclamation, declaring India as a "abode of war" (Darul Harb) (Mallampalli, 2017). This marked the commencement of the Ulama's participation in Indian politics during the period of British governance. Barbara Metcalf posited that the act of ruling exerted significant influence on the Muslim community as a whole, with a special emphasis on the Ulama. According to the fatwa, in the event that the state is unable of establishing and implementing a judicial system to administer Muslim law, it becomes incumbent upon the Ulama lack the authority to compel individuals to adhere to the legal framework they interpret on their behalf. However, they can assist individuals in matters pertaining to commerce, familial connections, succession, and related topics. The Ulama have the potential to serve as custodians and focal points of a philosophy that imbues the lives of devout Muslims in India with significance and inspires them to strive for a more promising future.

The path that led to Pakistan's independence was a complex and multi-faceted narrative that was characterised by the confluence of political aspirations, cultural identity, and religious fervour. There is a lack of attention paid to the essential role that the Ulema, who are religious academics and leaders, played in historical discourse. This is despite the fact that the narratives of statesmen and activists frequently dominate historical discourse. In this piece, we look into the enormous influence that the Ulema had on Pakistan's political war for independence, and we examine just how much of an impact they had. By tracking their engagement from the beginning of the Two-Nation Theory to the completion of the Pakistan Movement, we are able to expose the complex interconnections of religion and politics that play a role in determining the fate of a nation

(Şahbaz, 2020). We intend to throw light on a facet of history that merits a more in-depth investigation by casting light on the contributions, problems, and continuing impact of the Ulema via the prism of critical analysis.

Research Question

The main emphasis of this paper is on the involvement of the Ulama in the Indo-Pakistan liberation movement. This study examines the involvement of Ulama and religious academics in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent's freedom struggle against the Imperial British.

Significance of the Research

The study regarding the Ulema's involvement in Pakistan's political struggle for independence holds significant academic value as it facilitates a deeper understanding of the intricate dynamics that influenced the nation's historical trajectory. This study acknowledges the significant role played by religious leaders and experts in fostering unity among individuals, while also highlighting the profound interconnection between religion and politics in the pursuit of national identity. Moreover, it elucidates misconceptions regarding the Ulema's involvement in politics by providing a more comprehensive depiction that highlights their authority and accountability within the broader framework of the independence movement. In essence, this study contributes to a more comprehensive and all-encompassing narrative of Pakistan's struggle for independence, enhancing people's comprehension and appreciation of the numerous individuals who contributed to the establishment of the nation.

Research Methodology

The study is qualitative and falls within the field of socio-political research. The primary focus of this examination is Publications and written academic works authored by various Pakistani and foreign scholars. It attempts to conduct a thorough analysis of the role played by Ulama and religious experts, as well as their political organisations and efforts in the Pakistan movement.

Post War of Independent, 1857 and the Role of Ulema

The events that took place in 1857 and the resulting consequences prompted the religious clergy to consider new approaches for safeguarding Indian Muslims in England. The Indian Muslims' failure to overpower the British army in a direct combat was clearly proved by the lack of success in "mutiny uprisings". Therefore, it was imperative for the resistance to materialise in a unique fashion. The Ulama opted to communicate the knowledge of revealed wisdom to Muslims instead of depending on logical sciences in order to formalise the alternative means (Hamdeh, 2021). The Madrassa in Deoband was created in 1866 by Maulana Nanawtwi and Maulana Ganguhi, with the primary objective of revitalising Muslim society in India (Tareen, 2014). Mehmood-ul-Hasan posits that Madrassa's purposes transcended ordinary instruction and education, as it was founded with the intention of performing a sacred obligation. Was the construction of this Madrassa by Maulana (Nanawtwi) exclusively motivated by the objective of obtaining and giving knowledge? Without a doubt, the establishment of the Madrassa took place under my supervision, with its major objective being to provide the Muslims of India with the essential abilities to surmount the challenges encountered in 1857. The Ulama played a vital role in raising awareness among the general population regarding the possible threats that the colonial British posed to India's cultural heritage, autonomy, and political authority (Rahman, 2021). The arrival of the British was driven by their objective to acquire trade resources and capitalise on the divides among the chieftains and local rulers, finally resulting in their acquisition of power over the nation. The Ulama were credited with acknowledging the significant consequences of the British occupation of India. The official website of Darul-Uloom Deoband highlights the substantial involvement of the Ulama associated with Deoband in the war for independence and the political environment of United India. According to the website, it is claimed that these Ulama, motivated by resolute

The Role of Ulema in the Political Struggle for Pakistan's Independence By: Zahid Ahmed

Volume 1, Issue 1

determination and steadfast faith in Allah, not only actively engaged in the Indian independence movement but also occupied positions of leadership for a significant period of time. Undoubtedly, they were the trailblazers and catalysts who formulated the notion of liberty. The movement is deserving of recognition for the empathy, energy, and unity it fostered. The Ulama and its supporters predominantly advocated for rebellion against the British administration, actively participated in conflicts with the imperial army, and experienced substantial spells of imprisonment (Nasr, 2001). The interconnection between the historical narrative of India's independence movement and the historical characters of Ulama and religious personalities presents a complex challenge in differentiating between the two. During his visit to Darul Uloom-i-Deoband in 1967, Bacha Khan, alternatively referred to as Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a notable advocate for freedom originating from the North-West area of India (now Pakistan), delivered a speech to a congregation. The individual conveyed that Darul Uloom and its associated members had a higher degree of dedication to the pursuit of freedom in comparison to other activists. I have maintained contacts with the Darul Uloom from the age of Mehmood Hassan. Previously, we would gather in here place to devise plans for the emancipation of our native land. According to Darul Uloom-i-Deoband, this institution has engaged in several initiatives aimed at achieving India's independence and freedom.

However, the initiation of a systematic and defined form of political activism by the Ulama did not occur until 1919 (Bayat, 1998). The Deobandi Ulama demonstrated their endorsement of the political stance of the Indian National Congress (INC), an organisation founded in 1885 by an English civil servant. The primary objective of the INC was to protect the civil liberties of Indians and promote enhanced comprehension and cooperation with the British government. It is crucial to acknowledge that the Ulama were not explicitly prohibited or compelled to become members of the INC. The endorsement of specific Ulama and Muslims towards the INC was shaped by the Fatwa promulgated by Maulana Ganguhi, which facilitated the cooperation between Muslims and Hindus in matters that did not conflict with their religious beliefs and Islamic heritage. All such partnerships can be classified as Mubaah. An inquiry may arise as to why the esteemed Deobandi Alim refrained from joining the INC, given that collaboration with Hindus was deemed Mubaah. There exist potentially two factors contributing to this phenomena. At the outset, the Ulama expressed their inclination to partake in limited cooperation with Hindus, but refraining from engaging with the British. From their standpoint, the Hindus within the Indian National Congress (INC) are actively engaged in efforts to strengthen British administration in India. Based on the fundamental objectives of the INC, it became apparent that they exhibited a reluctance to partake in confrontations with the British governing body. Furthermore, it seemed that the Indian National Congress (INC) was willing to engage in cooperation with the British Empire, contingent upon the provision of certain privileges (O'Brien, 1988). The Ulama shown a deficiency in readiness to participate in cooperative undertakings with the British. Their unhappiness encompassed more than just any rights that did not fully meet India's standards of complete independence. In addition, the Ulama of Deoband maintained the conviction that the British could not be expelled from India using nonviolent means until the defeat of the "Silk handkerchief movement" in 1916. An uprising is considered necessary to reestablish dominion over political power.

Establishment of Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind

The Deobandi Ulama were adamantly opposed to peaceful or political methods for the liberation of India until 1916. For them, revolution constituted the sole viable resolution to the challenges they encountered in India, as opposed to political engagement and conflict. As a result, they were unable to establish or join political parties, unlike their peers. Following the Khilafat movement, the Ulama came to recognise the significance of political organisations (Hasan, 1981). The laying of the foundation for Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind occurred in November 1919. The initial gathering was presided over by Maulana Abdul Bari, during which the subsequent goals were deliberated.

• The main objective is to provide guidance and support to Indian Muslims in both their political and non-political matters, as well as address religious concerns.

- The objective is to safeguard Islam, the focal point of Islam (Hijaz), Islamic traditions, rituals, and lifestyle from any and all challenges.
- The objective is to advocate for the comprehensive liberation and autonomy of India.
- The objective is to advocate for the safeguarding and attainment of the national rights of the Muslim population in India.
- In order to safeguard and advance the rights of various populations within the nation.
- The objective is to consolidate and coordinate the Ulama on a shared platform.
- The objective is to foster and cultivate amicable and harmonious relationships with other indigenous communities in India who do not identify as Muslim.
- In order to address the religious requirements of the Muslim minority in India, it is proposed to construct religious courts known as Mahkima-i-Shariah.
- The objective is to disseminate Islam through missionary endeavours in India and other nations worldwide.

Their rise to power, however, made things harder for them because Othey had to deal with other religious and political groups, especially the Muslim League (Chander, 1987. For example, Yaqoob says that the Khilafat Movement had a big impact on how Islam was integrated into the politics of India and Pakistan. It was the Ulama and Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind's culture and way of politics that led to the formation of Khilafat in Turkey, which had backing from Hindus and the Indian National Congress, though this was only for a short time. Still, it was impossible to get two important leaders of the Muslim League—Muhammad Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah—to join the Khilafat Movement (Paracha, 2016). Although they were wary of the movement's violent fundamentalist and pan-Islamic nature, both leaders were highly impressed and motivated by Mustafa Kamal Attaturk's leadership skills and new ideas.

The leaders of JUH think that getting rid of British colonial rule completely is a holy goal, and most people agree that neither Hindus nor Muslims can reach this goal on their own (Dhulipala, 2015). To reach this important goal, all communities living on the Indian subcontinent must work together to overthrow British rule, no matter what religion they belong to or what personal views they hold. Based on the current situation, Hussain Madani says it is necessary for all Muslims in India to follow Islamic responsibility and obligation. The author says that the British plan of "divide and rule" is responsible for Muslim nationalism and the creation of two separate states in India. In order to reach this level of unity, it is pointless for us to combine our religious identities, since no one with strong faith and belief would be able to stand it. Unity and working for national freedom are very important to people who follow Hinduism and Islam. All of the people must follow the leaders' instructions. It is important to recognise that the enemy and its supporters may try to weaken this unity by causing religion problems and stirring up trouble. Such points of view should be thrown out, and we should move forward with the greatest caution and determination. Comparative nationalism is a very important idea when it comes to the Joint Union of Hindustan (JUH) (Bhattacharya, 2016). It has a lot to do with the history of India and Pakistan. On the other hand, one could argue that the fact that Muslims lived in India as a different country played a big part in the country's split. The Muslim League, some academics from the Deobandi society (who later formed their own group within Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam), and Maulana Maududi all supported the idea of Muslims having their own nationality. Madani says that the way faith, belief, and religion are linked and related to each other did not have a big impact on how the country came to be. In contrast, the word "nation" refers to the idea of people living together peacefully who are of different racial and religious backgrounds. Religious and faith beliefs that everyone shares are not necessary for a nation to survive. From his point of view, the Prophet (PBUH) made the state of Madina into a unified country, even though it wasn't just made up of Muslims. The Jewish and Christian populations were both important parts of a single country. Still, Millat has a unique knowledge and point of view. The word only refers to a set of religious beliefs, religious rules, and a path that people who follow that faith are supposed to follow. Also, it's important to note that the idea of Millat is important all over the world. After Khilafat was overthrown, Indian Muslims want to help build a strong country with other religious groups and communities in India so that they can be free from British colonial rule. If the

Muslims in India were given the status of a separate country, they would be cut off from Muslims around the world. The Islamists in India would no longer be seen as an important part of Millat-e-Islamia.

Conversely, the Muslim League vehemently objected to the notion of "composite nationalism" put forth by the Madani and JUH factions. They employed religious nationalism as a political instrument to garner support from the Muslim population for the partition of British India. Islam holds paramount significance in the establishment and sustenance of Muslim nationhood. As to the Quran, Islam is the sole means by which a nation can maintain its unity and preserve its authentic cultural or political identity. The Quran explicitly states the necessity of rejecting any system other than Islam. Ashraf Ali Thanvi, along with a select cohort of his acquaintances, expressed dissent over the stance adopted by Maulana Madani. According to their perspective, the sole means of safeguarding India's Islamic character and culture is to establish an independent state exclusively for Muslims. Thanvi pledged to assist the Muslim League in their endeavour to establish India as an independent Muslim nation. In the year 1945, Thanvi's acquaintances, particularly his nephew Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani, disassociated themselves from the Deobandi Ulama association and established a novel collective known as Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (Hasan, 2020). Maulana Thanvi expressed concern over the presence of individuals in the Indian National Congress who do not identify as Muslims, as they posed a significant risk to the preservation of Muslim culture and identity in India. Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani shared a similar perspective on the concept of hybrid nationalism as proposed by the Madani school of thought. According to Usmani, Indian Muslims may find the concept of composite or united nationalism acceptable, provided it aligns with Shariah principles and the teachings of the holy book, provided that they constitute a majority. Nevertheless, the concept of composite nationalism and nationhood does not yield any adverse consequences when the cultural and legal structure of a region is established via the adherence of individuals to both legal regulations and cultural traditions. The process of national unification can lead to the eventual eradication of Islamic cultural practices inside a country where Muslims constitute a minority group. Maulana Maududi's approach was characterised by his meticulous response to the nationalist views put forward by Maulana Madani and the Indian National Congress (INC). In his seminal works, Maududi contended that nationalism, akin to secularism, is a concept originating from Western civilization. From his perspective, there appears to be a correlation between the concepts of secular nationalism and European enslavement.

The Establishment of Jamiat Ulama-I-Islam and Maulana Maududi

In contrast to his contemporaneous Ulama (Deobandi), Maulana Maududi had a divergent perspective from the Indian National Congress's conception of Indian nationalism (Mohomed, 2014). The individual under consideration expressed dissent towards the concept of hybrid nationalism and nationhood. On the contrary, proponents of Pan-Islamism espouse the principles of the Islamic faith. According to Maulana Maududi, the Indian National Congress's self-proclaimed national aspirations and the emergence of the liberal and secular west are viewed as falsehoods by Indian Muslims. The individual expressed a firm dissent towards the Muslim League's ideology of "Muslim Nationalism," contending that it failed to sufficiently confine Islam and Muslims to a certain geographical region. According to him, the concept of Islam is universally applicable and not confined to a certain location. The individual expressed concerns on the level of Islamic knowledge and expertise had by the leaders of the Pakistan independence movement. Maududi asserted that the leaders of the Muslim League, who had their education in Western countries and held a secular perspective, possessed little knowledge regarding Islamic law, regulations, and the obligations of an Islamic nation. The individuals in question exclusively adhered to the principles and norms of Western democracy and culture. Maududi identifies three fundamental components that constitute Western culture and the negative aspects of the contemporary world. The concepts and implementations of democracy, secularism, and nationalism in Western societies are perceived as intrinsically malevolent and contradictory to Islamic teachings and ideology.

Volume 1, Issue 1

Starting in the 1930s, numerous Ulama in JUH held divergent political perspectives. However, the initial formal division within the parent organisation occurred in 1945 with the establishment of Kul Hind Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam (KHJUI) (Mehmood et al., 2016). Despite their theological and political affiliations with JUH and Deoband, the founders of KHJUI were compelled to establish an alternative faction including Ulama who shared similar ideologies. This decision was motivated by JUH's endorsement of Congress, particularly in relation to the concepts of nationhood and nationalism. Several esteemed Ulama in the Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband believed that the Indian National Congress, predominantly composed of Hindus, shown less concern for matters that solely impacted the Muslim community in India. Maulana Shabir Ahmad Uthmani expressed severe condemnation of Congress' anti-Muslim stance. It was reported that Maulana Uthmani had decided to depart from the JUH and did not attend the party's annual convention held in Saharanpur from May 4 to May 7, 1945. Maulana Uthmani was joined by numerous other Ulama. In opposition to the JUH's alliance with Congress, the Ulama employed diverse strategies, including issuing fatwas (religious proclamations) that explicitly prohibited any form of collaboration or endorsement with Congress (haram) in accordance with Islamic teachings. The Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam Calcutta was established on July 11, 1945, with the assistance of Allama Azad Subhani and a collective of Ulama in Calcutta (Rizvi, 2015).

The new Ulama group garnered praise and admiration from several individuals, including Maulana Uthmani. However, he expressed concern regarding the perplexing circumstances and the division within the Muslim community regarding the matter of establishing an independent state for the Muslims of India. Multiple professors recommended the formation of a consortium of researchers who share similar perspectives, akin to JUH. The Muslim League expressed its interest in any group or organisation associated with Ulama. A significant gathering of Ulama took place in Calcutta from October 26th to October 29th, 1945. The Muslim League enlisted the services of Hussain Shaheed Soharwardi and Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din with the purpose of facilitating the convergence of Ulama and providing valuable counsel to the delegates attending the meeting. Ulama from various regions of the Indo-Pak subcontinent convened the conference. Maulana Uthmani, the speaker, addressed the fundamental concepts of nationalism and the notion of a nation within the Islamic framework in his speech, which was then read by Maulana Matin. According to his view, individuals are categorised into two distinct groupings (nations) according to celestial guidance: adherents and non-adherents.

According to the teachings of the Holy Bible, Muslims residing on the Indo-Pak subcontinent can be considered as a distinct nation. The unification of India into a unified nation with many religious communities is an unattainable objective. Adhering to the principles of Islam and Sunnah is a sacred duty and responsibility for all Muslims. Muslims in India ought to exert diligent efforts in identifying a suitable location and community whereby they can lead their lives in accordance with their own perspectives and principles, devoid of any external religious or political intervention. Maulana Uthmani advised the Ulama to collaborate with the Muslim League and Jinnah in order to align their efforts towards the primary objective of the Pakistan project. He cautioned them that this was their final opportunity to secure Muslim rights in India. The Muslim League is identified as a prominent entity spearheading this endeavour. If the league does not succeed in attaining its objective of granting independence to India's Muslim population, it will significantly diminish the probability of their future reunion and endeavour to establish India as an autonomous nation. The "All India Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam" is a collective of Ulama who have reached a consensus based on their shared perspectives. Maulana Shabir Uthmani was selected as the president of the group. The individual appointed as vice president was Maulana Zafar Ahmad Uthmani, while Maulana Quraish Shamsi assumed the role of general secretary (Kamran, 2015). The decision was made to establish a shura, consisting of twelve individuals, with the purpose of providing guidance and counsel to the leader of the organisation regarding matters pertaining to religion and politics.

During the inaugural gathering of the organisation, a resolute decision was reached, affirming unwavering support for the Muslim League's advocacy for the establishment of Pakistan. Maulana Uthmani was selected by the shura to serve as

The Role of Ulema in the Political Struggle for Pakistan's Independence By: Zahid Ahmed

Volume 1, Issue 1

the Islamic counsellor for the Muslim League. The role of Ulama in the 1946 election campaign was of significant importance, as they provided spiritual support to the Muslim League. Maulana Uthmani, accompanied by a cohort of Ulama and Muslim League officials, initiated a sequence of visits to various regions of the nation with the aim of garnering support for the Muslim League and encouraging voters to support Pakistan. In addition, he corresponded with the Ulama, urging them to endorse candidates affiliated with the Muslim League. Simultaneously, he exerted considerable effort in persuading the Ulama on the concerns and objections of JUH towards the leadership of the Muslim League and the demand for Pakistan. Maulana Mazhar Ali issued a fatwa wherein he referred to Jinnah as a Kafir-i-Azam, denoting his significant transgressions as a Muslim. Similarly, Maulana Madani asserted that the act of joining the Muslim League was in violation of legal statutes. Maulana Uthmani advocated for Jinnah's political and national leadership through a series of fatwas and correspondence directed towards Ulama. The individual expressed the validity of the demand for Pakistan and argued that Maulana Madani's fatwas were in violation of the fundamental tenets and principals of Islam.

On the 7th of December, 1945, a delegation from JUH, under the leadership of Maulana Madani, visited the residence of Maulana Uthmani (Islam, 2022). The primary objective of the tour was to address any potential ambiguity among the Ulama on their endorsement of Pakistan. The duration of the conference spanned three hours; nevertheless, Maulana Madani and his team were unsuccessful in persuading Maulana Uthmani to alter his stance regarding his endorsement of the Muslim League's proposition for the establishment of Pakistan. Maulana Uthmani asserts that the paramount significance lies in the necessity for the establishment of Pakistan. The inhabitants of the Indian subcontinent believed that the desire for Pakistan was genuine and timely, as they believed it would provide assistance to the Muslim population residing in the region. The individual exhibited apprehension and expressed their perspectives regarding the role and circumstances of JUH in relation to the Muslim League and its leaders. The notion of granting Muslims the right to vote in the government of a unified India was raised by him. The individual failed to comprehend the feasibility of an assembly including 60 to 70% non-Muslim members reaching a decision that would be beneficial to the Muslim minority. Additionally, he expressed support for Jinnah and his significant contribution to the struggle for independence. The individual had the belief that Jinnah, as the sole Muslim leader in India, has the assurance that the Muslim population of India would attain territorial sovereignty. Furthermore, he explicitly stated that Jinnah did not represent the British and that the partition was not a component of their strategy to implement division and governance.

Currently, the establishment of Pakistan is imperative, and it is incumbent upon every Muslim to actively contribute towards its realisation. Maulana Uthmani rejected the proposal of the JUH delegation to cease their support for the Muslim League and their aspiration for Pakistan, presenting compelling justifications. Maulana Uthmani and other prominent scholars affiliated with Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam played a significant role in advocating for and safeguarding the choice to establish Pakistan as a sovereign nation. Individuals expressed support for the perspective and raised awareness about the necessity of establishing an independent Islamic city (Pakistan) to adhere to the Islamic and divine lifestyle outlined in the Holy Quran. The survival of Muslims in India is contingent upon their ability to establish a secure Pakistan. On December 25th, 1945, Maulana Uthmani delivered a speech at Deoband, wherein he expounded about his departure from politics subsequent to the unsuccessful endeavour to revive Khilafat. However, after careful consideration, he reached the determination that the impoverished Muslims in India cannot improve without their own nation. His ultimate objective was the establishment of Pakistan, and he was willing to sacrifice his life for the prosperity of Pakistan. The Ulama, in collaboration with the Muslim League, had significant electoral victory during the period of 1945 to 1946 due to their diligent and consistent efforts. Jinnah expressed admiration for the Ulama's involvement in the election campaign, as Maulana Uthmani had declared the victory of the Muslim League.

The Role of Ulema in the Political Struggle for Pakistan's Independence By: Zahid Ahmed

Volume 1, Issue 1

Conclusion

The Ulama have made substantial contributions to the Indian freedom movement. The earliest dissemination of the concept of emancipation from British imperialism can be attributed to the Ulama. The individuals in question were those who actively participated in the struggle of independence in 1857. Following this and acknowledging that a direct confrontation would not guarantee their liberation, they modified their strategy and embarked on the formation of a Muslim collective. These individuals, possessing their specialised knowledge and steadfast commitment, would undertake positions of leadership in the endeavour to achieve liberation for the Muslim community in India. The JUH, a political faction associated with the Ulama, exerted a substantial influence on the enlightenment of Muslims in the Indo-Pak sub-continent. Although they may have different understandings of some national and international events, subjects, and ideas, their impact on the fight for freedom is unquestionable. The Muslim League played a crucial role in facilitating the foundation of a distinct nation for Muslims in the sub-continent. This achievement was supported by a faction of Deobandi Ulama who actively participated in the Quaid's campaign for Pakistan.

References

- Bayat, A. (1998). Revolution without Movement, Movement without Revolution: Comparing Islamic Activism in Iran and Egypt. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40(1), 136–169. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/179392</u>
- Bhattacharya, T. (2021, December 17). *The western connect: Comparing Indian and Hindu nationalism*. LSE Undergraduate Political Review. <u>https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lseupr/2021/12/17/the-western-connect-comparing-indian-and-hindu-nationalism/</u>
- Chander, S. (1987). Congress-Raj Conflict and the Rise of the Muslim League in the Ministry Period, 1937-39. *Modern Asian Studies*, *21*(2), 303–328. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/312649</u>
- Dhulipala, V. (2015, March 8). *How the Jamiat Ulama-I-HInd fought against the partition of India*. The Caravan. <u>https://caravanmagazine.in/vantage/madani-jinnah-muslim-league-partition</u>
- Fair, C. C., RABASA, A. M., BENARD, C., CHALK, P., FAIR, C. C., KARASIK, T., LAL, R., LESSER, I., & THALER, D. (2004). Islam and Politics in Pakistan. In *The Muslim World After 9/11* (1st ed., pp. 247–296). RAND Corporation. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/mg246af.15</u>
- HAMDEH, E. (2021, February 22). *Traditional Ulama, Salafism, and religious authority*. Maydan. <u>https://themaydan.com/2021/02/traditional-ulama-salafism-and-religious-authority/</u>
- Hasan, M. (1981). Religion and Politics: The Ulama and Khilafat Movement. *Economic and Political Weekly*, *16*(20), 903–912. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/4369836</u>
- Hasan, M. (2020, February 28). Was Pakistan always destined to become an Islamic Republic? Part 1. The Express Tribune.
- Islam, N. (2022). Faithful Participation: The 'Ulama in Bangladeshi Politics. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 23(2), 177–203. <u>https://doi.org/10.1080/21567689.2022.2082416</u>
- Kamran, T. (2015). The Pre-History of Religious Exclusionism in Contemporary Pakistan: "Khatam-e-Nubuwwat" 1889– 1953. *Modern Asian Studies*, 49(6), 1840–1874. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/24734820</u>
- Mallampalli, C. (2017). Introduction. In *A Muslim Conspiracy in British India?: Politics and Paranoia in the Early Nineteenth-Century Deccan* (pp. 1–27). chapter, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mehmood, W., Shah, S. A., & Malik, M. S. (2016). Ulema and the freedom Struggle for Pakistan. *Global Political Review*, 1(1), 44–52. <u>https://doi.org/10.31703/gpr.2016(i-i).05</u>
- Mohomed, C. (2014). "Islam" as the national identity for the formation of Pakistan: the political thought of Muhammad Iqbal and Abu'l 'Ala Mawdudi. *História*, *33*(1), 317–339. <u>https://doi.org/10.1590/s0101-90742014000100015</u>
- Nasr, S. V. R. (2001). Islamic Leviathan: Islam and the Making of State Power. http://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BA5463721X
- O'Brien, P. K. (1988). The Costs and Benefits of British Imperialism 1846-1914. *Past & Present, 120, 163–200.* http://www.jstor.org/stable/650926
- Paracha, N. F. (2016, August 28). Iqbal's new Muslim man. DAWN.COM. https://www.dawn.com/news/1279670
- Rahman, A. (2021, January 28). *A history of the Ulama in British India*. The Daily Star. <u>https://www.thedailystar.net/book-reviews/news/history-the-ulama-bengal-2035289</u>
- Rizvi, S. (2015, January 1). All India Jam'iyyat Ulama-I-Islam: Religio-political activism and Pakistan movement (1945-1947). Academia.edu - Share

research. <u>https://www.academia.edu/101845681/All India Jamiyyat Ulama i Islam Religio Political Activism</u> and Pakistan Movement 1945 1947_

Şahbaz, D. (2020). The two nations theory and it's role in the establishment of Pakistan. *Akademik Tarih Ve Düşünce Dergisi*, 7(1), 207–232. <u>https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/1033923</u>