

Nationalism of the Minority: A Reading of Select Indian Muslim

Autobiographies

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the award of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in English

By

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DECLARATION

I, MD SAMSUJJAMAN, hereby declare that this dissertation entitled “**Nationalism of the Minority: A Reading of Select Indian Muslim Autobiographies**” submitted to the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in English**, is a bonafide research work carried out by me under the guidance and supervision of **Dr. Girish D Pawar**, Department of English, School of Humanities, University of Hyderabad.

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Further, the student has following publication and seminar presentations before submission of the thesis in the relevant area of his research:

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EN874	Postcolonial India in Practice: Society Region and Identity	IV	Pass
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Introduction

Chapter-I

Introduction

The autobiographical narratives of the Muslim leaders and intellectuals selected for this dissertation cover the period from 1910 to 2000. During this period, India witnessed the non-cooperation movement, the *Swadeshi* movement, the *Khilafat* movement, and the *Quit India* movement. In addition to these events, India also saw the split of the Indian Congress, the formation of the Muslim League, the rise of *Gandhian* ideology, the politics of majority and minority, communalism, extreme nationalism, the partition of India, and the Emergency of 1975. These cataclysmic events shaped Indian history, chronicled, and critiqued in the autobiographical narratives of the majority community leaders and elites. Critics and scholars have studied these autobiographies, and their voluminous critical writings have enriched modern Indian history and inter-disciplinary discourse about them. Muslim leaders and intellectuals have also written autobiographies about nationalist movements and disastrous events. However, by categorizing ‘Muslim minority’ literature as “minor” and “secondary” (Bogue 105), scholars and critics have laid aside such significant narratives, and hence, they remain unknown in the sphere of mainstream historiography.

However, on the other side, following India’s independence, a campaign began by the nationalist parties and other right-wing groups claiming that Muslims did not play a significant role in India’s freedom struggle and that they were only responsible for the country’s bifurcation (S. Islam “Guilty men” 04). They also considered Muslim community the prime obstruction to Indian nation-building (Ahmed 12). They have distorted the history of Muslims and portrayed them as terrorists and anti-nationalists who give priority to Islam over their motherland (Pandey, “Can a Muslim” 608; Chandra 264).

The researcher will explore the select Indian Muslim autobiographies to examine how the varying concepts of nation and nationalism of Muslim leaders and intellectuals have been portrayed. Moreover, the work will assess how such Muslim autobiographies might help to

bridge the gap between popular historical narratives and minority discourses on Indian nation-building, as these are thought to be reliable and one of the critical components of documenting history (Arnold and Blackburn 04-05).

This study will also examine select Muslim autobiographies in order to uncover their role in Indian nation-building in response to prevailing mainstream narratives that represent Muslims negatively. More specifically, this research will focus on the select autobiographies of Muslim leaders and intellectuals to examine how the Muslims in India imagined the nation and how they have envisioned a religious minority identity in dialogue with their national identity. The work will also explore the same to reveal how pluralism became an imperious element in negotiating the crisis of communalism and exclusive nationalism that prevailed in the 20th century India.

The work will concentrate on the following autobiographies of Muslim leaders and intellectuals:

1. *My Life, a Fragment: An Autobiographical Sketch of Maulana Mohamed Ali* (1942) by Maulana Mohammed Ali
2. *India Wins Freedom* (1959) by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
3. *Life and Struggle: Autobiography of Badshah Khan* (1969) by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
4. *An Autobiography: a Life to Remember* (1972) by Khwaja Abdul Hamied
5. *I Am Not An Island: An Experiment In Autobiography* (1977) by K. A. Abbas
6. *A Living Faith: My Quest for Peace, Harmony and Social Change* (2012) by Asghar Ali Engineer

This research will focus on the above autobiographies of Muslim minority leaders and intellectuals to determine their contributions to India and its progress. Further, this work will explore how these Muslim minority politicians and intellectuals envisioned a united and prosperous nation during 20th century India.

In order to understand the different aspects of nationalism among Muslim intellectuals, the researcher has focused on three primary concepts: “Imagining the nation,” “Negotiating the crisis of communalism and colonialism,” and “Constructing minority (Muslim) identity.” The emphasis would be on locating such elements/factors in the autobiographies mentioned above. The primary analysis of the study will be to look at the select Muslim intellectuals’ and politicians’ contribution to the freedom struggle, the development of Indian science and technology, and communal harmony, all of which were crucial to the enhancement of nation-building. Lastly, the researcher will examine the Muslim leaders’ and intellectuals’ attempts to reframe and reconstruct Muslim identity by countering colonial authorities and the religious head within the Bohra Muslim community.

1.1. Literature Review

Many literary and critical works have been produced on the concepts of nation, nationalism, nation-building, and minority nationalism. In the present work, the researcher will review works on the concepts of nation, minority, ‘minority and Indian nation’, and the position that the Indian Muslim minority occupies in post-colonial India.

Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, in his book *From Plassey to Partition*, depicts a vivid picture of Indian nationalism, nation-building, and how communalism divided the communities, which eventually led to the partition of the nation. He also illustrates how and when the British imperialists started oppressing the Indians by occupying every governing system and snatched all major natural resources. He provides historical overview of the period, in which

elites and ordinary people, from every caste, religion, and cultural background, struggled against British colonization and gained independence. Bandyopadhyay also sheds light on the evils of communalism and religious politics that spread in every province of India, which made partition inevitable, and thus, a new nation, Pakistan, was created the day before India's independence.

Mushirul Hasan, in his book *Islam, Pluralism, Nationhood: Legacy of Maulana Azad*, points out that Maulana Azad gained high prominence through his well-informed works published in the form of magazines and books which were anathema to the British eyes. For the British colonialists, Maulana Azad's influence on the Muslim masses became intimidating. Maulana Azad inspired and united the masses against British colonialism. The British government considered it a threat, and in response, they looked for every opportunity to hinder Maulana Azad's influence on people. Despite repeated efforts of the British, Maulana Azad continued to be an influential figure in the freedom movement and national politics.

Mushirul Hasan further argues in his article "Pan-Islamism versus Indian Nationalism: A Reappraisal" that *Ulemas* (Muslim Scholars) inspired many Muslims, and they fought in the national movement against British colonialism. Many *Ulemas* died in the Sepoy mutiny, and many were given capital punishment for joining anti-colonial movements. Their concerns were not only for the future of Muslims but for the whole nation, irrespective of religion, caste, and creed.

Ian Henderson Douglas in his book, *Abul Kalam Azad: An Intellectual and Religious Biography* (1988) portrayed Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, beginning from his childhood, his religious upbringing, his intellectual contribution, and his ministerial role. He traced Azad's ancestors to Arabia and how they had come to India during the reign of the Mughal rulers. The ancestors of Azad, throughout Indo-Muslim history, were orthodox believers of Islam.

Gradually, they were divided into different sections, and under British patronage, they carried out religious and cultural reformations. They kept themselves away from the Indian freedom movement. Douglas argued that they remained loyal to the British. However, eventually, in the late eighteenth century, the Muslim community realised that their allegiance to the British was not conducive to the community. Therefore, they saw the freedom movement as the only way to improve their community. The involvement of the Muslims in the Indian national movement produced many influential leaders, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was one of them. Additionally, Douglas has argued that Azad also preached Islamic ideals among Muslims, which aided him in convincing them to fight for India's freedom.

The Milli Gazette, an English fortnightly newspaper, published an article about K. A. Hamied's chemical factory. According to this newspaper, he was the first Indian scientist who manufactured medicines in India without the help of any foreign scientist. He established a chemical factory named "Chemical, Industrial and Pharmaceutical Laboratory" (CIPLA) in Mumbai at the advice of M. K. Gandhi, which in a way, was to prove to British colonialists that Indians were capable of such pursuits. Hamied's company later became one of India's biggest medicine companies and earned a worldwide status. The article also depicted K. A. Hamied as a patriot who fought for the country's independence. He visited many places to deliver inspirational lectures, encouraging youth to join the freedom movement. He strongly opposed the partition of the nation to develop communal harmony among Hindus and Muslims. However, neither he nor the Congress members could stop it, and the nation was bifurcated before the very day of the country's independence on August 15, 1947.

In his article "Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan: The Muslim Gandhi", Vivek Kumar recollects Ghaffar Khan's contribution to the national movement as a nationalist. He considers Ghaffar Khan a "Muslim Gandhi," owing to his strict adherence to the principles of

truth and non-violence as propagated by M. K. Gandhi. Ghaffar Khan played a crucial role in spreading the Gandhian ideology to his community and inspiring many people to join the freedom movement for independence. He not only worked to free India from British rule but also strove to eradicate poverty through the development of modern education in society.

Asghar Ali Engineer, in his articles, “Communalism, Communal Violence, and Human Rights” (1986) and “Communal Politics: Climax and Downfall” (2005), pointed out that communalism and communal politics have become one of the pitfalls of Indian democracy and pluralism. He argued that it had destroyed national integrity and unity among different communities. It has become a threat, creating a composite nationalistic notion among the people of India.

Ranbir Singh and Karamvir Sing, in their article, “Secularism in India: Challenges and Its Future” (2008) argued that secularism as one of the aspects that will play a significant role in the country’s peace and progress. However, unfortunately, communal politics, poverty, corruption, illiteracy, and religious terrorism have all become barriers of peace in this country. As a result, the government of this country must disseminate the notion of secularism and try to build peace.

Maidul Islam in his article, “Imagining Indian Muslims: Looking through the lens of Bollywood cinema” (2007) and Mushirul Hasan in his article, “Islam, Pluralism, Nationhood: Legacy of Maulana Azad” (1969) have claimed that the Nehruvian approach of nation-building had deteriorated India’s Muslim identity crisis as it was based on the aspirations of the majority. According to them, Muslims in India do not have equal opportunities in economic and social life and are deprived of many basic amenities in society. In this regard, Muslim identity needs to be relocated by putting them into the “universal category of people.”

In her article, “Exploding Communalism: The Politics of Muslim Identity in South Asia” (1998), Ayesha Jalal opines that Muslims have multiple identities. Some Muslims, under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Maulana Mohsin-ul-Mulk, were loyal to British colonialism because of educational privileges. Hence, they did not support the Indian National Congress and its anti-colonial activities. On the other hand, Allama Shibli Nomani firmly criticized Syed Ahmed Khan’s loyalty policy towards the British Raj and participated in the national freedom struggle. Shibli Nomani also wrote poems and articles to inspire Muslim youth to join the national freedom movement.

Ayesha Jalal and Sugata Bose in their book, *Nationalism, democracy, and development: state and politics in India* (1997) opine that after the bifurcation of Bengal province in 1905, a few Muslim elites formed the Muslim League in 1906 because of their “subaltern consciousness” and the Congress politics of “majoritarianism”, leading India towards partition in 1947. They also point out that Maulana Shibli Numani and Maulana Azad tried to inspire the Muslim masses to join the Indian National Congress by writing articles and arranging meetings and conferences. Many Muslims supported them and joined the Indian National Congress.

In his article “Life and Times of Mohammed Ali” (1981), Pakistani politician, Colonel Ghulam Sarwar highlighted Maulana Mohammad Ali’s political and theological views on Muslim leadership in the Indian subcontinent. He emphasized Mohammed Ali’s brave leadership, which influenced the common masses to fight against colonial torture. Mohammed Ali criticized the colonial practices of the British, which violated human rights and enslaved Indians. The author also illustrated the vision of Mohammed Ali as a Muslim and a freedom fighter. He fought the Khilafat movement from a religious point of view. To him, it was a matter of belief, and as a Muslim, he needed to fight against those who

abolished the Khilafat system. According to Mohammed Ali, only a true Muslim can be a true nation builder as Islam teaches to love the nation where he/she lives. Regarding this, Ghulam Sarwar points out Mohammed Ali's view and asserts that,

He stood for a distinct identity of Muslims in India and believed that unless the Muslim character was preserved and strengthened and fortified in its aspects - religious, cultural, political and economic - the community could not make any significant contribution to the country (Sarwar 102).

Sunera Thobani in his article, "Performing Terror, Mediating Religion: Indian Cinema and the Politics of National Belonging" (2014), argues that religion has nothing to do with violence. Rather, violence is gender-centred, and the culprits create violence, they think that women are commodities, and perpetrate with them.

1.2. Nation and Nationalism

A nation consists of a group of people living in a specific territory with a shared sense of history, culture, memory, symbol, and identity (Jensen 17). It is also the entirety of the masses, regardless of religion, caste, class, or cultural differences, that has profound unity and relation (Zijda 02). The nation has no universally accepted definition because of its different backdrops and reasons for origin. Nevertheless, this study will give some semblance to its meaning by reviewing a few definitions given by eminent scholars and social scientists. The definitions are as follows:

Benedict Anderson defines nation as "an imagined political community, imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson 06). He argues that a nation is an "imagined community," as the citizens of even the smallest nation cannot know all their fellow citizens and cannot meet or hear of them. However, they imagine that there is an inherent connection among them. Further, he says that a nation is an "imagined community"

as people have a unified dream to see a better and more prosperous future for the country. Besides this, he argues that the nation is 'political' because people elect their leaders and form a government. He also opines that the nation is "sovereign." He argues that no nation could do anything within any other country's territory without the permission of that country's governing authority, and it is free from the hierarchical dynastic system of government imposed by the celestial order. In addition, he states that the nation is 'limited' as it has a geographical boundary, and beyond that, there are countries governed by others (07). Ernest Renan defines nation as:

A soul, a spiritual principle. Two things which, properly speaking, are really one and the same constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is the past, the other is the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present consent, the desire to live together, and the desire to continue to invest in the heritage that we have jointly received.... The nation, like the individual, is the outcome of a long past of efforts, sacrifices, and devotions. Of all cults, that of the ancestors is the most legitimate: our ancestors have made us what we are. A heroic past with great men and glory (I mean true glory) is the social capital upon which the national idea rests. (Renan 06)

Political scientist Paul James defines a nation as an "abstract community". He states that it is an objective and impersonal entity and that members cannot see or meet all of their fellow members, but they think they are all like brothers and sisters. The nation is also not pure because its members come from many castes, religions, cultures, and linguistic groups (01-03).

Hugh Seton-Watson defined nation as a "community of people whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, and a national consciousness" (01).

Hence, a community can be considered as a nation having shared culture and national consciousness.

The idea of a nation originated in Europe in the mid of 18th century, especially during the “Age of Revolution” through “many historical processes”, and from there, it spread around the globe from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century (Grosby 07; Strom 1138; Conversi 14-15) and it gained popularity after the French revolution (Woolf 02). The destruction of old power formed many nations, and further, these were restructured through scientific-cum-technological development during the 18th and 19th centuries. People were fed up with the dynastic regime because of their corruption and oppression over them. It resulted in mass revolts against the oppressive government, and the common people established new democratic nations in Europe. These arguments have led some academics to assert that nation-building and nationalism are effects of modernity (Strom 1138). Scholars have also argued that nation and nationalism are inextricably linked to modern state formation. Besides, some critics have opined that nationalism is a kind of struggle that originated to counter colonialism (Ozkırmılı 72; Conversi 14).

On the continents of Asia, Africa, and southern America, colonialism served as the foundation for the growth of nationalistic consciousness. When colonial oppression commenced, the colonized countries began to organize and unite themselves in the struggle to save their motherland. They fought many freedom movements against colonial authority and achieved independence. Thus, unity, organization, and the struggle to save their motherlands from tyranny created a backdrop of nation-building in many countries (I Habib 21; Chatterjee 623).

Dr B. R. Ambedkar in his essay, “Who constitutes a Nation?” talks about the factors that constitute the nation are race, religion, history, a heroic past, culture, and language. However, in some places, none of these factors played a dominant role in framing a nation. In fact,

many elements have been mixed and amalgamated into a prosperous nation, making it challenging to decide who constitutes the nation. There are three significant aspects of framing a nation. In order to comprehend it better, the researcher here concentrates on the following aspects:

First, there is no racial difference between Hindus and Muslims; both belong to one stock (S Habib 187). There have been instances of Hindus turning to Islam, Christianity, and Buddhism. Indian, Bangladeshi, and Pakistani people have the same race, but failed to form a single nation.

Second, it is also said that there is more affinity between Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus than the Oriya Hindus and Bengali Hindus, Oriya Muslims and Bengali Muslims. Similarly, there is a more coherent relationship between Indian Hindus and Indian Muslims than the one between Nepali Hindus and Indian Hindus. Even India and Nepal failed to establish a nation, or a country based only on religion. Pakistan also got separated based on language despite sharing the same faith.

India has twenty-two official languages and more than 1600 local languages; similarly, Indonesia has an estimated over seven hundred languages. Nevertheless, they both have succeeded in forming a single nation. That is why India is considered an inclusive “Indian nation” (Wyatt et al. 01), where people are united despite their diversity in terms of religion, caste, language, and culture. After piecing together these characteristics, it can be concluded that neither language nor religion/race can constitute a nation. Instead, it can be constructed with people’s love for the motherland and their desire to live together in a particular land/territory based on their understanding of rich heritage, heroic past, and sacrifice (S Habib 189).

Before the Sepoy Mutiny, Hindus and Muslims in India cherished the same nationalistic ideals. They had a cordial relationship and deep affinity for living together.

Some Mughal emperors even enjoyed the Hindu carnivals. At that time, the Maratha king had a Muslim army general, whereas the Mughal emperor had a Hindu army commander. Even some Muslim saints and Hindu Bhakti saints developed a new religion, taking ideologies from Hinduism and Islam to develop an inclusive nationalistic environment (Akhtar 190). Thus, during the Sepoy Mutiny, they fought together to eliminate colonial outfits. However, British colonizers gave birth to communalism to counter the anti-colonial and nationalistic movement during the 19th century, which hampered the process of inclusive nationalism, anti-colonial movement, and national integrity during the last two centuries.

Communalism begets an extreme mindset that motivates one to resist and harm another religious sect and its followers because they belong to a different religion. It is also the practice of prioritizing one religion over another and holding animosity towards other. According to historian Bipan Chandra, communalism is “the belief that because a group of people follow a particular religion and they have, as a result, common, social, political, and economic interest” (15). This is how communalism affects people, teaching them to hate members of other religious communities and posing a threat to building an inclusive nation with peaceful co-existence among the different religious communities.

Islam also rejects communalism and extreme nationalistic practices. Islam enjoins its followers to be kind to people of other religions, races and tribes. The Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) defined communalism as aiding one’s own nation or clan in wrongdoing. Therefore, he says, “He (any person) is not one of us who promotes communalism; he is not one of us who fights for the sake of communalism; he is not one of us who dies following the way of communalism” (Abu Dawud Sulaiman; bk. 40 num. 5121). Like this, most Indians, who practise diverse religions, desire to coexist peacefully. However, a small group of politicians are ruining this harmonious co-existence for their own gain.

This study will concentrate on how such ideas of nation, nationalism, exclusive nationalism, secular nation, and nation-building have been reflected in the selected Indian Muslim autobiographies.

1.3. Minority and Their Literature

Minorities are recognized as religious, ethnic, racial, linguistic, and cultural groups different by their culture, religion, ethnicity, and language from the dominant or majority section of people who hold power in society. The term ‘minority’ is relative to location, religion, linguistic practices, or social groups, in which people with fewer members of a community are discriminated by the group with the larger numbers. Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris in their book, *Minorities in the New World* (1958), found five characteristics which distinguish a minority group:

Unequal treatment and less power over their lives

- I. Distinguishing physical or cultural traits like skin colour or language
- II. Involuntary membership in the group
- III. Awareness of subordination
- IV. The high rate of in-group marriage

Additional examples of minority groups might include the LBGT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) community, religious practitioners whose faith is not widely practiced in their geographical region, and people with disabilities (05).

In Europe, minorities are neglected and discriminated based on their colour and race. However, in India, people have been marginalized and outraged by the pretext of religion and caste. In India, the division of the population along religious lines at the time of independence resulted in a specific religious group being considered a minority, as the partition was intended to segregate the two religions into distinct states (Dhavan 209-210). Hence, critics have argued that ‘minority’ only refers to this group. This false notion could lead to

homogenization and possible stigmatization of that group. For instance, the Muslim community belongs to different parts of India, is culturally and linguistically distinct, and shares the same religion. However, a minority group exists in the Muslim community based on the terms of worship and perception of the faith's tenets. For instance, the Shia Muslim community, especially the Bohra community, is one of the smallest Muslim minority communities whose ways of worshipping the God are different compared to other Muslim minority communities.

Despite this, there is a tendency to homogenize and ignore the existence of other minorities. The government officially implements the rights of the minority community, but this fails to protect them from discrimination from the sections of society that constitute the majority. In India, minorities throughout history have faced oppression based on religion, caste, race, and language. The anger which has been built up over the course of time has translated into their life stories, fiction, and non-literary texts. They have portrayed their role in nation-building, constructing their own minority identity, and the suffering in their fictional and non-fictional texts. Further, the literature of minorities does not represent the concept of self as an individual but as a collective (Bogue 105). Their literature focuses more on political, social, and religious matters and less on political issues. Minority writers from India and from other parts of the world not only write fictional texts but have documented their life experiences through non-fictional forms such as autobiography and memoir to connect with mainstream cultures and issues prevailing in their respective countries (Wynter 209-210).

A prominent critic of minority studies, professor Ronald Bogue labelled minority literature as "minor literature" while comparing it to mainstream literature. According to him, minority literature is:

One of the original features of the concept of “minor literature” is its rapprochement of three distinct categories of literature: secondary literature, whether it be that of a minor nation or linguistic group in relation to a major tradition, or that of a humble, minor movement or tendency (e.g., local American colourists) within a larger tradition; marginal literature, or the literature of minorities; and experimental literature, which “minoritizes” a major language.... By treating Kafka as a minor writer, Deleuze and Guattari call attention to his status as a member of an ethnic minority and citizen of a minor region/proto-nation within a foreign-based empire, while insisting that his formal and thematic innovations in literature have direct social and political implications. (Bogue 105)

The need to study minority literature, especially through autobiographies is significant as it comes with the developing sense of national identity. At the same time, it talks about diversity, pluralism, and the rights of the ‘other’. In addition, though minority (especially that of Muslim authors) literature is about framing minority identity, it does not harm the idea of unity in diversity which enhances the nation-building process (Ramrao 03).

1.4. Reading Autobiographies

Autobiography, the biography of oneself, first emerged in Europe during the renaissance. It is a form of documentation and representation of the self and society. Scholars and critics have defined autobiography in many ways. According to E. Stuart Bates, an autobiography is “a narrative of the past of a person by the person concerned” (02). Lejeune defines it more narrowly. He says that autobiography is “[a] retrospective prose narrative produced by a real person concerning his existence, focusing on his individual life, in particular on the development of his personality” (87). According to Genette, the autobiographical narrative is a sort of nonfictional work. It is another way of storytelling,

where factual incidents and the first-person narrative are the devices. For writing an autobiography, an auto biographer need not write the incidents from the cradle to the grave, which have inspiring principles (71).

The autobiographies or life narratives have appeared either in films, in myth, in novels or just as autobiographies. The life narratives like an autobiography, biography, diary, and memoir deal with life experiences which inspire one to grow and learn. Life narratives also explore the most in-depth quest of the human soul. Further, it reveals one's identity and selfhood as a great personality and that person becomes a source of inspiration within society (Arnold and Blackburn 07).

Regarding the subject matter of autobiography or life narrative, Professor B Prasad says:

In an Autobiography, the author writes the story of his own life and achievements. It obviously must suffer from a congenital defect: it can never be complete, for it must always come to an end before the death of the writer.

The autobiography discovers the author's 'inner life' and the developments of the auto biographer's career in the era and society from which he belongs.

(236-237)

Further, the life narrative or autobiography has two objectives. First, it portrays the author's virtues and vices, ups and downs, achievements and failures. Second, it traces the development of the author's life from childhood to the end of his life (Arnold and Blackburn 09). Sometimes, an autobiography uncovers the lives of the underprivileged, failing which their life narratives would have remained unknown and neglected. The life narrative also displays the author's patriotic bond and contributions to the nation's progress.

The life histories have played a significant role in the subaltern and the marginal groups of people to reveal their personal and private narratives of suffering and oppression.

The silence that they have accumulated within themselves has been uncovered in their life histories. The people, who are oppressed and voiceless, have come up with their perspective by depicting their sufferings and deprivations through the life histories. For example, Dalits and Muslims have turned to life histories to reveal their inner voices absent from the public realm. Thus, life histories or autobiographies of minority/marginal communities disclose the most profound quest of one's life and social reality, and these are the source of trustworthy counter narratives (Arnold and Blackburn 3-4).

The autobiographical narrative also relates to the narrative of displacement in which the experience of pilgrimage, bravery, imprisonment, exile, and migration provides a personal facet of the experience. Therefore, the researcher will explore the selected minority (Muslim) autobiographies to unveil the truth of Muslim leaders and intellectual's contribution to Indian nation-building through the freedom movement, the development of science and technology, and establishment of interfaith harmony.

1.5. Muslim Minority in Post-colonial India: Demands, Challenges and Love for Indian Nation

At the time of independence, India had the strenuous task of building a strong nation. Freedom fighters and pioneers of the nation worked hard to establish communal harmony and a single Indian identity. They believed that in a multi-cultural, multilingual, and multi-religious nation, the formation of a single identity was essential to unify all the citizens regardless of religions, castes, languages, and cultures. Indians have nurtured harmony, heterogeneity, and religious tolerance through centuries, which they adopted in the Constitution on 26th January 1950. However, in practice, they have failed to do so. Therefore, the incidents such as misgovernance, communal disharmony, discrimination, and the propagation of false narrative regarding Muslims, created a gap between the two (Khobragade 997).

The existence of Muslims in a nation at some level has been a challenge in post-colonial India. Since the 20th century, especially after independence, Muslims have been continuously trying to integrate their identities into the framework of the Indian nation. After the partition of India, many Muslims chose to stay back in India and live as Indian citizens. They have always been working for national integrity and pluralism. They have adopted a secular and nationalist attitude by compromising with Hindu nationalistic ideology to merge with the pluralistic and diverse society of India (Jalal 02).

However, after independence, Muslims have been experiencing an extreme identity crisis. They have been ignored in the mainstream discourse of the country. They have also felt separated from participation in Indian politics because of their distinctive community identity. Even today, the Muslim community in India has become one of the most marginalised communities. Their economic condition is lower than other minority communities. Even the percentage of government service holders within the Muslim community is significantly less. The same is reflected even in private services (Sachar 89). According to the 'Sachar Committee Report' of 2006, the Muslim communities are even more backward than the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities due to discrimination from the central and state governments. Notably, in most communal riots, Muslims are made scapegoats. Thus, communal tension, political avoidance, socio-economic and political backwardness have created a sense of alienation in the Muslim community.

The sense of nationhood and the minority identity of the Muslim community have occupied an essential place in select autobiographies written by Muslim leaders and intellectuals. While writing their life histories or narratives, they find the Indian nation as an integral part of their lives and some of them also try to develop their own minority identity while considering the Indian nation.

1.6. Representative Autobiographies

India Wins Freedom (1959)

India Wins Freedom is a notable autobiography of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, which was published in 1959. It is widely considered to be one of the most accurate documentations of the Indian history of nationalism and partition. It is also called as ‘unbiased’ life writing by many leaders.

In his autobiography, Maulana Azad documented the whole process of Indian independence step by step, beginning with his involvement in the Freedom Movement to the events after the partition of India. He carefully charted out his ancestors’ lineage who had contributed to the Muslim communities with the support of British rule. However, unlike his ancestors, he had not only worked for Muslim community but for the whole nation. Along with a considerable number of Muslims, he joined the revolutionary group of the Indian National Congress and took the responsibility of leading the movement for the independence of the nation.

Maulana Azad has chronologically narrated the events. He also monitored the complexities in the episodes of the freedom movement. He took the leading role in solving crucial problems, like communalism and majoritarianism. Maulana Azad considered the communal threat as the main hindrance to the process of Indian nation-building. Hence, he always sided with the neutral point of view and strove for freedom, communal harmony, and secularism to work towards the peaceful, multicultural, and modern India.

My Life and Struggle: Autobiography of Badshah Khan (1969)

The autobiography of Khan Abdul Gaffer Khan illuminates the history of the Indian freedom struggle. It deals with the educational and economic development of the Pakhtun community and their lives during the first half of the 20th century.

He mentioned that the Pakhtun community was the most backward and illiterate minority community in colonial India. They resided at the border area of India and Afghanistan. There were no schools, no roads for transportation, and no hospitals in the border region where they lived. Gaffar Khan, seeing the need of the hour, decided to represent and develop the community. With the assistance of Maulana Abdul Aziz and Amanatulla Khan, he set up the first school in Utmanjai in 1910. Throughout his lifetime, he and his organization the *Khudai Khidmatgar* established many schools in the frontier province to develop the community. Many times, British authority closed his schools forcefully, but his constant struggle brought victory. Eventually, the British were compelled to keep the schools open, and in this way, he succeeded in bringing education to his community.

Besides education, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan believed that a sense of patriotism and unity among diverse communities could play an essential role in making a nation more advanced and developed. He also realized that British colonialism was one of the reasons for the country's underdevelopment. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan took a vow to fight against British colonial oppression and fought until he attained full independence in 1947.

An Autobiography; a Life to Remember (1972)

K. A. Hamied's autobiography narrates his contribution to nation-building in India. K. A. Hamied was a renowned chemist who established the first pharmaceutical factory in India called CIPLA to serve the nation by selling medicines at low price.

In the autobiography, he also discussed the history of Indian science. After acquiring a Ph.D. in Germany, he returned to India and started working for the development of Indian science and technology. He visited the scientific labs of several developed countries and wanted to establish similar labs in India. He was one of the first men to talk about the establishment of technical research institutes and laboratories. In 1942, he along with many

prominent scientists of India established The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), which had 38 research laboratories and 12000 scientists working relentlessly and inventing and helping in the nation's scientific advancement.

Apart from this, his autobiography also discusses the reasons 'why' India is lagging in science and technology, compared to other countries including China and America.

I Am Not An Island (1977)

I Am Not An Island is a nationalistic autobiography of Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, it documents historical events such as colonialism, communalism, partition, politics of nationalism, and his role in negotiating all such crises. It explores the country's history from 1930 to the time of Jawaharlal Nehru's Prime Ministership.

K. A. Abbas found the communal problem as a barrier to national integrity and peaceful coexistence. He was keen on working towards developing Hindu Muslim relations. He wrote articles and made films about the need for national integrity and communal unity. He also wrote novels, that provided a comprehensive idea of communal harmony and secularism.

He was also greatly influenced by the Gandhian ideology of non-violence and truth, and he attempted to propagate the same for negotiating the crisis of partition and national integrity. For that, he conducted many conferences and seminars in Bombay and Delhi.

My Life, a Fragment: An Autobiographical Sketch of Maulana Mohamed Ali (1999)

This autobiography reflects the fears, anxieties, and aspirations of many educated Muslims who lived through the first two decades of the 20th century. It is also an important document that depicts Maulana Mohammed Ali's deep religious feelings and self-awareness of Islam and Muslims in India. For this reason, this autobiography invites comparison with

other texts produced by Muslim elites and scholars around the same period from other countries.

In his autobiography, Mohammed Ali talks about the history of Indian nationalism and presents the crisis of Indian Muslims. At a time, when social scientists were engaged with the overriding theme of identity politics and issues of identity-formation in South-Asia, Mohammed Ali's insights enabled the readers to perceive 'how' Muslim identity was being framed in the early twentieth century in north India. This was also when other scholars were trying to define the term 'communal' and what role communitarian solidarities play in the private and public domains. Finally, *My Life: A Fragment* demonstrates how influential public figures like Mohammed Ali reflected on the changes ushered in by the colonial government and their impact on his community and the nation.

A Living Faith: My Quest for Peace, Harmony and Social Change (2012)

Asghar Ali's *A Living Faith: My Quest for Peace, Harmony, and Social Change* maps a vivid picture of communalism, violence, disunity, and its role in abating such crisis in post-colonial India. He also represents the lives of the Bohra community in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Telangana, and West Bengal. He recounts the oppression they face from their religious heads. In the early parts of the autobiography, he pens down the history of many communal riots, in which people were burnt alive, and children were killed brutally in Jabalpur (1961) and Bhiwandi (1970). Seeing these, he began working to establish pluralism, communal unity, and peaceful co-existence in society.

In the later parts of the autobiography, Asghar Ali Engineer deals with the Indian *Bohra* community who are followers of Shia theology. He highlights how they are victims of their high priest (religious head). For instance, without the high priest's permission, they are not allowed to marry or establish any schools or organizations.

Additionally, the common Bohra people had to pay high amounts of money to the high priest, despite their sluggish economic condition. He offers resistance against such neo-colonial oppression and fights for equality for the Bohra community.

1.7. Methodology

The researcher will be using textual and thematic analysis method to examine the concepts of nation, patriotism, and minority identity, specifically Indian Muslims, and their identity construction through select autobiographies. The researcher would also like to gather critical analysis through the reflective reading of the literary and non-literary texts to arrive at a more coherent understanding of the theoretical concepts and their applications to the practical issues in building the nation, national identity, and Muslim identity. Further, the researcher will use different theories of nationalism to understand the concepts of a nation reflected in the selected Muslim autobiographies. In addition, the researcher will use post-colonial literary theory to undermine the colonial discourses through anti-colonial nationalistic resistance movements for constructing the nation reflected in the selected Indian Muslim autobiographies. Lastly, the study will use the idea of ‘modernity’ and ‘hegemony’ to understand the process of de-colonization, modernization, and religio-cultural oppression as depicted in the select autobiographies.

1.8. Chapter Plan

The study will explore the select autobiographies in three core chapters, with the introduction and conclusion as preliminaries and findings of the research respectively.

Chapter I: Introduction

In the introductory chapter the researcher focuses on the research objectives, and the rationale behind working on Muslim minority autobiographies. The chapter explores the notion of nation, nationalism, minority, and autobiographical narratives in dialogue with

Indian Muslim minority. Further, this chapter briefly highlights literature survey that is relevant to this study. It briefly outlines the select autobiographies written by Muslim leaders and intellectuals. The chapter also provides research methodology to comprehend and interpret the concepts of nation, nationalism, identity construction, anti-colonial movements, communalism, communal harmony, and so on addressed in the select Indian Muslim autobiographies.

Chapter – II: Imagining the Nation

The second chapter focuses on the autobiographies, *My Life and Struggle: Autobiography of Badshah Khan* (1969) by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *An Autobiography; a Life to Remember* (1972), by K. A. Hamied, and *India Wins Freedom* (1959) by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

The chapter aims to analyse Ghaffar Khan's autobiography and evaluates how he and the Pakhtun community imagined the nation. It also concentrates on his autobiography and investigates what sort of Indian nation he dreamt of and how he contributed to it, as described in his autobiography. The chapter also emphasizes Khwaja Abdul Hamied's autobiography to examine the future he had seen in the progress of modern Indian science and how he contributed to it. Besides, through the autobiography of Maulana Azad, the study will explore how Maulana Azad envisioned a unified Indian nation by motivating Muslims to join Indian National Congress for freedom movements, and disproving the Muslim League's two-nation theory.

Chapter III: Constructing Minority Identity

The third chapter focuses on two autobiographies: Asghar Ali Engineer's *A Living Faith: My Quest for Peace, Harmony and Social Change* (2012), and Maulana Mohammed Ali's *My Life, a Fragment: An Autobiographical Sketch of Maulana Mohamed Ali* (1999).

Through the autobiography of Maulana Mohammed Ali, the researcher highlights his idea of constructing a minority (Muslim) identity in dialogue with Indian nation-building. It has also investigated how and why he linked his campaign for Muslim identity construction with Indian nation-building.

Further, the chapter focuses on the idea of ‘minority within a minority’ and their oppression as reflected in the autobiography of Asghar Ali Engineer. The researcher also examines Asghar Ali Engineer’s struggles to liberate the oppressed Bohra community from the theocratic oppression by their high priest/religious head. It has also explored how Asghar Ali Engineer, and other reformist Bohra worked to redefine Bohra identity according to Quran and Hadith as depicted in his autobiography.

Chapter IV: Negotiating the Crisis of Colonialism and Communalism

In this chapter, the researcher explores KA Abbas’s autobiography, *I Am Not Island: an Experiment in Autobiography* (1977), to highlight how he mapped the picture of the crisis of communalism, colonialism, and his contributions and ideas in solving such crisis. Further, the researcher attempts to demonstrate how Asghar Ali Engineer contributed to tackle the communalism crisis in post-colonial India, which he has penned down in his autobiography, *A Living Faith: My Quest for Peace, Harmony and Social Change* (2012). Besides it focuses on Asghar Ali Engineer’s innovative tactics that might be instrumental in resolving the communal issues that prevail in the twenty-first century India.

Chapter V: Conclusion

The final chapter is the conclusion, where the researcher notes down the overall analysis or the review of the previous chapters and highlights significant findings, limitations, and scopes of the study. A list of works cited in the thesis is appended to the thesis.

Chapter-II

Imagining the Nation

2. 1. Introduction

The desire to reside in a developed country, characterized by liberty, tranquilly, and contentment, is a universal aspiration. Therefore, everyone strives to contribute towards the advancement and enhancement of their nation. Like everyone else, Khwaja Abdul Hamied, Maulana Azad, and Ghaffar Khan shared the same passionate vision and aspirations for the cause for which they tirelessly toiled and battled until their final breaths. Khwaja Abdul Hamied desired to improve science in the nation, whereas Maulana Azad and Ghaffar desired to liberate it from the shackles of British colonialism. Initially, they worked to establish unity and integrity within the diverse Indian nation, and subsequently, they accomplished the task of Indian nation-building through numerous freedom movements. In this chapter, the researcher will emphasize on their visions, contributions and aspirations for Indian nation-building as documented in their autobiographies. The researcher will also look at how these auto biographers envisioned the nation through struggle for independence and the development of education and science.

2.2. Theoretical Application

This chapter focuses on select autobiographies, including *An Autobiography; a Life to Remember* (1972) by K. A. Hamied, *India Wins Freedom* (1959) by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and *My Life and Struggle: Autobiography of Badshah Khan* (1969) by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Theory of nationalism would be used to highlight how the ideas of nation, nation-building, and nationalism have been portrayed in the autobiographies of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and Maulana Azad. Further, post-colonial literary theory will be used to explicate how the autobiographies of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Maulana Azad have explored the various aspects of colonial activities and how the activities of the anti-colonial resistance movement had attempted to obliterate the colonial past from 1910 to 1947. The

concept of “Modernity” will also be exploited to look at the history, origin and development of Indian science and technology during the twentieth century, as reflected in the autobiography of Khwaja Abdul Hamied.

2. 3. Vision of Nation-building in India: Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s My Life and Struggle: Autobiography of Badshah Khan

The North West Frontier Province (NWFP), known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, is located between 31 and 36 degrees altitude and 69 and 74 degrees longitude. It comprises a few regions in Pakistan and Afghanistan, spreading over 100,142 km² (Merk 746; Khan and Shah 121). The Pakhtuns, living in the NWFP for centuries, were formerly considered the world’s most backward and illiterate minority community. They were predominantly Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, and indigenous people. They had no hospitals to treat their sick people, or shopping centers to buy and sell their daily necessities. Their farmland is rocky and infertile, rendering it unfit for the cultivation of any commodities necessary to their survival. Even so, they have neither roads nor railways to communicate with the rest of the globe (Khan 11). Further, there were neither adequate schools to acquire knowledge of the language, science, social science, and mathematics, nor there were madrasas to avail religious instructions in NWFP (24). Unfortunately, none of the empires, from the Mughal to the British, and the novices in the Pakistani government did anything to improve their lives.

On the contrary, advocates of colonial practice and the British “darbari” political operatives have misrepresented the Pakhtun community’s image in the eyes of the rest of the world. They portrayed them as barbaric, vindictive, inferior, bloodthirsty, and illiterate community (A Khan 67; Raja and Jan 95-96). Their bravery was portrayed as savagery, and their passion for freedom and nation-building was portrayed as contempt for the government’s law and order. Above all, Pakhtuns were portrayed as “unbridled horses” to the

rest of the world, implying that they heed no one or nothing (Khan 74; Ahmed and Khan 221). British did so to legitimize and maintain colonial dominance and hegemony over them (Zahid et al. 26-27; Shah et al. 784-785; Hassan 216). Consequently, during the colonial period, this province was separated from the rest of British India, and no one was permitted to visit it for any reason. That is why nobody knew about the cooperative, brave, prudent, honest, and co-operative Pakhtun nation (Gandhi x; Shah et al. 785). Further, the British colonial authorities implemented offensive Frontier Crimes Regulations Acts in 1901 by which they could arrest anyone without proof or evidence, which was non-bailable for 12-14 years (Khan 24; Hari Singh 507). Furthermore, if anyone defied British control, he or his entire village would be chastised and tortured, and they would be imprisoned for three years (Khan 24-25).

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan recognized the urgency of the situation and led the nationalistic movement for India's independence, and for reshaping the educational, economic, and socio-political status of the Pakhtun community (Ahmed and Khan 216). One of the primary aims of the theory of nationalism is to explore how and why such nationalistic struggle/movement commenced (Gellner 06). Considering this objective, the present chapter examines minority leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's autobiography, *My Life and Struggle: Autobiography of Badshah Khan* (1969) to gain insight in his vision of the nation as well as his confrontations with colonial power. Further, from his autobiography this study examines how Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan ignited the light of education which aided the process of nation-building in the NWFP and India.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's encounter with the colonial authority commenced due to the distorted portrayals of the Pakhtun community. Further, as the backwardness of a particular community or nation is one of the main obstructions to nation-building (Seth 97), from a

young age, he began to imagine improving the state of his community/nation which he has expressed in his autobiography. He writes:

I have one great desire. I want to rescue these gentle, brave, patriotic people from the tyranny of the foreigners who have disgraced and dishonoured them. I want to create for them a world of freedom, where they can live in peace, where they can laugh and be happy. I want to kiss the ground where their ruined home once stood, before they were destroyed by the savage strangers... I want to show the world how beautiful they are, these people from the hills and then I want to proclaim: 'show me, if you can, any gentler, more courteous, more cultured people than these'. (Khan 124-125)

He envisioned a united and independent India where faiths and humanity would prevail. According to him, "I want to see them share each other's sorrow and happiness, I want to see them play their national roles and take their rightful place among the nations of the world, for the service of God and humanity" (122). Hence, he devoted his entire life to the service of India and the Pakhtun community (23). Benedict Anderson opined such kinds of love, endearment, and imagination to develop a nation as an "imagined community" (Anderson 6).

Ghaffar Khan observed that though the British implanted the speculation of enmity, adversity, hatred, dishonesty, and vengefulness among the Pakhtuns, his family was very generous, and kind-hearted, serving the impoverished and unknown guests whenever they came for assistance and cooperation. Further, his patriarch, Saifullah Khan, was also honest and conscientious. When helpless people rebelled against British imperialism, he staunchly defended their rights and fought for them (10-11). Besides his English teacher, Mr E. F. E. Wigram and his elder brother taught him a valuable lesson. Although they were foreigners, they had a genuine affection for people and frequently awarded

scholarships to impoverished and orphaned students. Therefore, these acts of philanthropy inspired Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan immensely, and he started to imagine the nation and its development (28)

Education is the most potent weapon for pulling a nation out of the shadows and into the light via social and economic advancement (Astakhova et al. 54; Psacharopoulos and Woodhall 04). On the other hand, illiteracy would lead to poverty, starvation, humiliation, and disorder and devastate humanity (Thengal 124). Khan Ghaffar Khan also talked about education and nation-building. But his ideas were little different. He asserted that not only education but also religion was equally important for overcoming colonial tyranny, as was the pathway of patriotism in confronting colonialism. Religion teaches humanity, justice, and equity, whereas education provides intellectual growth and development through science and technology (93-94). Because of that, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's first mission was to ignite a light of knowledge in the dark realm of ignorance in which his people lived. He said, "I was well aware that illiteracy and the ignorance of my people could only lead them to ruin and destruction. Therefore, my first task as I saw it, would be, to try to eliminate illiteracy" (29).

In the year 1910, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan ignited the lamp of education in his village, Utmanzai. He founded the National Islamic School in Utmanzai with assistance from Maulvi Faz'l Mohammed Rabi and Maulvi Faz'l Mohammed Makhfi. The process of establishing institutions persisted. He established a few colleges throughout the NWFP, and his community gradually got enlightened with the light of education (29). Further, Ghaffar Khan utilized the project of school education to propagate anti-colonial activities in the NWFP (Bala 135; Cavenaghi 15).

Ghaffar Khan knew that the British authorities had reduced them to servitude and were the major obstacle to nation-building. Hence, he always thought about getting rid of such a powerful impediment. He took many steps to make the masses educated, united, and righteous. Once, when he was in prison for years, his followers made strides in education, and they inspired the community to serve the nation as they love their children. Hence, thousands of people attended the school on the day of the school's anniversary with encouragement, love and enthusiasm. Ghaffar Khan and many other Pakhtun leaders delivered many lectures, recited nationalistic poems, and they conferred him the title, *Fakhr-e-Afghan*.

According to Benedict Anderson, 'Print Capitalism' plays an important role in the development of nationalistic consciousness among individuals who have been subjugated or colonised. The concept of 'Print Capitalism' denotes a form of passive revolution that began in various oppressed or colonised countries through the publication of books, newspapers, and magazines in local languages (62). Hence, Maulana Azad, Zafar Ali Khan, and many more scholars and leaders used to publish magazines and newspapers such as *Al Hilal* and *Medina*. Through these print media, they used to write articles about British imperialism, pluralism, and humanity with the aim of speeding up nation-building (Barnett 276). Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan initiated the practice of perusing newspapers and magazines, exhorting the Pakhtun populace to follow suit in order to make them learn about colonial outrage, humanity, freedom, and pluralism (30). This was one of the tools that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan utilized and tried to develop the idea of nationalism within Pakhtun community. Furthermore, he set out on a tour of many regions such as Malakand, Takhtbai, Salarzai, Kotki Bajaur and Dargai to meet with leaders, maulanas (who teach Quran and humanity), and the common masses. He attempted to persuade them of the significance of freedom and why they needed to be educated, unite, and keep harmonious relationships with others.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan held a meeting against the Rowlatt Act in his native place, Utmanzai, in 1919 as a part of the anti-colonial campaign, expressing solidarity with the all-India issues (Shah 05). An estimated 100,000 people attended that meeting, and they began to see a ray of hope for nation-building. Nevertheless, Ghaffar Khan was detained prior to his participation in the meetings (40). Upon his release from incarceration, people were invigorated with a renewed sense of enthusiasm, motivation, and optimism in challenging the colonizers to ascertain the prosperous destiny of the nation. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan spent 27 years in prison, sleeping on the floor, using tattered and dirty bed sheets, and eating low-quality food, but he never broke his vow. He struggled and worked for the betterment of the nation and Pakhtuns until his last breath (57).

Neither Ghaffar Khan had greed for the position, nor did he exhibit any avarice to attain wealth. He loved his nation as much as he loved Islam. He was very much conscious about the educational development of the common illiterate Pakhtun community as well. For him, “educating the people and serving the nation is as sacred a duty as Namaz” (58). Ghaffar Khan’s eloquent oratory skills in relation to the concept of nationhood were noteworthy. His lectures on patriotism, freedom, harmony, justice, unity, and equality were highly regarded and served as a source of inspiration for many. This resulted in the development of a sense of nationalism among the Pakhtun community (83-84; Krige and Wang 172). He also taught them why they needed to be tolerant and honest to make the resistance movement more fruitful. He stated, “I am going to give you such a weapon that the police and the army will not be able to stand against it. It is the weapon of the Prophet, but you are not aware of it. That weapon is patience and righteousness. No power on earth can stand against it” (Easwaran 117).

Thus, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan succeeded to build a strong anti-British resistance movement with help of his followers in NWFP. According to Ghaffar Khan, the national uprising was like a flood. It did not just destroy the old and corrupt system but developed a system that ensued all-round prosperity to the nation. He opined, “A revolution is like a flood, it can bring blessings, but it also can bring devastation; it can bring fertility and prosperity, but it can also bring ruin. Only a nation that is wide awake, whose people are aware of themselves as a nation, where all live together as brothers, in harmony and love, only that nation, I tell you, will benefit by the revolution” (94).

Further, he mentioned that British colonialism was founded on lies, inhumanity, cruelty, suppression, and pillage. As a result, the Pakhtun community and all the Indians needed to encounter it bravely, and he was conceived that one day, they would be victorious certainly as they are truth-seekers (Johansen 59). He continued by stating that the truth is never established without a stern test. Truth is never victorious without causing harm. Without resignation and abandonment, the truth never shines in its full brilliance. There are various examples of this throughout the world’s history of establishing truth (Khan 72; Bickford et al. 04).

Ghaffar Khan reminded his associates of the importance of working and struggling for the nation’s progress. He stated, “The secret of their prosperity is that in those countries there are men and women who sacrifice their luxuries, their pleasures, and their comfort for the sake of the prosperity of the nation. If we can produce such men and women, we shall be prosperous too” (95). Further, he continued to remind them that working for their individual betterment would not offer them happiness or peace; rather, working for the development of society and the nation would bring them happiness and peace. Moreover, this would lead to prosperity of the nation, as they would no longer reside in uninhabited areas (95).

As a part of the nation-building and freedom struggle, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan established an organization named Islam-ul-Afghami. It functioned primarily for the development of education in NWFP. However, they soon realized the need for a movement to reform the system that had been depriving and suppressing them for years. Against this backdrop, Ghaffar Khan established Khudai Khidmatgar in 1929 (96). At the outset, Ghaffar Khan sought to keep the movement away from any political actions. However, due to the rise of imperialistic outrage and cruelty of the British empire, Ghaffar Khan and his fellow members of Khudai Khidmatgar could not remain tight-lipped at home and began an anti-colonial campaign in the NWFP.

First, he spoke with a few Muslim League leaders regarding the various challenges faced by the nation. However, he did not receive a positive response from them and in 1929, he aligned himself with the Indian National Congress along with all the members of Khudai Khidmatgar. Ghaffar Khan thought non-violence was the best tool to fight against a mighty opponent like the British, which he learned from M. K. Gandhi. Further, he did a comparative analysis of violence and non-violence. In Ghaffar Khan's opinion, violence breeds timidity and dread. It fosters a mental predisposition toward hostility and hatred. While non-violence fosters the growth of love and bravery, people become more courageous and patient due to it. (143-144). On the other hand, the violent ideology killed millions of innocent people during World War I and II. During that time, Great Britain and other superpowers were the champions of violent ideology, which brought destruction around the world. Thus, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, like Nelson Mandela and Martin Luther King Jr., adopted a nonviolent ideology to strengthen the resistance movement against mighty colonial power (Hassan 215).

Ghaffar Khan and members of Khudai Khidmatgar were imprisoned many times by the colonisers for their anti-colonial activities, but he never left his struggle as he loved his

nation more than his life. He taught illiterate Pathans and other inmates even while inside the prison. Some of them had mastered the skills of reading and writing. In addition, he and the members of Khudai Khidmatgar worked in the jail and earned some money, which they sent to the office of Khudai Khidmatgars for the service of the nation (170-71).

Ghaffar Khan and the members of Khudai Khidmatgar often visited many villages to inform them about a horrible peril approaching them. Then, the members of Khudai Khidmatgar organised many meetings and discussed issues such as pluralism, humanity, and the meaning of freedom. They participated in non-cooperation, civil disobedience, and many other movements to enhance the nation-building process. Khudai Khidmatgar spread these movements in the entire NWFP, which became a problem for the British colonizers (168; S, Islam “Muslims against Partition” 143).

Before joining Indian National Congress, Ghaffar Khan’s Khudai Khidmatgar started to gain widespread popularity in Northwest Frontier Province. The British government could not tolerate it and made numerous efforts to weaken it. They attempted to dissuade Ghaffar Khan’s supporters by forming many political parties. They also divided the NWFP into eight divisions and designated many regional political agents. They even banned any prominent individual from visiting the province to support poor and oppressed Pakhtuns. However, due to a strong sense of Pathan fraternity and togetherness, British authority could not gain much ground and eventually expanded throughout the NWFP (133). The British had a vital trump card: a rift between Hindus and Muslims. When they failed to weaken the freedom movement in all respects, they sowed the seeds of communalism among the people of frontier provinces. During the general election in 1946, the government closed all educational institutions in NWFP. They also campaigned on behalf of the Muslim League and against Congress. The British women used to say while campaigning for Muslim League- “I have come to visit you,

so you must give me a dupatta (scarf). But the dupatta I want is your vote” (175). Muslim League leaders employed the British “divide and rule” approach. In elections, they strive to mislead people under the guise of religion in order to gain Muslim votes. They said, “Are you giving your vote to the Mosque or to the Temple?” (175). Nevertheless, they could not succeed in misguiding the Pakhtuns, and fortunately, Congress won that election with a large majority. Ghaffar Khan said, “The Pakhtuns are politically awake, they had perceptions, and nobody could mislead them in the name of Islam. They knew the real meaning of Islam. They had learnt this in their nationalist movement, and they had learnt to make sacrifices to serve their country” (176).

Because of the Muslim League’s exclusive and sectarian orientation, Ghaffar Khan viewed it as his opponent and offered his support to the Indian National Congress. However, the Congress Working Committee did not raise a finger against the partition of India when the British authority played the same treacherous game. Almost all the Congress leaders accepted the partition except Ghaffar Khan, Jayaprakash Narayan, and Rahmanohar Lohiya (Ahmad 24). According to the referendum of the partition, NWFP was part of Pakistan, and Ghaffar Khan’s dream of undivided India came to an end (178). However, Indians indeed took a lesson from his pluralistic ideology. It united all the Pakhtuns from different religions and castes. Ghaffar Khan did not abandon his poor and oppressed Pakhtuns once India was partitioned. He always thought about their happiness, peace and prosperity. The British government continued to insist that a large amount of money had been spent to develop NWFP. However, according to a scandal report, all the money was plundered by British agents and tribal rulers (184). After the formation of the interim government, Ghaffar Khan urged Jawaharlal Nehru to conduct a visit to understand their dire socioeconomic situation. Jawaharlal Nehru accepted the request and agreed to visit NWFP. However, the Muslim League and the British government spread the poison of communalism in the mind of humble

and gentle Pakhtuns. Hence, during Jawaharlal Nehru's visit, the British government's agents and the supporters of the Muslim League repeatedly attacked him and Ghaffar Khan, declaring that they did not want a Hindu government (184). Ghaffar Khan wanted Jawaharlal Nehru to realize what it meant to live in poverty and persecution and that he needed to do something to improve such conditions. Jawaharlal Nehru visited many villages in the NWFP to express his affection and sympathy for the Pakhtuns. Khudai Khidmatgars also organized a big conference. Supporters of the Muslim League attempted but failed to stop them. Ultimately, the conference took place, and Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a fascinating lecture and showed support to keep the nation-building process alive.

Ghaffar Khan believed that the development of pluralism and humanity in multi-religious or multi-cultural societies would enhance the nation-building process (Baidhawy 17). Therefore, when communal riots erupted in different provinces shortly after the partition, where minorities were slaughtered, and their properties were also destroyed and looted by the majorities, Ghaffar Khan and Khudai Khidmatgars intervened to create a conducive environment. They stepped out and began working for pluralism, peace and minorities' safety as a part of nation-building. In Peshawar, Hindus and Sikhs were minorities. As Muslim League leaders threatened communal rioting, people were terrified and locked themselves inside their homes. But, when 10,000 Khudai Khidmatgars went to offer security in response to Ghaffar Khan's commands, people felt safe and resumed regular public life (202).

Though the Pakhtun community worked side by side with Congress and sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the India and Hindu-Muslim unity (Khan, Words of Freedom 12), Congress gave them step-motherly treatment. Congress did not think about the future of Pathans. Maulana Azad proposed to Ghaffar Khan to join the Muslim League, which disappointed him (203-205). At this juncture, Ghaffar Khan wanted to create an independent

Pakhtoonistan when Congress left them. However, this right was denied as it was against the interests of the British (Azad 213). Finally, the NWFP was included in Pakistan, and Ghaffar Khan's aspiration for united India ended, and the Pakhtuns were handed over to the enemy of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Balasubramanian and Venkatraman 114).

Ghaffar Khan spent eighteen years of miserable life under Pakistan's ostensibly Islamic regime. This regime imprisoned and killed thousands of Khudai Khidmatgar (Azad 214). They also murdered impoverished Pakhtuns on their way to pray at the mosque. That was why he rightly claimed that the Pakistani government was ten times more violent than the British government. Because of that, Ghaffar Khan opined that the Pakistani government represents hypocrisy rather than Islam. According to him:

Pakistan was founded on hatred. She was born not of love but of hatred and she grew up on hatred, malice, spite and hostility. Pakistan was created by the grace of the British in order that the Hindus and the Muslims might forever be at war and forget that they were brothers. Pakistan is unable to think in terms of peace and friendship. She wants to keep the Pakistani people under control by making them live in a nightmare of riots, assaults, and "holy" war. (Khan 209-10)

Hence, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan devoted his entire life to the advancement of the Pakhtun community and India's freedom. He worked with M. K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru to protect the Indian nation from the Muslim League's polarizing politics and partition. Further, to educate the Pakhtun minority, Ghaffar Khan founded many educational institutions in NWFP. He imparted the values of freedom, righteousness, fraternity, and humanity to Pakhtuns. Thus, they became a humble, righteous, and non-violent nation. Along with Congress members and other freedom-loving people, they battled the freedom movement unitedly and eventually achieved independence on 15th August 1947. Moreover,

he dreamed of an independent, united India without partition, but unfortunately, such a noble vision remained unfulfilled. Ultimately, India was divided, and a new nation, Pakistan, was created just a day before its independence.

2.4. Development of Science and Indian Nation-building: Khwaja Abdul Hamied's *An Autobiography: A Life to Remember*

Science plays a significant role in human life. It resolves all the problems encountered by civilization along the way. Science has significantly enhanced the quality of human existence by creating beautiful architectural structures, roadways, parks, and gardens. Using the tools, equipment, and instruments that science has developed, humans are able to complete any task quickly and readily (Ratnasiri 113). As a result, humankind's life has become very blissful nowadays (Kriga and Wang 172).

The growth of a nation's economy and industry depends entirely on the advancement of science and technology. Utilizing advanced science and technology results in high-quality products and increases a nation's per capita GDP. Consequently, the advancement of science and technology is regarded as one of the most crucial foundations for nation-building in the world (Govindarajulu 29). Critics and scholars have produced many articles regarding the scientific contributions of scientists who are widely recognized in the mainstream discourse of the country. However, Indian scientists and academicians from minority communities have received less attention and have remained largely unrecognized throughout the world. Hence, this chapter concentrates on a minority scientist named Khwaja Abdul Hamied to examine his vision and contribution to the development of India through the establishment of laboratories and industries as documented in his autobiography, *An Autobiography: A Life to Remember* (1972).

In 1924, KA Hamied travelled to Germany for further studies after getting his M. Sc. in chemistry at Allahabad University. He was enrolled in a doctoral programme in Chemistry

at Berlin University in 1924 (64). He acquired practical proficiency in the areas of organic, inorganic, and physical chemistry during the course of his doctoral studies. This culminated in the attainment of his PhD degree in 1927. He also worked in a chemical laboratory for a year which was used to manufacture drugs and medicines, where he honed skills in drug and medicine production (66). He also visited many chemical, physical, and agricultural laboratories in the UK, Germany, and the USA and pondered how to advance India's science and technology.

During his return voyage to India via steamship after obtaining his PhD, Khwaja Abdul Hamied was reminiscing about the ups and downs of his life due to financial instability. He exhibited a state of anxiety regarding his uncertain prospects for the future. However, the possession of both practical and theoretical knowledge in the field of chemical science and technology was a source of great satisfaction for him, as it enabled him to make valuable contributions towards the advancement of nation's science and technology (Singh, 537). Thus, he engaged in profound contemplation regarding the matter while on the steamer-ship and finally drafted a proposal for setting up a "Technical Research Institute". This invaluable concept was subsequently disseminated through print media in 1928. (58). In the project, the author elucidated the potential advancements in science and technology while also addressing various challenges faced by Indian chemical and industrial factories, as well as the science pedagogy, which had hindered the nation's scientific progress.

In India, students of science have been observed to face a challenge, as KA Hamied stated, "Our students lack not only a knowledge of industrial chemistry and physics but also the necessary field for the application of such knowledge, even if they possess it" (60). He observed that the quality of science education in India is comparatively lower than that of developed countries. The advancement of science and technology is contingent upon the scientific research conducted within the laboratories. However, in 20th-century India, a

greater emphasis was placed on theoretical activities instead of laboratory-based research. Regarding this, KA Hamied argued- “I wonder why in our educational system, we lay so much importance on book knowledge without acquiring sufficient proficiency in experimental chemistry” (37). KA Hamied also remarked that once an industry is established in India, no research project has been conducted, and no new technology has been used for its advancement (37). Besides, he also argued that the government is engaging in communal politics and displaying a lack of interest in advancing science, technology, and industry, resulting in India falling behind numerous other nations (Govindarajulu 30).

Hamied argued that laboratory research serves as the cornerstone of a country’s scientific advancement, as it facilitates the creation of novel innovations and the enhancement of technology to yield superior quality goods. In this context, he opines, “The theoretical and practical knowledge gained in the universities has to be supplemented by the special courses of technical studies before a chemist or physicist can be of any help to the industrial development of the country” (59).

The author identified that there is a decline in the market share of naturally occurring commodities such as pearls, diamonds, and indigo. This is attributed to the emergence of synthetic alternatives produced by chemical industries in foreign nations. Even the first-world nations’ advanced technology produces higher-quality goods, thereby penetrating the marketplaces of India. Therefore, India urgently needs to enhance its products to reclaim the markets it has been losing over the years. Given the present circumstances, he desired for India to establish a technological research centre for the country’s overall growth. Therefore, KA Hamied, prepared a proposal to create a technology research institution while travelling back to India from Germany in 1927. He dispatched several copies of it to both the government and other reputed institutions. Nonetheless, both the government and academic

institutions displayed a reluctance to take up his concerns. Despite his efforts to raise funds for the establishment of a technological institute in India, he failed (61).

Hamied envisioned fostering India in science and technology during his stay in Germany. Therefore, he was unable to give up on his dream and aspired to establish a technical research institution for the scientific advancement of the nation (Shailaja and Mande 32). After 14 years of waiting, his long-awaited dream came true. Sir Ramaswami, the member for industries in the governor's executive council, took his plan into consideration, and on September 26, 1942, the "Council of Scientific and Industrial Research" (CSIR) was established in Delhi. Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar became its first director general, and Hamied was offered the position of deputy director general. Hamied declined the offer in order to devote his time to scientific research at Chemical Industrial and Pharmaceutical Laboratory (CIPLA) (Hamied 154-55; Shailaja and Mande 32).

K. A. Hamied provides a brief account of the establishment of various scientific laboratories and institutions led by CSIR. In the same year, the CSIR established the "National Chemical Laboratory" in Poona and the "National Physical Laboratory" in Delhi with the financial assistance of the central government. Following independence, the government led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru established many more notable and well-equipped laboratories throughout India. As per the 2014 - 2015 CSIR annual report, it comprises 38 research laboratories, and there are nearly 4000 scientists who are dedicated to the advancement of science in the nation (vii).

KA Hamied illustrates the significance of chemical science and technology in fostering the growth of various industries in India. He claims that sustenance is the foremost essential element in the existence of human beings. The author investigates the correlation between the progress of agricultural science and the enhancement of crop quality and

production. As per his statement, the domain of Chemical science has played a significant role in the advancement of agriculture. KA Hamied stated that the textile industry cannot be developed without the assistance of chemical science and technology. Similarly, industries such as soap, glass, enamel, steel, and many other metal industries depend on chemical science. The pharmaceutical industry, he asserted, is one of the most significant industries wholly dependent on chemistry. Regrettably, the Indian government has not contributed to the advancement of this industry, rather impeded its progress. According to KA Hamied, “Government has not only done nothing but had put handicaps in the way of development of industries by private enterprises. Even the government’s duty for industrial development was hampering than assisting the industries” (Hamied 158).

KA Hamied not only engaged in a discourse regarding the impediments and challenges of scientific progress but also sought to address the practical obstacles posed by these issues. He believed that the appointment of eminent scientists to top positions would not effectively address the issue, but only a stable, secular national government could facilitate genuine economic progress in the nation. He also stated that the responsibility of fostering industry and enhancing technology would be entirely entrusted to the manufacturers and scientists of the country and that the government should not apply any political influence upon them. He cited examples of scientific advancement in developed nations that were not subject to governmental influence on industrialists and scientists (159-60). Furthermore, he implored the government to follow suit, yet they did not acknowledge his plea or prioritise the nation’s technological advancement. Hence, India’s scientific progress is comparatively inferior to that of numerous European countries.

Subsequently, the Indian Chemical Manufacturers’ Association (ICMA) was established in 1944. The Indian government chose KA Hamied to be its first director. As

head of ICMA, KA Hamied proposed that the Indian government cultivate cordial relations with developed nations such as the United Kingdom in order to gain insights into their latest technological advancements. He also requested that the government formulate arrangements for dispatching a delegation to the United Kingdom. The government officials concurred and formed a commission. In 1945, under the direction of KA Hamied, the committee travelled to the chemical, physical, and agricultural labs in the United Kingdom. The laboratories in the United Kingdom warmly welcomed them and provided comprehensive information on their respective production processes. Furthermore, the researchers provided visual representations of the ongoing investigations carried out in their laboratories (185).

The British Chemical Manufacturers' Association invited the delegates for a meeting over lunch and on the day of their return, KA Hamied delivered a captivating speech at the gathering on how scientific collaboration may advance science and technology in India and the UK. The speech was well-received and captivated the attention of the foreign audience. Subsequently, the delegation conveyed the aforementioned information to the Indian government through a report. Unfortunately, the government failed to consider the report on the development of industries to the necessary standards. As a result, India continued to fall behind other developed nations in science and technology, making it one of the world's poorest nations (Sen 67).

One of the significant contributions of KA Hamied towards the development of the nation was the establishment of CIPLA in 1935. This initiative had been a long-standing aspiration of Hamied, dating back to 1927, when he was advised by MK Gandhi to undertake a project for the betterment of the nation. (Srivastava 138). His desire to contribute to the betterment of the nation through scientific breakthroughs led to the establishment of a pharmaceutical enterprise that pioneered the production of top-notch medications for the treatment of different chronic diseases and began distributing medicines at reduced rates.

Consequently, it acquired popularity rapidly on both the local and global marketplaces. According to the 2017 Business World Report, it is now one of the most prestigious pharmaceutical companies in India.

Besides, his providences in the realm of nation-building through education was noteworthy. He stated, “Education alone can raise the physical, moral, and ethical standards of the people and give them a discipline and character so necessary for the progress and development of the nation” (295). KA Hamied stated that the development of a nation is contingent upon the sufficient education of everyone, enabling them to comprehend and fulfil their obligations to the country. He opined that establishing massive industries and lavish houses for government bureaucrats would not lead to national development. Instead, he stressed the need of putting an emphasis on education as the first step in the process of building a developed nation (296).

Thus, this study has tried to look at KA Hamied’s longing, imagination, and efforts towards advancing the Indian nation in science and technology. Due to his endeavours, government established CSIR in 1942, which made significant contribution to the scientific progress of the nation. However, in most cases, the author failed to accelerate his vision as he could not bring it into reality due to the apathetic disposition of the government. Hence, he alone compelled to establish his own drug making research institute, CIPLA. Currently, it is recognized as one of the top medicine companies in India and on the global market. Even today, it is providing better quality medicines to people at lower cost for many decades for the humanitarian cause. In addition, his son, Dr Yusuf K. Hamied, who is currently the director of CIPLA, was awarded the Padma Bhushan for his contributions to the global fight against HIV/AIDS.

2.5. Conceptualizing the Unified Indian Nation: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's *India Wins Freedom* (1959)

Maulana Azad plays a significant role for the development of composite nationalistic idea, freedom of the nation, and building a single Indian nation. He brought out the Muslims from their pro-British sentiment and inspired them to join anti-colonial movements led by Indian National Congress during 1920 to 1947. He discreetly disseminated an anti-British inclusive nationalistic idea among the diverse communities in north India with the aim of bolstering the movements for independence. Besides, he made efforts to invalidate the concept of the two-nation theory and expressed disapproval of the Muslim League in order to protect the unity of India and prevent its partition. According to Anthony D. Smith, nation is a historical phenomenon. It primarily deals with the history of nation-building and nationalistic movements (34-35). Maulana Azad's *India Wins Freedom* (1959) delves into the history of inclusive nationalism, anti-colonial movements for the formation of a unified Indian nation. This chapter will examine how Maulana Azad's autobiography reflects his vision for a unified Indian nation.

The practice of the two-nation theory was one of the pivotal moments in modern Indian history, which resulted in partition, and a new nation, Pakistan, emerged just before India's independence on August 15, 1947. It also altered the Indian subcontinent's geopolitics and economy. During the two hundred years of the British regime, many freedom fighters who imagined making India a free and developed nation emerged at different times. One of them was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who challenged Jinnah's communal politics of partition and envisioned a secular and united independent India (Bhattacharjee 132-133). Therefore, this study will explore Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's idea of the Indian nation, which he has explored in his autobiography. Besides, the researcher will focus on how

Maulana Azad contributed to the process of Indian nation-building during the first half of the twentieth century.

In 1888, Maulana Azad was born in Mecca (Saudi Arabia). His family was wealthy, orthodox, and staunchly anti-modern. They were afraid that contemporary English education would turn them into heretics. Hence, his father, Khairuddin, gave him religious instructions himself at home. Further, his father, Khairuddin, lacked confidence and trust in conventional schooling or madrasa education. So, he planned for Azad's schooling to take place at home. He arranged many tutors for him and made him study mathematics, geometry, philosophy, and so on in Arabic (02). Young Maulana Azad's perspective had been profoundly affected by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's works on modern education. He realized the significance of contemporary education for both him and the community. Consequently, he pursued modern education through his own initiative (03). Despite being deeply influenced by the writings of Syed Ahmed Khan, Maulana Azad did not adhere fanatically to his pro-British philosophy (Sultana 02). He expressed disapproval and engaged with the Muslim community to mitigate their pro-British inclinations. The speaker asserted that the British had not only initiated an invasion of the Indian subcontinent but were also perilously close to dismantling the Khilafat system and the Islamic culture of decency (Chandan, "Remembering Maulana Azad When We Most Need Him", 39).

During his young years, Maulana Azad acquired extensive knowledge pertaining to Islam, contemporary politics, and identity. Consequently, he faced difficulties in adjusting to the traditional Islamic customs practiced by the Muslim community. He discovered that his forefathers' faiths and ideas were dogmatic and unreasonable, and based on them, they were fighting each other. Therefore, his mind was instilled with a new sense of resistance and rationality. He broke all his family's religious shackles and appended the appellation "Azad"

to his name, signifying liberation. However, Maulana Azad wanted to reduce political and communal violence through theological liberalism. He accepted the rational and liberal aspects of religion, with the aim of bringing all communities together on a single platform to strengthen the Indian nation-building process (04).

When it comes to defining and explaining the notion of secular democracy for the Indian nation, Maulana Azad was possibly one of the earliest Indian political philosophers. He claimed that the best way to advance the Indian nation-building process was through an inclusive nationalism based on the unification of all faiths, tribes, and communities. Hence, tried to propagate such ideas, opposed the communal party, “Muslim League,” allied himself with freedom fighters, and struggled in all his political life for the unity of all communities and mutual religious coexistence (Suroor, “Maulana Azad” 145; Bhattacharjee 133). At the outset of his political career, Maulana Azad exhibited a strong inclination towards inclusive nationalism (04). He has consistently maintained a distance from the Muslim League due to its exclusivist and sectarian views. Maulana Azad was a vocal critic of the 1905 division of Bengal. There were significant changes in his political thinking after his subsequent interaction with the Sunni revolutionaries. During this time, he also met Bengali revolutionaries like Arvind Ghosh (1872–1951) and Shyamsundar Chakravarty (1869-1932) and joined the anti-British revolutionary movement (Sultana 01). The nationalist movement in northern India benefited from his dual roles as a social worker and a covert revolutionary. During his membership in the Indian National Congress, the secret anti-colonial movement was limited to Bengal and Bihar. However, Maulana Azad secretly spread this anti-British nationalistic movement in different parts of North India. He always kept in touch with the revolutionaries of Maharashtra, Bengal, Bihar, and the various parts of northern India to enhance the nation-building process (04-06).

Many nations in the Gulf went through freedom movements, including Syria, Iraq, and Iran. While visiting these nations, Maulana Azad met revolutionaries. He came upon Iranian revolutionaries striving for the establishment of a constitutional government in exile in Iraq. He met Sheikh Muhammad Abduh, Saeed Pasha, and other Arab revolutionaries in Egypt. He acquired a sufficient understanding of the undertakings and pursuits of the Young Turks in Constantinople with the aim of preserving the Khalifate. His interactions with revolutionaries from all these nations convinced him that a revolution was necessary for India to gain its freedom, and he must strive towards that objective (07). Maulana Azad writes: “Muslim must cooperate in the work of political liberation of the country. Steps must be taken to ensure that they were not exploited by the British Government. I felt it necessary to create a new movement among the Muslims and decided that on my return to India, I would take up political work with greater earnestness” (07-08). He realized that he could not simply influence the masses for independence. Hence, he started publishing magazines for voicing against British imperial oppression. This endeavour proved instrumental in disseminating anti-British sentiment among people of diverse religious communities (Qaiyoom 678; Suroor, “The Literary Contribution” 07). First, he published an Urdu magazine called “Al Hilal” (1912), through which he started condemning the colonial oppression of the British and tried to erase the pro-British sentiment from the minds of Muslims (08).

Further, communalism emerged as a serious issue in twentieth-century India, endangering India’s plural nature and weakening the freedom movement. Hence, he began to advocate for pluralism after returning from the Gulf countries. Through “Al-Hilal,” he published many articles regarding communal harmony and tried to restore Hindu-Muslim unity following antagonism between the two communities over the issue of community-based representation. Additionally, this journal advocated anti-British views throughout World War - I and quickly gained popularity. The popularity of Hilal’s shook the British administration,

which swiftly confiscated it in 1915. Later, Maulana Azad launched a new journal called “Al-Balagh” (09). However, the British government stopped it as well. Notwithstanding, Maulana Azad did not stop there. He then started publishing a magazine called “Paygam”. Then, thinking that the situation had improved, he resumed publication of “Al-Hilal” again. Maulana Azad, in this way, never stopped, always continuing to construct the backdrop of India’s freedom movement with the integration of all nations (Bhattacharjee 134). Consequently, the British authorities saw no option but to expel Maulana Azad from Calcutta. They dismissed him, and he moved to Bihar. However, even there, he was kept under house arrest. On January 1, 1920, he was released and returned to Calcutta to work for pluralism and independence (09).

The collapse of Turkey’s caliph institution was evident in the last stages of World War - I due to its support for Germany against the Allies. Germany’s defeat in the war put Turkey in jeopardy. The Turkish sultanate’s future became uncertain, which alarmed Muslims in India, and they began the Khilafat movement. Maulana Azad and Muhammad Ali became the undisputed leaders of the movement. Moreover, returning from South Africa a few years earlier, Gandhi also linked the Hindu community to the Khilafat movement as a tactic to exert pressure on the British. On the other hand, Maulana Azad fully supported M. K. Gandhi’s non-cooperation movement and played an active role in both the non-cooperation and Khilafat movements simultaneously. During this period, Gandhiji and Maulana Azad toured widely across India to garner public support for the non-cooperation movement. British officials arrested Maulana Azad and other Congress leaders for suppressing the movement and released them after they served two years in prison. During this critical situation, the annual session of the Indian National Congress was organized in Nagpur in December 1920. Muhammad Ali Jinnah ultimately quit Congress and began

working for Pakistan. On the other hand, Maulana Azad became one of the top Congress leaders and was elected President of the Congress in 1923 (29; Peerzada 166).

During the beginning of the Second World War, regarding India's participation in the war, a cold war had begun among the Congress leaders. Many of them were confused and could not decide about it. In this critical situation, Maulana Azad became president (1940-46) of the Indian National Congress for the second time. Maulana Azad was an exception when almost no politician, except Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, could come out of the "Gandhi sphere of influence" and express his own understanding of politics (26-27). He says, "If freedom could be obtained by fighting, we would certainly participate in the war" (32). On the other hand, Mahatma Gandhi was a staunch war opponent because he was a non-violent activist. Other leaders did not dare to go beyond Gandhiji's views. But Azad's thinking in this regard was far-reaching and reasonable. However, he advocated an ideology of non-violence. He reasoned that there is a distinction between the fight for freedom within the country and the fight against aggression outside the country. Fighting for independence is one thing, but fighting after independence is quite another. It is not right to mix these two.

The British administration was ready to offer India its independence at the end of World War II, as had been announced earlier. Hence, on March 23, 1947, a three-member cabinet team led by the secretary, Lord Patrick Lawrence, the chairman of the Board of Trustees, Sir Stafford Cripps, and the first lord of the admiralty, Mr. AV Alexander, arrived in India to negotiate the issue of freedom and the communal problem. Maulana Azad realized that the problem of freedom would be solved, but the communal issues had become the significant roadblock to the country's independence and peaceful co-existence. He found that Muslims are a minority in India, despite being the majority in three regions. He also conceived that Muslims were encouraged to support the partition of India by Jinnah's

declaration of a two-nation state in 1939 and the Pakistan resolution on the establishment of separate sovereign states in provinces with most Muslims in 1940 (145-47).

However, Maulana Azad always fought for an independent Indian nation. Hence, he tried to weaken Jinnah's practical application of the two-nation theory. So, when the Lahore resolution was raised in 1940, he staunchly opposed it from the beginning. His presidential address during the 1923 Congress session is well remembered even today because of his desire to promote communal unity and peace on the Indian subcontinent. From a humanitarian standpoint, he argued that pluralism is far more significant than national freedom. He opined:

Today, if an angel were to descend from heaven and declare from the top of the Qutub Minar, that India will get Swaraj within twenty four hours, provided she relinquishes Hindu Muslim Unity, I will relinquish Swaraj rather than Hindu- Muslim Unity, Delay in the attainment Swaraj will be a loss to India, but if our unity is lost, it will be loss for entire mankind. (Pant 1317; Bhattacharjee 132)

Besides, he wanted Indian constitutions to be based on a secular democracy and communal integrity, with equal rights and opportunities for all people, regardless of caste, class, religion, or culture (149). However, the British intended to create a perpetual conflict between the two communities. That is why they backed the Muslim League, and the Muslim League backed their colonial control in India (209). Thus, Jinnah was influenced by British colonial authorities and proceeded to incite the Muslim masses by declaring that they could not coexist, and that Hindus would control them if they stayed in India. Furthermore, his ambition for power blinded him, and he continued to strive for the establishment of a separate nation for Muslims, resulting in a major disaster for the Indian subcontinent (Dar 45).

Under such circumstances, Maulana Azad was looking for a way to remove the fear of Hindu dominance from the minds of Muslims. He proposed that the only way to eliminate India's communal problems is to introduce a federal system of government in the Constitution of India. The central government will have only defence, communications and foreign affairs, and all other matters will be in the hands of the provinces. In this way, the Muslims could retain their authority and power in the majority provinces and play a separate role in the All-India Government. His proposal was supported by top Congress leaders, including Gandhiji. This was reflected in a cabinet mission dispatched by the British government in 1946, which proposed a federal structure of government with autonomy for the entire country divided into three major regions (149).

In addition, Jawaharlal Nehru succeeded Maulana Azad as President of the Indian National Congress. The Muslim League gained a few seats in Uttar Pradesh's election. As Congress worked for freedom, secularism, and communal harmony, Maulana Azad requested that Jawaharlal Nehru appoint two League ministers in the Uttar Pradesh cabinet for the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. However, Jawaharlal Nehru refused this demand and declared that everything would be done according to the will of the majority, giving the Muslim League space to work on the Pakistan resolution during the 1940s (165; A Engineer, "Maulana Azad and Partition"). In this way, the backdrop for the foundation of Pakistan was set, and Mr Jinnah started to work on it. However, Maulana Azad strived to handle the situation. Maulana Azad tried to nullify Jinnah's two-nation theory. He pointed out Dr Edward Thompson's argument regarding Jinnah's two nation theory which is, "Hindus and Muslim live side by side in thousands of Indian villages, towns, and hamlets, Mr. Jinnah replied that this in no way affected their separate nationality. According to Mr. Jinnah, two nations confront one another in every hamlet, village, and town, and he, therefore, desires that they should be separated into two states" (151). Regarding this, Maulana Azad continued to argue that his

idea of two nations would never be effective for the betterment of the Muslim community. He asserted that 3.5 crore Muslims live in India's thousands of villages and cities. They could never be divided. Most of them were underprivileged and opposed the Muslim League. What would have happened to India's 3.5 crore Muslims if there had been a partition? If separatists incited communalism, who would put an end to the rioting? Thus, the idea of partition was unlikely to solve India's challenges of communalism and the Muslim minority (151).

Besides, Maulana Azad claimed that Islam did not contribute in any way to the foundation of a nation. On the other hand, Islam always sought to forge a community despite language, caste, culture, and religious disparities. He pointed out that if religion creates a nation, why have the Muslim countries been unable to unite under Islam? Further, he foresaw Pakistan's inevitable partition (248). Later, history witnessed Pakistan's bifurcation and the foundation of Bangladesh on December 16, 1971. In this way, he disproved Jinnah's premise of two nations and inspired the following generation by outlining some ideas for creating an inclusive Indian nation. His thoughts and reasoning, however, had little effect on anyone. Finally, all members of Congress approved the partition, including MK Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Sardar Patel. Maulana Azad also agreed since the circumstances demanded it. He opined, "If we had remained steadfast and refused to accept partition, I am confident that a safer and more glorious future could have awaited us" (247). He further argues: "Can anyone deny that the creation of Pakistan has not solved the communal problem but made it more intense and harmful" (247). Thus, India bifurcated, and a new nation, Pakistan, was created just before India's independence on August 15, 1947.

What Maulana Azad imagined a few years ago has now come true. Although people in both countries die daily from hunger and a lack of access to quality healthcare, each started to view the other as an enemy and spent vast sums of money to strengthen their defence systems. In this context, Maulana Azad added, "If we pause to think, we shall realize what

great national wastage all this involves. If this fund could be used for economic development, the progress of the country could be greatly accelerated” (248).

In conclusion, it can be argued that this chapter has unveiled some historical facts which have not been focussed much and are almost absent in the mainstream discourses. The study also attempted to depict Maulana Azad’s vision of a united India where various communities co-existed freely and peacefully, for which he strived until his last breath. To a great extent, he failed to achieve his goals. However, India achieved independence, but the communal harmony was disrupted by its partition. It cannot be denied that communal harmony in the country has lasted to some extent due to Maulana Azad’s efforts to promote Hindu-Muslim unity. Due to his efforts, Hindus and Muslims now coexist peacefully in different regions of India. In addition, because of Maulana Azad’s humanistic and secular approach, many Muslims backed him and his political party. They took part in the freedom movements for achieving freedom and in the development of India’s inclusive nationalistic nature.

Chapter-III

Constructing Minority (Muslim) Identity

3.1. Introduction

In 1857, both Hindus and Muslims equally took part in the Sepoy Mutiny against the British imperialism and tried to resist it (Bandyopadhyay 64). However, in the post-mutiny era, the situation completely reversed. British government implemented many policies of separatism. Besides, they collected data regarding the socio-economic progress of Hindus and Muslims and argued that Muslims were more backward than the Hindus. Thus, such comparative analysis based on religion developed the idea of separate religious consciousness and identity within both communities during the second half of the nineteenth century. During the same period, Bengali Brahmins, especially Raj Narain Basu (1826–1899), Aurobindo Ghosh, and Nabagopal Mitra (1840–94), started to unite the Hindu community. Even though they had developed the discourse of binary opposition, we/they, superior/inferior between the two communities, and declared India a Hindu nation during that period (Majumdar 295–96). Later, such developments of Hindu nationalism and their binary opposition provoked the Muslim intellectuals, and they started shaping a separate Muslim identity through religious reformation and educational progress (Bandyopadhyaya 314). On the other hand, Muslims gradually abandoned the ideals of righteousness, honesty, and humanity and forgot their religious identity. At this very moment, after World War I, the united power of Christians and Jews dissolved the institution of the Islamic Caliphate, and a new system of administration was implemented around the globe. As a result, Muslims across the world, including India, faced a crisis of political, cultural and religious identity.

Besides, Muslim community has been divided into many sects for ages and has begun to see one another as antagonists. Some selfish Muslim priests even began exploiting the people of their own nation or community in the name of Islam, and at the same time, the common Muslim forgot their religious identity and began worshipping them. Under such conjuncture, the issue of reshaping Muslim identity arises. Many Muslim elites contributed to

shaping Muslim identity during the last century. Among them, Maulana Mohammed Ali and Asghar Ali Engineer fought to shape Muslim identity and strived for the nation's development.

3.2. Theoretical Application

In this chapter, the researcher will be examining two autobiographies, *A Living Faith: My Quest for Peace, Harmony and Social Change* (2012) by Asghar Ali Engineer and *My Life, a Fragment: An Autobiographical Sketch of Maulana Mohamed Ali* (1999) by Maulana Mohammed Ali. Here, the researcher will use the concepts of "Ummah" and "Muslimness" to explore how Mohammed Ali explored the process of constructing a minority, especially the Muslim identity reflected in his autobiographical life narrative. Further, various ideas of nationalism and post-colonial literary theory will also be used to know how Muslims and Hindus united on the question of India's freedom and conducted anti-colonial movements during the first half of the 20th century to challenge the colonial activities of the British Empire. Moreover, according to Gramsci's concept of hegemony, by the guise of ideology, the ruling class oppresses the common and poor people to strengthen their hegemonic position in society (Aidi & Yechouti 02). Hence, the researcher will also use Gramsci's concept, "hegemony" to understand the high priest's oppression over his own Bohra nation/community to strengthen his position. Further, the post-colonial literary criticism will also be used to know how Asghar Ali Engineer strived against high priest's colonial activities to rebuild the Muslim identity of the Bohra Nation as appeared in Asghar Ali Engineer's autobiography.

3.3. Construction of Muslim Identity and Indian Nation: Maulana Mohammed Ali's *My Life: A Fragment: An Autobiographical Sketch of Maulana Mohamed Ali*

The narrative of Maulana Mohammed Ali (1878-1931) regarding Indian nation-building is grossly conflicting. He and many Muslim elites founded the Muslim League in 1906. He strived to make a backdrop for the Muslim nation. However, when he found that the Islamic caliphate of Turkey was on the verge of collapse and the other leaders of the Muslim League were doing nothing to save it, he altered his political motive and joined hands with Mahatma Gandhi. He worked for Hindu-Muslim unity and led many independence campaigns together. Unlike other contemporary Muslim elites, he fought for the nation's independence and attempted to save the Islamic empire in Turkey and develop Islamic culture and identity among Indian Muslims (Wasti 5; Ali 13). This chapter will explore Maulana Mohammed Ali's autobiography, *My Life: A Fragment* (1999), to see how he drew out the vision of the Islamic world, identity, and Indian nation during the colonial period. It will also give an outline of the history of Islam while campaigning against colonial outfits from 1900 to 1931.

During the regime of Mughal, India became one of the most prosperous countries in the world, with a 22.4 percent GDP. It used to supply 25% of the world's industrial production during the same period (Maddison 259). Further, the rulers of this period developed the architects of India quite well, which has taken India to a prestigious place in terms of architecture. They made the Taj Mahal, Lal Qila, Jama Masjid, Badshahi Mosque, Golkonda Fort, Bibi Ka Maqbara, Red Fort, Agra Fort, Fatehpur Sikri, Lahore Fort, Moti Masjid, Mecca Masjid, Shah Jahan Mosque, Humayun's Tomb, Tomb of Jahangir, Lalbagh Fort, and so on (Asher 01; Kane 339-340). However, it is unfortunate that the Muslim rulers forgot about the construction of Islamic culture and identity among the Muslims in India. They did not give importance to the teachings of Islam according to the holy Quran and

Hadith (sayings of the prophet Muhammad). Thus, Muslims stayed ignorant about their faith and culture for centuries. Following the arrival of the British in India, the Muslim regime came to an end. The British assumed governance over India. They set up many schools to propagate their culture, ideology, and religion among Indians. Hindus took advantage of this and became educated. Whereas Muslims stayed away from English education as they thought that English education could lead them toward the path of the devil (Ali 52). Thus, Indian Muslims had neither Islamic nor modern education and became a backward community during the Mughal period. In this conjuncture, Muslim elites established a madrasah, *Darool Uloom Deoband*, in 1866 to construct Muslims' religious identity. On the other hand, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan set up *Mahamedan Anglo Oriental College* (MAC) in 1875. (Ali 11, 25). But, the problem was that the British authority separated religious education from modern education and removed religious education from the institutions led by them, where they just taught science, social science, and languages. Moreover, they cleverly discontinued Islamic education and instead implemented secular and godless education. There were very few madrasahs where the teaching of humanity, justice, equality, brotherhood, and morality was provided through Islamic theology (60-61).

As a result, those educated in madrasahs were unable to learn about science and social science, and those educated in institutions founded by the British were unable to access religious instruction, leading to a state of ignorance among India's Muslim minority, deprivation of fundamental Islamic teaching and modern education, and identity crisis. Under this conjuncture, Maulana Mohammed Ali started striving to construct an Indian Muslim identity while fighting against colonial outfits, as he describes in his autobiography, *My Life, a Fragment: An Autobiographical Sketch of Maulana Mohamed Ali* (1942). He begins writing the autobiography by proclaiming his identity as an ordinary Muslim who does not write for the elites but for the ignorant people of his community. Later, he reveals two sides

of his identity that relate not only to Islam but also to the freedom and progress of the Indian nation. He states that he (a Muslim) is a true Muslim who follows Almighty God's command faithfully (27). On the other side, about the national identity, he opines, "I am an Indian first, and Indian second, an Indian last, and nothing but an Indian" (27-28). His persona also had a humanistic element, which exhibited "community loyalty". He argued, "I am a Muslim first, and everything else afterwards...Faith is my motive of conduct in every act... and my faith demands freedom. That Swaraj will give me, but it does not demand the subjugation of the Hindu or anyone else differing me in faith...My own freedom and not the enslavement of any other is my creed" (Ali 28; Iqbal 356).

Hence, Maulana Muhammed Ali struggled against British colonialism for Indian nation-building and the security of his Islamic faith during the beginning of the twentieth century (Rahman 254). While exploring Maulana Mohamed Ali's ideology, identity, contribution to the freedom struggle, and pluralism, scholars and critics have less focused on his autobiography. Rather, they have focused on his lectures and journalistic activities. Hence, this study will mainly focus on his autobiography to examine his struggle to construct a Muslim identity within the circle of Indian nation. He was born in an Islamized rich family in Rampur, Uttar Pradesh, in 1878. During his childhood, Mohammed Ali received the basic teachings of Islam. He started reading the Quran and memorising its small chapters during childhood. However, he did not understand even a single word of it. Later, he studied the explanations of it and Arabic grammar and understood some essential teachings of Islam (Ali 47-48). During the reign of Maulana Mohammed Ali, it was thought that English education would undermine Muslims' identities and cultures. As a result, they avoided English education. Maulana Mohammed Ali, on the other hand, proved them incorrect. He gained an understanding of Islam as well as new advancements in English education. Nonetheless, he

was an Islamic thinker and scholar who fought to defend Islam from Western countries' cultural and political invasion (54).

Maulana Mohammed Ali elegantly revealed one of the primary causes for Muslims' loss of religious identity. According to his statement, in the past, mosques served not only as a site for prayer, but also as a centre for knowledge acquisition and a forum for global governance among Muslims. During the historical period of Prophet Muhammad and the initial caliphs, the focal point was utilized to advance the principles of peace, humanity, equality, justice, and brotherhood (55). However, it is regrettable to say that during the time of Maulana Mohammed Ali, the Muslim community had become disconnected from the mosque and had lost their connection with the Divine Creator. Moreover, the Muslim children were exclusively instructed in the art of reciting the Quran without being imparted with its underlying significance, which encompasses principles of benevolence, equity, and integrity. Consequently, they failed to frame their religious identity and lost their dominant influence across the globe (54-55). Maulana Mohammed Ali aspired to integrate Islamic and contemporary education in order to redefine the Islamic identity of the Muslims. However, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had different perspective and objectives. He observed that the Muslim minority community exhibited low socioeconomic status, with a significant proportion experiencing poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment. He came to realization that modern education could resolve such problem. Therefore, he founded the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College (MAO) in Aligarh, which was designed as a government institution with an English-medium curriculum, in collaboration with the British Empire in India. That was why he stayed loyal to British imperialism (Ahmad and Butt 02). He simply did it to give Muslims a good place in society (Ali, Mohamed Ali in Indian politics 19).

Maulana Mohammed Ali slammed Sir Syed Ahmed Khan for rejecting the teaching of Islam in educational institutions. Mohammed Ali said, "This was a well-known and in a way

notorious, institution, founded on the models of English public school and residential college...” (61). As a result, Muslim students of MAO progressed much in modern education, but unfortunately, they remained imbecile about their religion (62-63). Later, MAO became Aligarh Muslim University and established a theology department, but it did not impact on the students’ religious lives. However, Maulana’s assertion was not entirely accurate. Presently, several mosques located within Aligarh Muslim University, formerly known as MAO College, continue to impart instruction on the principles of humanity, Islam, and righteousness. But such instruction was not enough according to Maulana Mohammed Ali as he wanted a hybrid education mixing Islam and modern education that would benefit both Islam and humanity. Further, he expressed a desire for MAO to serve as a central hub for the advancement of Islamic culture, fostering a sense of shared identity among Muslims globally (Ali 19). However, Mohammed Ali’s vision of promoting pan-Islamic theology among Indian Muslims to counter colonialism in India was not fully achieved due to the lack of access to Islamic education for students at MAO. Consequently, he and several other members of the Khilafat Committee established Jamia Millia Islamia in 1920. This institution aimed to advance Islamic education among Indian Muslims, like Sayyad Qutab’s efforts in Egypt (Ali 3; Moussalli 09). Regrettably, Mohammed Ali’s aspirations were not fully achieved, as the university did not prioritise the teaching of Islam to its students. Mohammed Ali’s plan to reshape Muslim identity faced significant challenges, as most Muslims displayed little interest in Islam and had limited knowledge of it. Maulana Mohammed Ali studied in MAO at Aligarh. He obtained a BA degree from Allahabad University. Further, he went to England and completed an MA program at Lincoln College, Oxford University. After returning from England, Maulana Mohammed Ali became the Chief Educational Officer (CEO) of his state, Rampur. He found the school’s syllabus of the educational institution to be devoid of any religious or spiritual content. The students were not provided with any

provisions for religious education. Thus, he established a designated space for Muslim students to conduct the *asr* prayer. Concurrently, Hindu pupils received theological guidance from their pandits. However, it was terminated within a year when he left his position as CEO (72).

The autobiography of Maulana Mohammed Ali reveals that he was involved in nationalist pursuits of India, while also dedicating himself to develop the economic status and political representation of the Muslim community. Regarding this he said, “I belong to two circles of equal size, but which are not concentric. One is India, and the other is the Muslim world” (Wasti 51; Pritchett). As he observed that, since the advent of colonial outfits, the peaceful coexistence between Hindus and Muslims has been eroded by the poison of communalism, he desired to unite the people of India of different faiths under the umbrella of one united nation, where no partisan would be entertained, and all would be treated equally as citizens of the nation. He also realized that the freedom movement could be enhanced only through the development of harmonious relations among the people living in India for centuries. That is why he travelled the entire nation, encouraging people to fight for freedom and communal harmony alongside Mahatma Gandhi, Shaikat Ali, and many other revolutionary activists (Ali 167). On the other hand, he found the Muslim community poor, backward, and was underrepresented in the political sphere. He believed that it was important to ensure the equitable involvement of Muslims in the political affairs of the nation in order to maintain balance among various communities. Therefore, he demanded separate electorates to protect the rights of the Muslim community (73-74; Rahman 258).

Mohammed Ali explains how he connected the Muslim community’s fight to save the Caliphate with India’s freedom movement. Before World War I, the entire Muslim world was ruled by the Ottoman Empire, which was founded on the teachings of the Holy Quran and the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad and lasted until 1924. Muslims believed in the concept of

one ummah and one leader, the Caliph (Cesari 31-32). However, Britain and its friendly countries thought that the Caliphate, and Pan-Islamism were the main hindrances to establishing their regime, culture, and identity around world. Even the people of western countries thought Islam was the biggest threat to Christianity. That was why they started the divide-and-rule policy in the Turkish-ruled Muslim Empire. It created extreme nationalistic ideology between Turks and the Arabs, and they raged against each other (Ali 189). Further, they spread the ideology of anti-Islamic atheism by the pretext of secularism. Muslims were also divided into many sects (Shi'a, Sunni, Hanafi, etc.), and a gap had been created among Muslims around the world (Ali 179, 186, 199; Ahmad & Evergeti 1705). The Muslim caliphs and the governors of the various provinces fell into a deep sleep of luxuriousness and laziness. They lagged far behind in education, initiation, and science (Nadvi 95-96; Rahman 258). From the 18th to mid of 20th century, Muslims in India also lost their hegemonic power and were simultaneously colonized by the British Empire.

On the other hand, the institution of the Caliph was about to be destroyed by the Entente Powers led by the British Empire during the beginning of the 20th century (Niemeijer 48). At this very moment, Muslims in India and around the world also felt existential and identity crises, which led them to start a movement against the Western countries, especially the British colonial outfit, in 1919. The All-India Muslim League, commonly referred to as the Muslim-lover party, did not make efforts to alleviate the challenges faced by the Muslim community. Maulana Mohamed Ali dreamed of saving the caliph institution and wanted to unite Muslims around the world for the security of Muslims and Islam (29). Therefore, Maulana Mohamed Ali collaborated with the Indian National Congress in 1919 and initiated the Khilafat movement together with Congress leaders and members, which alarmed the British Empire regarding the Caliph question and colonial oppression (Abbas 46). The leading members of this movement were Maulana Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Maulana

Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, M. A. Ansari, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, and so on. Firstly, they started the Khilafat campaign through print media. He published numerous articles on pluralism, communal harmony, British colonialism, and the Khilafat institution in his edited periodicals, “Comrade” (1911–1914) and “Hamdard” (1913–1914) to make the Indian Muslims understand who the Turkish Caliph was and why they needed to fight for him.

Furthermore, he travelled throughout India, met with many ulemas (Quranic scholars), leaders, and attempted to raise awareness among Muslims about the Khilafat and the freedom movement (30). Thus, the movement spread throughout many cities and provinces of India within a year. Maulana Mohammed Ali and his brother, Shaukat Ali, had declared the Khilafat brochure. Moreover, in order to keep the movement active, they began to raise money from the public. Some money was sent to Turkey for the cause of saving the caliph institution (Ahmad 03). On the other side, Mahatma Gandhi launched a nonviolent agitation against the British administration’s oppressive Rowlett Act and the Jalian Wallah Bagh massacre. During this period, he befriended Mahatma Gandhi, who backed the Khilafat movement to bolster anti-British sentiment and communal harmony and strengthen the anti-colonial movement (Jalal 08). The members of the Khilafat and Congress launched a powerful movement across all of India, upending the very foundations of the British administration. However, unfortunately, Mahatma Gandhi repealed the non-cooperation movement due to the Chauri Chaura incident and stopped backing the Khilafat movement. Consequently, Hindu members of Congress fighting for the Khilafat question and against colonialism stopped the movement and moved away; Muslims felt alone, and the movement also became weaker. A delegation was also sent to England under the leadership of Maulana Mohammed Ali with the demand to save the Caliph institution and the holy cities of Islam—Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. They stayed there for eight months and arranged many

meetings and conferences in England, France, Italy, and Rome. They also tried to make the Europeans understand that the Caliph was not a mere ruler of Turkey but the religious leader of the Muslim Ummah and that they had an inherent connection with him through faith, not politics.

However, after the end of WWI, the Ottoman Caliph system was destroyed, and the whole Muslim world became leaderless. Many Muslim nation-states were created by the British on the ideology of nationalism (Cesari 31). Pan-Islamist Muslim leaders in India were completely unsuccessful in establishing a global Islamic regime (Ahmad 15). Changes were observed in the system of governance all over the world. Christians hold the throne of power. Thus, Muslims lost their cultural, political, and Islamic identity. Further, the Muslims worldwide lag Europe in education, science, and technology (Nadvi 100-101). At this point, Muslim intellectuals from India and around the world began to consider reviving the Islamic identity, culture, and Caliphate system of prophetic decency. Further, according to the pan-Islamic ideology, caliphs are the successors of Prophet Mohammed. The common Britishers and other Europeans conceived the motive of the Khilafat delegation and won their sympathy and support. Besides, Khilafat leaders contacted the Sultan of Turkey, Vahidudin, and expressed their support from India. They talked with many other leaders in Turkey on the Khilafat question (158; Ahmad 05-07). However, unfortunately, the demand was rejected by the British government, and they came back to India with the frustration of failure and uncertainty about the future of Islam (63-65). Besides, the Ottoman Empire supported Germany in World War I. The Allies defeated Germany, and the war ended in 1920 with the Treaty of Sevres (Thiam 197). Because of this consequence, the need for a movement came to an end when Mustafa Kemal Ataturk dismantled the caliphate system of Turkey in 1924 (Ahmad 15; Rahman 263; Nafi 183).

According to Maulana Mohammed Ali, returning to the Quran's teachings and following the path of Prophet Muhammad were essential to succeed. That is why he studied the Quran more and more. Further, he studied many Gospels of the Quran to conceive it more coherently (85-86). He also studied the life of Prophet Muhammad, and the history of Islam for many years. After finishing all the studies regarding the same, he arrived at the conclusion that adhering to pan-Islamic ideology can effectively shape one's identity and foster a humanistic perspective. He opines that the Quran is not only a classical Arabic literary text but also a declaration of humanity, a source of compassion and knowledge, a comfort to the sceptic, and a message of peace to the bereaved. It has arrived in the world to shape/reshape the identity and aims of mankind, which is beneficial to everyone (122-23). The Holy Quran was the discovery of life for him. He said, "I had discovered God and in discovering Him and His message to mankind I had discovered myself. I had found a new meaning and a hitherto unrealised fullness in life contrasted with which my previous existence..." (123). However, such Quranic teaching only existed during the time of Prophet Muhammad and first four Caliphs. Later, Muslims abandoned all the ideals of Islam, embraced brutality, falsehood, and finally lost their caliphate.

The world witnessed the darkness of the Byzantine Empire during the sixth century (Carlyle 51), which had forgotten all the precepts of Jesus Christ and had altered the Holy Bible to suit their needs (216). They started practicing all kinds of heinous activities, and thus humanity died throughout the 5th and 6th centuries (246-247). On the other hand, the Arabs did the same, for which they were viewed as barbarous, uncivilized, and the worst in the world at the time. In the Arabian Peninsula, women were being raped on a regular basis; there were no rights for the poor or the weak, and exploitation and suppression continued in the name of the rule. Besides, if a mother begot a baby girl, she was buried alive. Their daily agenda included murder, brutality, theft, robbery, and obscenity; in a word, there was no evil

deed they did not commit (281). Exploitation and oppression have been going on in the name of governance for years. Thus, when humanity was getting lost in the ravages of ignorance, Prophet Muhammad gave new life to this ailing humanity. As a result, all the misdeeds of ignorance have gone away as the advent of light dispels the darkness. He lit such a light of faith among mankind that they brought out all the latent talents buried in the dungeon of ignorance (185; Carlyle 76). In this way, the Arabs' tales of humanity, simplicity, prudence, and equity, spread throughout the world, and Prophet Muhammad established a new state beside them that covered the entire Arabian Peninsula.

Later, during the reign of the first four caliphs and the caliphs of the Abbasid dynasty, this Islamic dominion stretched over half of the world. People on that day were freed from tyranny and oppression, and happiness and peace were restored. Such a golden period of the Islamic Empire lasted until the thirteenth century. After that, gradually, Muslims gave up all the ideals of Quran and Hadith and became trapped in an invisible web of lies, corruption, injustice, luxury, and brutality. Finally, the great Muslim Empire came to an end with World War I.

Further, Maulana Mohammed Ali condemned Muslims of his age because of their ignorance about their own religion. He lamented that the Muslims of his time knew little about the history of Islam and had no relation to the Quran. Further, most of them did not know its meaning and have never tried to grasp its message. Even so, many of them did not know how to read it (113-114). He opined that Islam teaches to treat neighbours respectfully, even if they are of a different faith. It teaches its followers to treat others with compassion. Hence, while talking about Islam's teaching of humanity and righteousness, he stated, "Islam is the final message for mankind and only true faith and could strenuously and even intelligently enough argue about the superiority of its chief tenets, we are shamefully ignorant

of the details of its teaching and of its world-wide and centuries -old history” (65). That was why he aspired and worked to reframe the identity of Muslims according to the tenants of Islam.

Maulana Mohammed Ali aspired to unify the Muslim community in India and globally. He found that the schism among various sects was not theological but political. The imams of various Islamic schools of law were not divided from each other. They had a different view of Islam. However, they stated that one should discard their words if they do not align with the Quran and Hadith. Further, he opined that Muslims do not need to debate on conflicting and abstract subjects of Islam; they should abandon it. He put forth the argument that engaging in discussions pertaining to abstract subjects that were not explicitly communicated by the Divine Messenger may lead to discord within Muslims. Nevertheless, Muslim scholars engaged in debates and disagreements that had an impact on the cohesion of the Muslim community. Besides, according to Maulana Mohammed Ali, the personal beliefs of Muslim caliphs and influential figures were inserted within Islam, which had no accord or relation with the Holy Quran and Hadith, thereby destroying the unity of the Muslim Ummah for centuries (191-201). Hence, Maulana Mohammed Ali conceived that unity among the various Muslim communities was also crucial for re-establishing the caliphate. Therefore, his brother, Shaukat Ali, founded the ‘Society of Servants of the Kaaba’ and strived to bring all the Muslim sects in a single platform to bring back caliph institution and save Islam’s three holy cities: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. Nonetheless, this organisation was not very effective in its efforts (87-88). He opined that Islam repudiates the ideas of racism and extreme nationalism (27), which have deleterious effects on humanity and undermine the principle of brotherhood and for this reason framing Muslims’ identity is very much needed according to teaching of Quran and Hadith (147). In this regard the Quran says: “O mankind!

We have created you from a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes that you may know one another” (The Qur’an 49:13).

Maulana Mohammed Ali and Dr. A. Iqbal were comparable in terms of their respective contributions and achievements. Like Dr. Iqbal, he attempted to establish pan-Islamic principles and shield the nation from the vengeful sting of narrow nationalism (Shaheena 521-22). Mohammed Ali stated that adherents of Islamic faith should engage in the worship the Almighty God as a means of attaining mental satisfaction. Furthermore, he asserts that every Muslim must struggle for inclusive nationalism to preserve the ideals of humanity and equity (149-50). Mohammed Ali considered The Prophet Muhammad the “greatest hero of the world” (162). However, he did not go into detail in his autobiography as to why Prophet Muhammad was the greatest. On the other hand, some eminent writers and historians such as Michael H. Hart, and Thomas Carlyle had recognized Muhammad as the most puissant person in the world of all time. They argued that Muhammad embodies all the ideals worthy of emulating and obeying (03; 52). H. Hart further opined that his living style is the primary and sole basis for defining Muslim identity. If one wishes to be a good Muslim, the best ruler or politician, or a true humanist, he must imbue himself with the ideals of the Prophet Muhammad (03).

Mohammed Ali wished to restore true Islamic governance in Saudi Arabia through the Khilafat committee. He aspired to establish Hijaz as the centre of the Islamic world, from which the monarch of Saudi Arabia would unify the whole Muslim nation and work for the sake of Islam and humanity. Unfortunately, most Khilafat members abandoned him, and his aspirations remained unfulfilled (197). Mohammed Ali committed an error by failing to acknowledge that the construction of the Islamic identity of Muslims in India ought to have been grounded on a secular philosophy, rather than forging ties with Islamic nations (45-46).

He neglected to make the correlation between Islam and secularism, which does not imply that Muslims engage in idol worship within temples and Hindus offer prayers within mosques. It means that everyone, Hindu, or Muslim, shall adhere to their respective religions, and if a neighbour is having trouble or requires aid, everyone must lend a hand regardless of their religions, cultures, or castes. That was why many elites, leaders, Muslims, and Hindus deserted him, and he became alone while striving to construct the religious identity of the Muslims in India.

Mohammed Ali's autobiography predominantly focuses on Islam, including its cultural aspects, historical foundations, and Muslim identity. In contrast, the Indian independence movement is given relatively less emphasis. He sought to redefine the Muslim identity in accordance with Islamic teachings, which promote patriotism, advocacy for one's country, and the cultivation of a humanistic perspective. Hence, he focused primarily on constructing Islamic identity and secondarily on the Indian independence movement. Finally, in order to show his love for his motherland, he travelled to England in 1930 as a representative of India to attend the Round Table conference declaring, "I would even prefer to die in a foreign country so long as it is a free country, and if you do not give us freedom in India you will have to give me a grave here" (Wasti 60). However, it's irony of fate that, he passed away a few days later in London on January 3, 1931, and was buried in Jerusalem.

Maulana Muhammad Ali accelerated India's independence movement, leading to its eventual victory in 1947. He fought relentlessly for the reconstruction of Muslim religious identity. Although he could not forge an Islamic identity for Muslims during his lifetime, his ideas, and aspirations for the advancement of Islamic culture, education, and identity have significantly impacted the Muslim community in India and beyond in the post-colonial period. Hence, they adopted his positive and inclusive nationalistic ideas regarding Islam and

nation-building and endeavoured to establish their own identity in the post-partition era while also contributing to India's growth as a pluralistic and developed nation.

3.4. Reframing the Identity of Indian Bohra Nation/Community: Asghar Ali Engineer's *A Living Faith: My Quest for Peace, Harmony and Social Change*

The Bohra nation is one of the minor Islamic sects that follows Shia doctrine. Their religious leader, Syedna (the high priest/religious head), has the ultimate authority over them in religious, social, and economic concerns. However, it is unfortunate that their social, cultural, and religious identities are in peril as members of that community. Even in post-colonial India, they lacked freedom and human rights, as they were treated like slaves and compelled to serve the religious head without question. Seventy-four years ago, Indians gained independence, but they remained *abde-Syedna* or slaves of Syedna until now (Engineer 42). This section will explore Asghar Ali Engineer's autobiography, *A Living Faith: My Quest for Peace, Harmony and Social Change* (2013), to show how the identity of the Bohra nation/community is in crisis and how the author tried to resist the so-called religious head in order to reconstruct and reframe their identity in post-colonial India.

The term "Bohra" derives from the word "Vohra," which refers to a commercial community that converted from "Vaishya" (lower class Hindu) to Shia Islam in the thirteenth century AD (42; Blank 255). This sect of Shia Islam came into existence due to a secret religiopolitical movement in Iraq during the 10th century. Bohras now, almost 12 million (10 lakhs in India), are spread over 35 countries. The Abbasid rulers persecuted them, and then they spread to these countries, particularly in India, Pakistan, Yemen, and East Africa (Sharma 1486). In India, they mostly lived in different parts of Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh. However, in the period of the Mughal Emperors, Jehangir, and Shah Jahan, they were tortured and persecuted due to their slightly different Shia faith. Later, during the

reign of Aurangzeb, the oppression increased, and even Sunni theology was imposed upon them. Aurangzeb did not stop there; he even sentenced a Syedna, Qutbuddin, to death (Blank 260), and then many people of the Bohra community fled to Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bombay, and Kolkata and started living there permanently. Later, many of them again returned to Gujarat, though they set up many trading centres outside of Gujarat (Engineer, Human Rights 1998). Though the high priest claims that the Bohra is one of the wealthiest communities, most of them are traders. Whereas, Asghar Ali Engineer opines that more than 40% of Bohras belong to below poverty level, even from whom the high priest collects huge sums of money by force (Singh).

According to Islamic theology, Muslims need to follow the guidelines of Almighty God, the Hadith of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), and the leaders of the Muslim world/Caliphs (The Quran 4:59). During his lifetime, Prophet Mohammad established a small Islamic empire in the Arabian Peninsula. After the death of Prophet Mohammad, caliphs of Islam started expanding the empire. They ruled almost half of the world. However, after the World War I, this empire was destroyed, and instead, many Muslim states were created based on extreme nationalism (Ali 189). Simultaneously, the Muslim community lost its religious leader and became leaderless. Under this backdrop, so-called theocratic politics developed within Muslim Ummah and which has badly affected the very nature of pan-Islam and oppressed Muslims by their own rulers or leaders (Akbarzadeh 28). In his autobiography, Asghar Ali Engineer discussed such a religious leader, Syedna (high priest), who has deviated from the very idea of Pan-Islam and has oppressed the Bohra community for years in order to strengthen his hegemony.

As mentioned earlier, Syedna held absolute authority in society, and all Bohras had to follow his statements. If anyone spoke out against him, he was shunned not only by society but also by his own family (Sharma 1486). Syedna and his hooligans used to control religious

issues and social and economic matters to make his hegemony more stable and more robust. In a nutshell, common Bohras had no right to act in their interests. They were treated as slaves of Syedna, and had no identity other than that of Syedna's slaves. Although the Qur'an forbids prostration to anyone other than Almighty (Akbarzadeh 27), the Bohras had to prostrate at the feet of Syedna despite their reluctance. He did not stop there; if anyone dared to do the same, he would be punished and declared a heretic. During the prostration, the men of Syedna used to collect a large sum of money, although many of them (Bohra) were from the below poverty level (Engineer 14-15). In addition, no Bohra could marry without the permission of the high Priest (Syedna). If anyone got married without the permission of the High priest, it was declared illegal. They were excommunicated; even their offspring were also declared illegitimate (Lokhandwala 128). Further, they did not have the right to set up any institution, school organization, or charitable trust without the command of Syedna. Besides, they could not bury their deceased without Syedna's permission (Engineer 43). All these were examples of human rights violations that are even against Islam's principles. On the other side, from literary criticism, all these were instances of a dystopian society where people are being oppressed and treated like slaves by the pretext of extreme theocratic rule (Kadhim 26).

It is said that a nation is like a human body (Verdery 40). If a small part of it gets damaged, the whole body suffers. Likewise, in India, many nations are united and constructed the Indian nation. If a small nation/community is underdeveloped and suffers different problems, it is necessary to resolve their problems to cope with the other nations with respect and dignity. Further, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan metaphorically considered Hindus and Muslims as separate nations, and they are the two beautiful eyes of a bride called India. Hence, if one eye became blind or got damaged, India would have suffered (Jalbani, et al. 6441). That is why, when Asghar Ali Engineer found that the high priest was oppressing his

Bohra nation and their identity was in crisis, he started the Bohra reform movement and tried to reframe their identity, which they had lost for centuries. He begins by emphasizing how challenging the movement was to revive the Bohras' religious identity and socioeconomic rights as human beings. Some Bohra intellectuals challenged the authority of Syedna and his brother to dismantle the government registered youth organization and institution in Rajasthan. Syedna's brother (they called Sahajada) denounced them as heretics and subjected their female members to oppression in Galiakot. The daily newspaper Times of India published news about this issue. Following this, Asghar Ali Engineer authored a scholarly article in endorsement of the reformist Bohra intellectuals. As soon as this news spread, Syedna got furious. His men encircled the office of The Times of India. They requested the editor to apologize and ban the author's article. Amidst such pressure, he felt compelled to do so. Asghar Ali's relative requested him to apologize. The author attempted to convince them that his stance was not anti-Islamic, but rather anti-oppression of the general populace by the high priest. Despite acknowledging the correctness of Asghar Ali Engineer's efforts to reclaim their identity, his relatives urged him to disassociate himself from the Bohra reform movement; otherwise, they would disconnect all relations with him. Once, he was declared a heretic by the high priest and subsequently expelled from the Bohra community and excommunicated from the Islamic faith. Currently, his identity and existence are undergoing a state of crisis. However, the author never succumbed to injustice and lies. He consistently advocated for equitable treatment, despite experiencing such a state of isolation and vulnerability at some point (43-45).

Moreover, Asghar Ali Engineer's father died a few years ago, and his mother was staying with him. She was an ardent believer who regularly participated in religious gatherings. She found herself at a pivotal moment, faced with a decision regarding which path to take. As her son had become a heretic. At last, she decided and went to Syedna's

house, claiming shelter for herself. They denied it and advised her to stay at her son's house, putting a curtain. She did so, but day by day, it was becoming challenging for her to make food alone and stay this way. Once, she went to the author's office and alleged that he had destroyed her life. He feels very sad, thinking he had never faced such an extremely critical moment (45-46).

Based on the preceding discourse, Syedna and his brothers wanted nothing but wealth and authority, with little regard for the religious or societal well-being of the Bohra nation (Minault 139). By any means, they wanted to play a hegemonic role over common Bohras. Their intention was to exert hegemonic control over the Bohra community. Thus, they established an atmosphere of intimidation that precluded any potential challenge to their authority. Antonio Gramsci posits that political leaders and intellectuals often utilize ideology as a pretext to suppress the masses and establish hegemony over them. Asghar Ali Engineer's autobiography recounts the efforts of the high priest to consolidate his authority over the Bohra community. His autobiography also describes how the Bohra reform movement under the leadership of him challenge the high priest's oppressive neo-colonial rule which exists even after the Independence of India. Asghar Ali was contemplating strategies to confront the influential high priest and restore the Bohra nation's distinct identity as Bohra Muslims, rather than being subservient to the high priest's authority. Asghar Ali Engineer endeavoured to preserve the social, religious, and economic rights of the Bohra community, as chronicled in his autobiography.

He intended to meet with political figures, writers, social activists, film personalities, and teachers to elucidate the culpability of the high priest and the necessity to terminate his economic, religious, and social subjugation over the Bohra nation. During his initial encounter, Asghar Ali Engineer first met Shashi Bhushan (a social activist and member of Parliament), whom a Bohra reformist, Noman contractor, accompanied. Asghar Ali then

requested him to support the Bohra reform movement and address the meeting they were going to organize in Bombay. He agreed and promised to address the meeting. Despite all the problems and public pressure, he participated in the meeting and utilized allegory to criticize the high priest's desire for authority and material possessions. Many men of Syedna were present at the meeting. They raised slogans and tried to attack him and the reformist Bohras. However, fortunately, police guarded them and assisted them in reaching their respective homes (46). The high priest expressed concern that if today the reformist Bohras could not be stopped, they might be gaining greater support among the Bohra community, thereby jeopardizing his own position. Therefore, the high priest spread the regime of dismay among the Bohras and started listing the suspects who had a connection with reformist Bohras. Suspects were declared heretics and boycotted from the community and religion. After this declaration, many people sought absolution and presented the high priest with a vast sum of money. A few of them were couples who were forced to give talaq and boycotted from the community. The High Priest did not stop there. He also declared Asghar Ali as a heretic and made multiple attempts to assassinate him. On the other hand, Ali was unafraid of death and stood firm above the truth. Throughout his lifetime, he dedicated himself to combatting oppression and advocating for a nation that has undergone a loss of its identity as Muslim.

The author portrays another picture of the high priest's brutality, which was carried out under the guise of religion. More than 100 couples could not get married during the emergency because the high priest refused permission. Asghar Ali viewed it as a violation of human rights. Therefore, he reached out to Saleh Abdul Kader, a reformist Bohra MP from Bombay, to discuss the issue and implored him to take necessary measures to address the issue. They approached the then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi to solicit her assistance in facilitating their wedding, which had been prohibited by the high priest for a duration of a year (48). Saleh Abdul Kader met the high priest's brother, Yusuf Najmuddin, at Indira

Gandhi's request. However, he regarded it an incursion into their religious concerns and threatened Abdul Kader with a boycott unless he stopped the campaign. He informed Indira Gandhi about the matter, but she never attempted to resolve it. Therefore, Asghar Ali Engineer and the reformists made their own matrimonial decisions. They met with local authorities in Udaipur, and the author suggested that they hold a mass wedding in the presence of priests of many faiths. In March 1975, all the leaders and reformist Bohra accepted Asghar Ali's proposal, and a mass marriage ceremony was held in Udaipur. Around 25,000 people were invited to the event, which included writers, human right activists, and journalists. They all blessed the couples, and the ceremony ended without a hitch (48-49). From there, the Bohra reform movement grew as people learned the truth that had been kept hidden by the high priest's repressive regime.

Asghar Ali Engineer experienced a surge of elation and commenced contemplating the establishment of an entity aimed at countering the neo-colonial subjugation perpetrated by the high priest. In 1977, there was a scheduled meeting that was intended to take place in Udaipur. Reformist Bohras from various countries, including the United Kingdom, the United States, Mauritius, Kenya, France, Canada, and India, were received with hospitality. Despite the attempted disruption by the high priest, the meeting was successfully concluded with the assistance of the state government, reformist Bohra, and the 'Samanthar Lekhok Sangh.' During the conference, the 'Central Board of Dawoodi Bohra' was founded and a constitution was formulated based on the recommendations of progressive Bohra intellectuals (49-50).

To keep the Bohra Reform Movement active, Asghar Ali Engineer contacted several Marathi, Hindi, and Urdu writers and journalists. Among them, Kamleshwar organized a conference in Kutch, Gujarat. He extended invitations to Asghar Ali Engineer, the members of the 'Samanthar Lekhok Sangh' and many Dalit writers. He perceived the occasion as a chance to garner backing and strengthen the Bohra reformist campaign. Consequently, they

participated in the conference and delivered speeches on the marginalization and estrangement of reformist Bohras from their loved ones. Such experiences of suppression and torture were also described by Dalits and other writers, evoking emotional responses from the audience. As a result, many Marathi and Hindi writers opted to write about the Bohra community and their reform campaign. This led to the movement gaining popularity in various regions of India (50-51). A prominent Marathi journalist, Daya Pawar, authored a full-fledged essay on the high priest's neo-colonial exploitation of the Bohra community. "Sarika", a weekly magazine published by the Times of India group, edited by Kamleshwar wrote regarding the same. Members of the "Samanthar Lekhok Sangh" also authored many articles on the high priest's abuse of human rights in his community (52-54). Thus, the Bohra Reform Movement continued to reframe the Muslim identity of the Bohra nation. Further, to bolster the reform movement, Asghar Ali Engineer contacted the Progressive Writers Association (PWA) writers, who were working with many Urdu newspapers. Many of them, particularly Qamar Rais (general secretary of the PWA), backed the Bohra reform movement, and they took part in activities of the reformist Bohra (55). Thus, through writings in various newspapers and magazines, seminars, and conferences, the narrative of the persecution of the Reformist Bohra spread in the country and abroad.

Asghar Ali was well aware that the high priest was abusing human rights under the guise of religious ideology, and that he was a powerful man who held the support of about 8 lakh people. Therefore, in order to challenge such an influential religious leader, he identified the necessity of governmental collaboration. Consequently, he contacted Prime Minister Moraraji Desai and apprised him about the Bohra reform movement. He expressed his sympathy to them and asked Asghar Ali to meet Jayaprakash Narayan, the leader of the civil rights organization Citizens for Democracy (CFD), and the chief founder of the "Janta Party," and to discuss the issue briefly. He was shocked to learn of such human rights violations and

asked party member S. M. Joshi to write a letter to the high priest requesting that his community should not be exploited. Accordingly he wrote the letter and sent it to the high priest. In response, the high priest's brother stated that they had been following the teachings of the Holy Quran and the Hadith (Prophet Muhammad's sayings), whereas the reformist Bohra were breaching the Quranic canon (56). Further, S. M. Joshi, after talking with Asghar Ali Engineer regarding the same, requested him to provide a reference from the Quran that permits him to do all he and his men were doing. However, they did not get any reply from the high priest.

When Asghar Ali Engineer saw that there was no way to stop the High Priest's oppression, he decided to take legal action. Hence, due to his efforts, the Tarkunde Nathwani Commission was formed. Many intellectuals and prominent figures, including Justice Tarkunde, Justice Nathwani, Professor Moin Shakir, and Professor Alam Khundmiri, were members of the commission. It conducted inquiries and found a severe violation of human rights through the denial of the social, religious, and economic rights of the Bohra community. The high priest came to about it and started finding a way out of it. He secretly contacted many Muslim mullahs and political leaders. He bribed them heavily in order to gain their favour. Thus, these corrupt Muslim mullahs and leaders supported the high priest and opposed the Nathwani Commission. They argued that it was a direct interference in religious matters, and the reformist Bohras had gone astray from Islam (55). They even pressurized the government not to implement the law against the high priest. Therefore, the central government could not enact on the law against the high priest due to intense pressure. Thus, though Asghar Ali Engineer was defeated many times, he never deviated from the movement of reframing the identity of Bohra, he always took a different path to continue the movement against such a mighty oppressor.

He started signing a petition (supporting the Nathwani Commission) stating how the high priest was guilty of violating the social and religious rights of the people belonging to the Bohra community (Engineer, Human Rights 1999). He visited Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi University, and Aligarh Muslim University and discussed the issues with many faculties. They supported him and signed the petition. He also went to Bihar, UP, and West Bengal and talked to many elites and intellectuals. They also sympathised with him and signed the statement to support the Nathwani Commission (52-54). During that time, Indira Gandhi again came into power. Asghar Ali Engineer, took this petition and met Indira Gandhi and some MPs and human rights activists. He requested her to enact the law against ex-communication and financial oppression. However, it was a direct interference with the particular religion. Asghar Ali tried to convince her that it was not about interference with religion but about neo-colonial oppression under the guise of religion and human rights violations. Further, he added, the way the high priest was controlling the Bohra community was entirely against the Holy Quran. Besides, he argued that her government was here to save its citizens from oppression and human rights violations. Thus, she accepted the petition and asked Mr. Meena to bring a private member's bill to the parliament. However, it is unfortunate to share that she was murdered before doing anything in 1984 (65-66).

Then the regime of Rajiv Gandhi commenced. Asghar Ali Engineer and many influential Bohra reformists met Rajiv Gandhi with the second petition supporting the Nathwani Commission. He showed them sympathy and asked to meet the law minister. Asghar Ali met him and discussed the issue of the high priest's human rights violation. He listened carefully and requested the deputy secretary to inquire about the facts. On the other side, the high priest had a good connection with the law minister and persuaded him that it was an intrusion into religious issues. So, once again, the government failed to prevent the high priest from violating human rights (66-67). Actually, neither the Congress nor the BJP-

led administrations spoke out on Muslim-related concerns. Both governments had the power to stop the High Priest if they wanted to, but they chose not to act because of vote-bank politics (68).

In between, Asghar Ali Engineer tried to get assistance from many Muslim organizations. First, he visited the office of *Jamat-e-Islami*'s chief, Abdullah Bukhari. He explained the issue in detail. People seated around him felt sad and showed sympathy for the reformists. First, he refused to help, but Asghar Ali somehow managed to convince him and get him to promise to help in support of the Nathwani Commission. However, not exceeding two days, the chief of *Jamat-e-Islami* proclaimed that the Nathwani commission was against the tenant of Islam. So, it needed to be withdrawn. Despairingly, he went to the Muslim Personal Law Board (MPLB) office to seek help to implement the Nathwani commission. However, the members of it secretly felt pity for the reformist and did not help anymore. Besides, Asghar Ali Engineer sought assistance from the Muslim political leaders, but due to the vote bank policy, they did not support the reformist Bohras, and they also, did not talk about High Priest's human rights violation (58-59)

On the other hand, the high priest started a propaganda campaign saying the reformist Bohra were atheists and enemies of Islam to get Muslim intellectuals' support. Hence, Asghar Ali planned a press conference in Kolkata to let the people know the reality about reformist Bohra and who is the real culprit. He rented a press club and invited many Urdu journalists. But one of the journalists informed the high priest's local men regarding this conference. They paid a huge bribe to the press club, and the conference was cancelled. Asghar Ali knew nothing about cancellation and reached the place in time. The local goons of the high priest gathered there and attacked Asghar Ali. However, his journalist friends saved him and took him to a nearby safe house. Further, the author was invited by the "Muslim Institute Hall" for a lecture. However, unfortunately, it was cancelled due to pressure put on

the management committee by the high priest's men in central Kolkata. Seeing no way, Asghar Ali was invited by an Urdu poet and journalist, Salik Lukhnawi, to his house and requested to talk about Bohra. Author Asghar Ali Engineer accepted his invitation and presented his article there in front of 25 influential journalists (55).

After Kolkata, he visited Hyderabad to join a seminar on the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of Professor Alam Khundmiri, who was one of the eminent members of the Nathwani Commission. The seminar was held at Nizam College. When the author arrived at the dais, the high priest's goons approached him and stabbed him on the right cheek, causing terrible bleeding. In such a bloodcurdling situation, the writers and journalists came around him and saved him from further attack. Finally, some writers helped Asghar Ali to reach a nearby hospital. Thus, he was saved from a certain death (61-62). Asghar Ali Engineer's Bohra reform movement was not confined to India; it spread worldwide during the late twentieth century. He tried to let the world know how the identity of Bohra Muslims was in crisis due to the neo-colonial oppression of the high priest.

He went to Cairo, Egypt, in 1981 for an interview with the editor of the daily *Al-Ahram*. He took Asghar Ali's interview regarding the Bohra reform movement and printed it in *Al-Ahram*. This newspaper was quite famous in Middle Eastern Gulf countries, and thus, his interview was spread in those Gulf countries. Listening to this, the high priest got angry and wanted to assault Asghar Ali Engineer. During this visit, he went to see Jami Al-Hakim Mosque in Cairo. Supporters of the high priest again assaulted him there for 45 minutes. When he got his senses back, he was in a police station (62-64).

From the 1980s to 2000, many conferences were held in Toronto, Bombay, and London. Bohra reformists from the UK, US, Canada, France, Sweden, Kenya, Tanzania, Germany, and Switzerland were present. Topics of the conference were human rights violations and the reform movement. All the conferences were successfully completed, and

thus they stayed connected to each other to enhance such movements for saving Bohra Muslims' religious identity (71–72).

In the end, it can be argued that Asghar Ali Engineer always strived to reframe the religious and sociocultural identity of the Bohra community. Although, Asghar Ali Engineer was attacked and assaulted physically many times. However, by God's grace, he was always saved. He never feared and never stopped. He also approached the government several times about this issue. However, the government did not cooperate with him. Necessarily, he continued his relentless efforts to save the religious and social identity of the Bohra nation. He had always attempted to counter the high priest's anti-human acts to save this nation from becoming his slave. Thus, Asghar Ali Engineer struggled till his death to reframe the religious identity and freedom of the Bohra community.

Chapter-IV

Negotiating Crisis of Colonialism and Communalism

4.1. Introduction:

During the 20th century, India faced two major crises. The first was colonialism, which enslaved Indians, and the second was communalism, or extreme nationalism, which had the detrimental effect of eroding the pluralistic fabric of Indian society. Both developed parallelly after the advent of the British in India. During the 15th and 16th century, they came and ascended to the country's political power. They destroyed the small native industries, looted the maximum number of natural resources, and transported them to England. Further, the people of this country are deprived of their rights by various means, and the steamroller of oppression continues over them till independence. At this moment, Indian intellectuals woke up, started thinking about improving their education, and recognized the necessity of liberation from the prevailing oppression. Finally, they got united regardless of caste and creed and launched a potent anti-colonial composite nationalistic movement in various parts of India (Ayoob 423). Subsequently, the British administration came to the realization that their colonial governance would be unsustainable in this region unless they were able to quell this uprising. Hence, they implanted the 'divide and rule' tactic and germinated the seeds of communalism among the Hindus and Muslims (Heehs 100; Das 132).

In such a situation, creating an environment of communal harmony became necessary to strengthen the anti-colonial nationalistic movement. As a result, nationalist leaders and intellectuals continued the struggle to solve crises of communalism and colonialism to enhance the nation-building process. As a result of these efforts by the freedom fighters, India gained independence on August 15, 1947. However, communalism remained a significant obstacle to nation-building in post-colonial India (Pandey "Remembering Partition" 53). Communalism in the pre-and post-colonial era was driven by "divide and rule" and the framing of Indian history as Hindu and Muslim history. However, since the 1960s, the backdrop of communalism changed. It had been observed that Muslims in India started to

prosper economically and built houses of worship and centres for religious education. Later, they also started participating in politics and became political and economic rivals of Hindus. On the other hand, politicians have severed harmonious relations among the various communities and created a binary opposition (Goyal 42). They also generate a communitarian climate by stirring common people's religious sentiments to cause riots and reaping political rewards by winning elections. Hence, it is erroneous to assert that narrow nationalism and communalism were created by illiterate fanatics, but rather by educated leaders from both communities (Engineer, "Communal Riots" 03). To establish a hegemonic role in society, they used to stir the common people on communal grounds and foster a sense of communality in them (Thobani 487). In addition, they foster a climate of hatred by labelling Muslims as unfaithful to their fatherland (Pandey 608), cause trouble everywhere they go, and pose a threat to Hinduism (Malji 01). Besides, they wrongly claimed that Muslims were behind the nation's division, which destroyed its communal cohesion (S, Islam 04). Thus, all these propagandistic efforts widened the gap within Hindu-Muslim relations, eventually leading to communal violence and destroying the inclusive, harmonic, and secular fabric of Indian society in the post-colonial era (Nilesh 611). Therefore, after independence, many writers, journalists, human rights activists, and social reformers continued their struggle by many means to create an environment of communal harmony in the country to enhance the nation-building process.

Negotiation is a strategy to resolve a specific problem/issue/crisis based on legal demands and compromises between two parties/nations/countries. Further, it means speaking or discussing. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the autobiographies, *I Am Not An Island: An Experiment in Autobiography* (1977) by K. A. Abbas and *A Living Faith: My Quest for Peace, Harmony and Social Change* (2013) by Asghar Ali Engineer to examine how they have worked to negotiate the crisis of communalism and colonialism during twentieth-

century India. Further, this chapter also explores how they have depicted the idea of negotiation in tackling the crisis of communalism and colonialism reflected in the autobiographies.

4.2. Theoretical Application

The researcher will use post-colonial literary theory to explain the anti-colonial subjects depicted in the selected autobiographies. Further, as communalism is a product of colonialism or imperialism and was developed against the inclusive nationalistic project (Akhtar 199; Sing 1541), various theories of nationalism will be applied to understand the activities of inclusive nationalism, nation-building, and national integrity portrayed in the selected autobiographies. Besides, Antonio Gramsci's notion of 'hegemony' will be used to understand how the colonial authorities operated during the pre-independence period. It will also show how the right-wing political parties after independence tried to strengthen their hegemony to rule over India.

4.3. Negotiating Crisis of Colonialism, Exclusive Nationalism, and Communalism in India: Khwaja Ahmad Abbas's *I Am Not An Island: An Experiment in Autobiography*

Khwaja Ahmad Abbas made significant contributions not only to the film industry but also in resolving the crisis of communalism and British colonialism in 20th-century India. Besides, he was a professional journalist who authored articles about the negotiation of communalism and colonial oppression during that period. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas chronicled many processes and tactics of decolonization and communal harmony that aided the nation-building process in his autobiography, *I Am Not An Island: An Experiment in Autobiography* (1977). As the post-colonial critics talk about the process of nation-building and constructing the nation through different ways of decolonization, the study will explore KA Abbas's autobiography to show how he has explored the idea of nation-building and national integrity through negotiating the crises of colonialism and communalism.

4.3.1. Negotiating the Crisis of Colonialism

During the 18th century, British colonial authorities came to India as traders and eventually developed into a colonial power to govern the Indian subcontinent. They seized political control and exploited human and natural resources. Human rights were also denied during their rule, and they started English education to make Indians their office bearer and staff. At this very moment, many Indian nationalist intellectuals have initiated many anti-colonial movements. Regarding such colonial encounters, they have produced many life narratives, [non]fictional texts, and historical texts in both English and vernacular languages. They have conveyed their colonial experiences through the different discourses mentioned above. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas was also an elite who battled the colonial outfit to negotiate the colonialism crisis. As mentioned above, he also penned down the historical events of negotiating colonialism in his autobiography.

KA Abbas conceived the meaning of freedom during his childhood. During that time, Indians were willingly or unwillingly compelled to praise the British Raj. In this context Abbas narrates how Indian students had to praise the colonial outfits. A British school inspector visited the school when Abbas was in primary school. Students were forced to enumerate the contributions of the colonial power to Indian people. Other students said, “The British government has done much for India-built roads, railways, schools, hospitals, post offices...” (39). However, KA Abbas was unique and responded in a very sarcastic way that while British governments had carried out all the aforementioned things, they had also built numerous jails and imprisoned many freedom fighters (39).

An autobiographical life narrative works as a voice of a minority or subaltern community (Maynes et al. 01). The minority intellectual, KA Abbas spoke on behalf of the Indian Muslim minority and said that Muslims also had contributed to the development of the Indian Nation. As a minority, KA Abbas has not just recorded his contributions and struggle

to resolve the issue of colonialism, but he has also chronicled the contributions of his relatives, friends, and many other intellectuals who have contributed to resolve the crisis of colonial bondage. Other selected autobiographers, on the other hand, just explored their ideas and contributions in their respective autobiographies.

The freedom fighters consistently thought about strategies to mobilize the common populace towards the anti-colonial movement against such a mighty colonial power. They travelled to villages and towns to deliver inspiring lectures. Due to their capacity to inspire the masses, many people joined the independence movement to combat the colonial outrage. In his autobiography, KA Abbas cited such a segment from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's fervent and inspiring speech on independence and communal amity, which left a profound impression on the general populace:

The world today is being moved by large forces, almost like an earthquake, "your country is engaged in a battle for freedom." . . . "Don't you think it is a cause that you should espouse? . . . Do you ever think in these universities of the starving and bare skeletons of our countrymen moved eternal force of hunger? Do you ever ask yourself the question- what has happened to them, and if they are going to remain starved and poor for ever? What is going to be your contribution in their struggle? (Abbas 95)

Further, KA Abbas narrated how he got inspired to negotiate the issue of colonialism and conceived the value of freedom. He said that when Mahatma Gandhi and many other Congress leaders came to Panipat and delivered speeches regarding colonial bondage and how to counter it. People got fascinated and became ready to die for the national cause. They began raising funds to strengthen the anti-colonial movement. Mahatma Gandhi's inspirational speech influenced them so much that they donated a large amount of money to the freedom movement fund. During that time, they donated their gold and money to Mahatma. Further, a grandmother of KA Abbas donated all her earnings to the freedom

movement fund for the betterment of her nation. KA Abbas called her “the mother of India” for her dedication, willpower, and financial sacrifice (48-49). Besides, he narrated how the freedom movement could be strengthened to address the colonial bondage issue. In this regard, he thinks back of his cousin Saiyidain’s talk at Aligarh Muslim University (AMU). Where, he argued that to create a strong anti-colonial resistance, Indian Muslims needed to assist nationalist leaders in other communities. This lecture of Saiyidain greatly influenced KA Abbas, who realized that establishing the ideal of secularism and pluralism would reinforce the unity among the communities, thereby enabling them to mount a formidable resistance against colonial outfits (51).

Indian journals also helped him in comprehending the significance of freedom. The journal collections at Maulana Azad Library provided him with information regarding freedom movements during his stay at Aligarh Muslim University (AMU). Later, the Bombay Chronicle journal also taught him how to address the communal problem. During the AMU student union election campaign, he delivered a lecture advocating for complete independence rather than merely India’s dominion status (59). Further, the author described in his autobiography how his friend Ansar inspired the people of Aligarh to participate in independence movements by delivering anti-colonial speeches to the general public. Furthermore, he founded an organization to enhance the negotiation process for India’s freedom (75). KA Abbas advocated that complete freedom was the best solution to negotiate India’s crisis that emerged due to British colonial occupation. He spoke out against India’s dominion status during the Congress’ Lahore session. He claimed that this would not help in achieving independence and that the British authorities would remain in India until their need ceased. Regarding this, he argued:

We stand therefore, today for the fullest freedom of India. This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way. To it we make no appeal. But we do appeal to the Parliaments and consciences of the world and to them we shall demonstrate, I hope, that India submits no longer to any foreign domination...Let no one, least of all England, mistake or under-rate the meaning and the strength of our resolve. (86-87)

It is widely accepted that the media possesses the ability to bring attention to prevalent issues within a country (Hunter and James 227). Therefore, during the colonial era, the Indian media focused on issues pertaining to the “colonial subjects” such as oppression, exploitation, human rights and so on to develop anti-colonial sentiment among the colonized people. It also portrayed poverty, social, economic disorder, and their effects on the natives. Between 1935 and 1987, India encountered the issues. With these concerns in consideration, KA Abbas initiated his journalistic career by addressing the ‘colonial subjects’ imposed by the British colonial authorities and endeavoured to cultivate anti-colonial sentiment among Indians. He was a regular publicist in news journals such as *The National Call* and *Bombay Chronicle* (118).

Later, the All-India Congress Committee’s Bombay session was about to begin. There were journalists from all over the world. Mahatma Gandhi told Abbas that journalists should spread the news about the causes of Indians’ resistance against British colonialism across the world. Adding to Mahatma Gandhi’s command, KA Abbas argued that if the news of this British imperialism could spread worldwide, under international pressure, the British might be compelled to cede power to the Indians. Hence, the All-India Congress Committee meeting was started in the presence of international journalists. According to KA Abbas, Mahatma Gandhi used this opportunity to speak against colonialism. He further stated that the campaign they started was solely to achieve national freedom. Thus, Mahatma Gandhi

utilized the power of the media to show the world how British imperialism ruined India for 200 years, and he finally launched the Quit India Movement with the iconic slogan “Do or Die” (239-240). When it was at its zenith, the prominent leaders of Congress were arrested and imprisoned in an unknown place. KA Abbas and other reporters reported this news, and a protest gathering was launched at Shivaji Park in Bombay under the leadership of Kasturba Gandhi. She started her speech on the unlawful arrest of non-violent freedom fighters. Police started the lathi charge and used tear gas. Due to which a lot of people got injured. Fortunately, the residents of nearby houses poured water on them to save their lives. Finally, the protest movement ended with the arrest of Kasturba Gandhi. KA Abbas was also injured during that protest gathering. He was taken to a nearby house, where he was treated well by a Hindu mother. KA Abbas realized such an act of humanity was desperately needed to strengthen the nation-building process (241-44).

Despite being a member of the communist party, KA Abbas maintained a cordial and amicable relationship with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. KA Abbas asserted that many freedom fighters participated in the struggle for independence against British imperialism, but Pandit Nehru stood out as a distinctive figure. He travelled several European nations with the aim of increasing awareness regarding the infringement of human rights and exploitation of India’s natural resources by British colonization. He endeavoured to raise awareness among other nations in order to resolve the colonial issue in India (125). It was realised that the international cooperation can facilitate the resolution of the issues faced by a country. The collaboration that took place between China and India during the 1940s proved to be highly advantageous for both countries. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru frequently travelled to China during the country’s turmoil and befriended Chinese leaders. Under the supervision of Indian National Congress, Indian doctors served Chinese army, as a gesture of solidarity during the China-Japan War in 1939. Indian doctors provided exceptional medical attention and aid to

injured Chinese military personnel. The Chinese government recollected India's benevolence and subsequently made a direct appeal to the British colonial administration to relinquish power to their Indian counterparts (205-206; Chen-Tsai 04).

4.3.2. Negotiating Communalism, Extreme Nationalism for Nation-building

In order to extend and consolidate their hegemony, the colonial outfits during the colonial era (Ayoob 415) propagated communal and extreme nationalistic ideals through a variety of means among Hindus and Muslims. Moreover, some Indian politicians engaged in similar activities to enjoy political benefits following India's attainment of independence. As a result, communalism and extreme nationalism have become a significant impediment to the task of making Indian nation, persisting from the colonial era to the present day. Here, the chapter explores KA Abbas's autobiography, *I Am Not An Island: An Experiment in Autobiography* to understand the various aspects of secularism, interfaith harmony, inclusive nationalism, and pluralism that were the instruments in negotiating issues of communalism and exclusive nationalism from 1935 to 1987. Therefore, to resolve the issues of communalism, he wanted to create a secular nation, rejecting all religious faiths, as he believed religion to be the main driving force for the communalization of human thought processes.

He has recounted in his autobiography how his understanding of secularism was influenced by a narrative centred on the life of the Prophet Muhammad. According to the narrative, this is how the story unfolded. Prophet Mohammad arrived in Medina and found that each of his followers had the intention of accommodating him in their own residence. He declared, where the camel stopped travelling, would be his new home. The camel eventually halted close to Ayub Ali Ansari's home. Prophet Muhammad began residing in his home and solved the problem while satisfying everyone. This tale moved him, and to avoid the prevalent communal conflict in Indian society, he abandoned all other forms of religion and

embraced atheism (11-12). Consequently, secularism was profoundly ingrained in his thoughts, and after learning that the British authorities had hanged Bhagat Singh, he felt very sad.

One of the key factors in negotiating communalism is education, which develops the idea of unity, patriotism, and humanity among the people (Akar 03). It also encourages people to speak up against exploitation and injustice. Hence, Sajjad Hussain, KA Abbas's great-grandfather, chose to work as a school inspector instead of accepting a lucrative position to promote literacy in his community (19). While discussing the different pathways of nation-building in India, KA Abbas found that extreme nationalism was the biggest threat that had destroyed the harmonious and diverse nature of Indian society, and he was deeply concerned about this. He had an excellent relationship with Pandit Nehru. He met him twice-once in Aligarh and again on a train headed to Ahmedabad. Therefore, he wrote a letter to Nehru asking, "how do you propose to root out these parasitic poisonous weeds-the Indian states and their rulers? What is your personal opinion?" (92). Nehru replied to him that he should try to solve each problem by measuring the situation. Later, Pandit Nehru tried to resolve the communal problem in many ways and succeeded (95). Following independence, his government adopted the federal system of governance and constitution based on secular democracy, socialism, and secularism. Thus, he kept religion out of the Indian Constitution, thereby guaranteeing equal rights and opportunities regardless of caste, religion, language, or cultural background.

Many film critics have expressed the viewpoint that cinema is a crucial medium in promoting peaceful coexistence and communal harmony among diverse communities. (Negi 306; Rai 86). KA Abbas, was also a well-known film critic and hard-core inclusive nationalist figure. He wanted to produce movies such as "Padosi" to promote national

integrity and interfaith harmony among Hindus and Muslims (200-01). Unfortunately, he could not produce such movies because he lacked the support of other film personalities.

Regarding the negotiation of communalism, KA Abbas argued that showing humanity towards other communities is crucial for fostering communal harmony in a nation. Considering this, he recounted his life's events during the demonstration that follows the AICC Bombay session in Shivaji Park. KA Abbas was trying to leave the protest area when a police's lathi charge injured him. Finally, he was taken to a nearby house, where he was treated well by an old Hindu lady. Despite not knowing his religion, she applied medicinal herbs to his injured area and offered him a glass of milk. KA Abbas opined that such humanistic approaches needed to be developed in every household in India to resolve the crisis of communalism (244).

KA Abbas strongly criticized the Hindu caste system, Muslim supremacy, and the divisive 'divide and rule' policy that worsened divisions among Hindus and even between Hindus and Muslims. The colonial authority also constructed many binary oppositions, such as Hindu Paani-Muslim Paani, Hindu University-Muslim University, Hindu School-Muslim School, and Hindu Mahasabha-Muslim League. Further, they also implemented a different electoral system in elections and undertook a census based on Hindu-Muslim binary opposition. All this heightened sensitivity, and the concept of separatism developed among both Hindus and Muslims, resulting in communal violence across the nation (28-29). KA Abbas narrated the communal riots in Bombay and Rawalpindi during 1945–1947. Many innocent people died from both communities. The mobs were setting fire to the Geeta and the Quran. Bombay was also separated into two parts: Hindu Bombay and Muslim Bombay. The attire became a tool for determining, who was Hindu and who was Muslim. Kurta had become the Muslim dress, and the dhoti had become the Hindu dress. Due to such an

environment, a Hindu mob killed a man wearing a kurta, but the killer regretted his actions after realizing he killed a Hindu (276).

To address such issues, KA Abbas argued in his autobiography that inter-caste and inter-religion marriages needed to develop in India's multireligious and multi-caste society. He also asked Indians to accept the liberal aspects of religion to negotiate and reduce their society's extreme nationalistic sentiment. Furthermore, he noted that in fostering friendly relations between Muslims and Hindus, Bu Ali Shah and many other Sufi saints adopted Sufi ideology to alleviate the issue of communal separatism. Even Bu Ali Shah organized many inter-religion marriages in Panipat, for which he became the pioneer of Hindu-Muslim unity after his death (31-34). Furthermore, KA Abbas published numerous articles on how inter-religious marriages minimize community conflicts. In order to put his theoretical viewpoint into practice, he arranged for his daughter's marriage to a Jain man. Even his sister-in-law married a Hindu writer, Manish Saxena, to alleviate communal tensions in Panipat (489). However, this is not the actual solution. The resolution of communalism entails the development of humanistic principles in conjunction with religion, or alternatively, the reformation or abolition of religion if the former proves impossible to implement (Pathan 110).

He argued about the nature of communalism. As per his statement, "Fear leads to hatred-hatred leads to violence of language and temper-violence leads to the mutual slaughter of the two brothers" (276). Thus, in many regions of India, the diverse and plural nature had been destroyed, and millions of people were killed with the wake up of communal sentiment since the beginning of the twentieth century. Hence, KA Abbas remarks on who killed India and who destroyed its heterogeneous nature. He opined that it was the vicious British colonial outfits that killed India and for whom a schism had formed between Hindus, Muslims, Jains, and Sikhs, causing the nation to split. They left India, but the poison of communalism they

spread destroyed India's plural and humanistic nature. In addition, he argued that India was destroyed by the British and fanatic leaders from both communities who wanted to establish the Hindu Nation and the Muslim Empire based on religious ideology (279; Goyal 49). That was why KA Abbas posited that India had been killed and that true India would be reborn only when Muslims and Hindus would accept each other as brothers and become bearers of humanity (280). Therefore, it is imperative that a sense of fraternity and an inclusive nationalistic ideology be fostered among diverse Indian communities. With respect to the negotiation of communalism in India, KA Abbas raised concerns about the secular nature of Pandit Nehru and Maulana Azad. Despite their consistent advocacy for secularism and pluralism, they ultimately agreed to the partition. They wanted freedom as soon as possible and did not consider saving India from partition (282). However, his claim was not completely right. Efforts were made to prevent partition; but the pernicious influence of communalism had penetrated so deeply that the partition of the nation became inevitable.

He implored religious individuals of different faiths to unite for humanity and to support the victims of communal riots, since all religions teach about being kind to others and against killing innocent people of other faiths. KA Abbas documented such charitable endeavours in his autobiography. During freedom and the partition of the nation, the author's relatives were stacked in Delhi. They were saved by Sikhs who treated them with compassion. However, during a riot in Bombay, the author also helped save many Sikhs and Hindus from death (283). In addition, an organization was formed in Shivaji Park to promote a pluralistic environment, with members from the Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim communities (284). KA Abbas rightly opined that some politicians in post-colonial India were inciting common people and attempting to stoke communal animosity. Although according to KA Abbas, the nation cannot be divided since most people of all faiths still aspire to coexist

peacefully and happily, and as a result, they reject the idea of “Hindu nationalism” and “Muslim Nationalism” (465).

Bipin Chandra cited the words of Mahatma Gandhi and said that “communal harmony could not be permanently established so long as highly distorted versions of history were taught in her schools and colleges through the history textbooks” (Chandra 264). Considering this, KA Abbas stated that discussing interfaith harmony would be incomplete without addressing the contributions of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru. Their preference was for humanity over freedom. Therefore, they made a plea to the general public to promote a peaceful environment in society when communal riots broke out in several parts of India. Furthermore, they repeatedly put their lives in danger as they visited the communal riot-affected area and pleaded with people to restore peace (292).

KA Abbas also expounded on the role of Pandit Nehru in the process of nation-building, specifically in the annexation of a substantial region of Kashmir into the Indian territory. While the Maharaja of Kashmir was negotiating with the Indian and Pakistani governments and had struck an agreement with the Pakistani government, Nehru mediated the dispute with Kashmiri Muslims and included a large portion of Kashmir in India. Simultaneously, he was successful in convincing Kashmiri Muslims that collaborating with their Hindu neighbours was the only path to peace and humanity (308). The principles of humanity, love and national integrity must be reinstated for the growth and modernization of a nation. According to KA Abbas, no political party was attempting to restore these ideas, which caused him to express his serious concern. Because everyone in India is connected to a particular community, they marginalize others. KA Abbas cited examples where a significant member of Congress and Communist Party members were simultaneously members of a fanatical communal group. Because of this, despite being communist party members, many Hindu workers at Bombay Garments refused to work with their Muslim co-workers (334). In

order to resolve these issues, KA Abbas also proposed that Tagore, Iqbal, Premchand, Ismat Chughtai, and Krishen Chandar's creative literary works be used to disseminate the ideas of humanism and pluralism (335). He also argued that Indians needed to establish a strong secular government having no adherence to any faith. He asserted that the Jana Sangh or DMK was the same as the Muslim League. KA Abbas proposed that such sectarian political parties be avoided in order to promote peaceful coexistence and "unity within diversity" in order to accelerate the process of constructing the Indian nation (430). Further, regarding the same issue, KA Abbas opined that interfaith harmony and Gandhian ideology were required to be set up in each state of the nation (436).

As secularism is one of the important tools to create interfaith harmony and pluralism in a multireligious nation (Menon 395), KA Abbas sought to restore the secular values in the country, and that was why he propagated the Gandhian and Nehruvian ideology of secularism. He also wanted to make a constitution and a system of governance that was not bound by any particular religion and did not favour or discriminate against anyone based on their caste, religion, colour, culture, or language. He anticipated an industrialized, scientific India where everyone could live in peace and happiness (434). When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru served as India's prime minister, the country adhered to these values, and Nehru himself abstained from participating in religious activities. Because of all these contributions to the Indian nation, he became a superhero in the eyes of KA Abbas. That is why KA Abbas penned down four chapters regarding Pandit Nehru in his autobiography (437). However, it is regrettable that after Nehru's demise, all the ideologies he followed and adopted were almost forgotten, and the nation began to gravitate toward communal politics.

KA Abbas also explored the contributions of India's second prime minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, who tried to save the ideologies of Pandit Nehru to make India a prosperous and peace-loving nation. KA Abbas asked Shastri regarding the potential communal threat.

He replied, and KA Abbas quoted, “In this present situation, more than anything else, we need to strengthen the secular base of our republic by maintaining intercommunal harmony and national unity” (464-65). However, he could not do much to establish secularism and interfaith harmony.

Further, during discussions concerning communal issues, certain critics raise doubts regarding the allegiance of Muslims towards the nation, thereby posing a threat to national unity and peaceful cohabitation (Pandey 608). However, according to Islamic ideology, it is a false propagation as Muslims love nation and Islam equally. On the other hand, every Muslim believes that loving their nation is part of their respective faith (Tashpulatovich 177). Regarding Muslims’ loyalty towards their nation, KA Abbas says, “If the country is faced with any aggression, the Muslims of India will fully participate in defence of their motherland and shall not be found wanting” (465).

Further, he talked about his endeavour for normalization of the Indo-Pak relationship to enhance interfaith harmony and peace in both countries. In this regard, he stated that if Russia-Germany and the United States-Japan once fought a world war and were able to maintain friendly relations with one another, then why India and Pakistan cannot establish friendly relations for their mutual development. KA Abbas presented this argument at a journalism conference held in Karachi. However, other Pakistani media represented him as an agent of the Indian government working against Pakistan (533). Later, in 1999, a peace treaty named the “Memorandum of Understanding” (MoU) was signed between both countries to make a harmonious and friendly relationship (Pattanaik 85). Unfortunately, such a cordial relationship did not last for many years. After the terrorist attacks on November 26, relations between the two countries were destroyed.

As the Dargah (worshiping place for both Hindus and Muslims) is a model of social concord between communities (Menon 395), KA Abbas also wanted to develop such a faith

that could unite the people belonging to Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Jain community. He suggests that Suffis and Saints from different faiths need to work together to develop interfaith harmony in post-colonial India (540). However, the efficacy of such a belief system in promoting communal harmony is contingent upon the development of a shared sense of humanity and moral rectitude among individuals from diverse communities. The study of KA Abbas's autobiography has explored different concepts and events of anti-colonial and anti-communal reasoning in the context of India's nation-building. It was found that his narrative regarding the same was different from that of other selected autobiographies. KA Abbas not only portrayed his ideas and contributions through his autobiographical narrative, but he also described the ideas and contributions of other intellectuals to Indian nation-building through anti-colonial movements and fostering interfaith harmony. KA Abbas also depicted the unknown freedom fighters, whose contributions were unavailable in mainstream historical and literary narratives. Further, the study investigated the portrayal of the task of journalism in negotiating colonial and communal issues. Besides, he proposed a multitude of pluralistic principles and advocated for Hindu-Muslim unity, which could potentially facilitate the process of nation-building in post-colonial India. In recognition of his outstanding contributions, the Indian government conferred upon him the highly esteemed "Padma Shree" award in 1969.

4.4. Negotiating Communal Riots and Communal Harmony in Post-colonial India:

Asghar Ali Engineer's Autobiography *A Living Faith: My Quest for Peace, Harmony and Social Change*

The issue of communalism in India is long-standing. This issue was primarily caused by the British. The main intent of its utilisation was to consolidate their colonial dominance. However, even after they left, the issue of communalism did not end; it gradually blossomed into different forms and shapes. Like the British, some political figures from different parties

have continued to spread communalism and attempted to hold onto power by ruining the country's harmonious and pluralistic environment. Asghar Ali Engineer was one of the most peace-loving personalities in the country, working to end communal riots and restore communal harmony in the second half of the twentieth century. The present section will explicate Asghar Ali Engineer's autobiography, *A Living Faith: My Quest for Peace, Harmony, and Social Change* (2011), to understand how he tried to undermine the existence of communal problems for establishing a peaceful, plural nation in post-colonial India. It will also explore the factors contributing to communal riots and potential resolutions, as shown in the autobiography.

Asghar Ali Engineer was a prominent figure in the realm of human rights activism and social reform, who dedicated his life to fostering the identity construction of the Bohra community and striving towards the restoration of interfaith harmony and peace in post-colonial India. From independence until 2002, he observed numerous communal riots that disrupted peaceful coexistence between communities and jeopardized the process of inclusive nationalism in post-colonial India. Asghar Ali Engineer addressed the various aspects and causes of communal problems in his autobiography and attempted to alleviate such problems through various approaches. He could not remain silent as a social activist, righteous person, and nationalist figure. When he observed carnage and violence on the rise in the nation, he began working for communal harmony and pluralism in to establish an inclusive patriotic vision among the various communities. He said, "I had taken a vow in Indore not only to understand the problem by investigating riots myself, but also to try and spread the message of communal harmony and shared nationalism throughout the country by speaking and writing on the subject. In years to come, that was to become the goal of my life" (Engineer 25).

Asghar Ali Engineer believed that he alone could not establish the peace and communal harmony in the Indian nation that he had always envisioned. Hence, he began looking for people with the same interest to resolve such a severe issue. He established 'Awaz-e-Biradran' (Voice of Brotherhood) with the support of his friends Mr. Najmuddin Azad, Mr. Saifuddin, and some like-minded journalists to develop communal harmony among people of different communities. Later, when Professor, Gurucharan and Hari joined that organization, along with many more journalists and teachers, it became stronger to fight against the communal outfits (32-33). Asghar Ali conducted a study on the process of communalization among students in colleges and high schools. He discovered that the hatred and dichotomous division among students of varying religious backgrounds were imparted through government textbooks (102). Hence, the author and the members of the Voice of Brotherhood organized several talks in schools and colleges in Mumbai regarding interfaith harmony, national integrity, and inclusive nationalism (33). Later, noted journalist BG Verghese, great film persona Balraj Sahni, and well-known Urdu novelist Krishan Chander began penning articles on Indo-Pak relations to develop interfaith harmony in the nation. Asghar Ali Engineer joined them, and the movement for peaceful coexistence in post-colonial India grew stronger (33).

Some critics have claimed that religion is to blame for causing someone to become communal and fanatic, which causes them to turn to violence and kill innocent people from other communities (Fishman 763). However, Asghar Ali investigated the origins of several communal riots and found that religion is not the real culprit. However, the political and social interests of its greedy followers are responsible for making them communal and fanatical. According to him, "Religion in itself is neither fanatic nor communal. The threat to socio-economic interests from competing social forces leads to political mobilization, with religion being used as a pretext" (Engineer, Religious Fanaticism" 701).

The author categorized the communal riots into two groups based on different aspects of their origin. Before the Jabalpur riot in 1961, communal riots were mostly caused by theocratic dogmas and the communal classification of history, labelled “Hindu history” and “Muslim history.” Kings and rulers were also exalted within the communal context. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj and Maharana Pratap have been depicted as heroic figures who engaged in combat against oppressive Muslim rulers. Historians had also portrayed them as champions of Hinduism and the Indian nation. A similar depiction of Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor, occurred as well; consequently, communalism began to spread throughout India at the turn of the 20th century. However, after 1961, the cause of communal violence changed with some exceptions. The development of Muslims in the economy enhanced their eagerness to participate in national politics and challenged the Hindu leadership (34). As a result, communal tensions rose among Hindus and Muslims, resulting in communal riots in various parts of post-colonial India (36-37).

There were no riots after the Jabalpur riot in 1961 until the Ahmedabad riot in 1969. Those were working for communal harmony were astounded to witness such a large and gruesome massacre during the Ahmedabad riot. Hence, the secular leaders of Congress, especially Subhadra Joshi and D. R. Goyal, formed the Anti-Communal Front in 1969 to confront the communal forces. Asghar Ali approached them and joined them in their efforts to strengthen the anti-communal campaign. They arranged many conferences and seminars to eradicate community emotions from the minds of the common masses (36-37). Further, Asghar Ali Engineer and many other writers from the Progressive Writers Association (PWA) conducted many lectures and seminars in educational institutions about the importance of inter-communal harmony (40). Asghar Ali Engineer argued that many Bollywood movies have instigated communal riots. He and many other critics also opined that some Bollywood movies portrayed Muslim characters negatively. They showed that

Muslims were involved in bank robberies, rape, terrorist attacks, and various underworld crimes (37; Zafar and Amjad 98; M, Islam “Imagining Indian Muslims” 404). Hence, with the suggestion of Asghar Ali Engineer, Rajinder Sing Bedi made a movie, *Dastak*, which portrayed Muslims justly to dispel misconceptions about Muslims. Unfortunately, the movie was a fiasco, and he did not dare to make such kind of movie again (37).

Asghar Ali Engineer conducted an analysis of the Bhiwandi riot that occurred in 1970 after the Ahmedabad riot, where the right-wing social organizations were at odds with their Muslim counterparts (38; Copland 135-36). Muslims in the Bhiwandi area highly progressed in power loom industries during 1967, and their economic situation and leadership quality improved. In this context, they began challenging the old Hindu leadership (38). To resist such progress, the Hindutva leaders started instigating the common Hindus through media and other means by the pretext of Muslims’ economic growth. They also instilled fear in common Hindus by claiming their lives were in danger in India. Thus, a communal sentiment developed among the minds of ordinary Hindus, leading to a series of communal riots in various regions of India (Gupta and Sharma 02-03). Later, amidst the commemoration of Shiv Jayanti, around three thousand Hindus were crossing the Muslim Mohalla, vociferating slogans that were derogatory towards the Muslim community and the Islamic religion. Consequently, some Muslims attacked the people of the procession, and communal violence erupted in Bhiwandi, Mahad, and Jalgaon areas on May 7, 1970. Around 73 individuals were subjected to murder, whereas more than 450 individuals sustained grave injuries. Property worth crores of rupees was destroyed due to the terrible communal violence (Engineer, “Communal Riot” 37; Copland 136-37; D’Monte 869-870). Asghar Ali and Balraj Sahni undertook a tour of the villages affected by riots with the aim of promoting peace and harmony. Their efforts were focused on appealing to the affected communities to maintain peace (Sahni 54). Further, to prevent the resurgence of such intercommunal violence, Asghar

Ali, Balraj Sahni, Krishan Chander, Rajinder Sing Bedi, Dilip Kumar, Sardar Jafri, and Kaiffee Azmi held a meeting, and decided to speak on the radio to communicate with the survivors of the riots. Hence, one day, they all spoke on the radio regarding interfaith harmony. Besides, they collected funds of around two lakhs and bestowed them on the poor victims of both communities to dispel any feelings of communal hatred (Engineer 39). The anti-communal activities of Asghar Ali Engineer always continued.

The Mushaira, a form of poetry recitation or ghazal, has been identified as a significant contributor to the promotion of friendly relations between Hindus and Muslims (Leonard and Sakata 91). Therefore, Asghar Ali Engineer and his association orchestrated a Mushaira event in Bhiwandi to improve Hindu-Muslim unity. The gathering was enriched by the presence of several eminent personalities from the fields of poetry, literature, and academia, who espoused the principles of secularism and communal amity. Kaifi Azmi, Rajinder Sing Bedi, and Mr. Vinod Mubayi were among them. They all recited many Mushairas and conveyed the message of secularism and interfaith harmony to the common people from both communities (35).

The Muslim community in 1980 believed that political unity was crucial for developing community relations. Hence, an Islamic organization of Indian Muslims, Jamaat-e-Islami supported Jan Sangh. In order to win over the Muslim community, its leaders also committed, promoting secular thought throughout the nation to foster inclusive nationalism and national integrity. As a result, the leadership of the Janata Party, Jan Sangh, and Jamaat-e-Islami jointly formed the NDA, a secular opposition coalition to Congress. During the election, Shahi Imam Abdullah Bukhari ran many campaigns for the alliance between the Jan Sangh, Janata Party, and *Jamaat-e-Islami*. Muslim resigned from Congress and cast his vote for the alliance's candidates. Thus, the NDA-affiliated parties came into power in 1990. Unfortunately, the Janata Party and Jan Sangh failed to fulfil their promise to build a secular

worldview. During NDA regime, many communal riots broke out in several cities, including Aligarh, Benares, and Jamshedpur. (77-78).

In many cases, it had been found that the root cause of communal unrest was not necessarily religious differences but rather economic factors. The growth of Muslims in the brassware industry presented a fresh market challenge to the owners of Hindu brassware companies, culminating in a riot in Moradabad in 1980 (78). Many artisans used to work at Hindu-owned brass companies back then. However, they later established their factories and began dominating markets nationwide. In addition, the market demand for their goods had significantly expanded because of their high quality and affordable pricing, and they even used to receive orders from gulf nations. Further, they started constructing religious structures such as mosques and madrasas to promote their religious practices with funding from Gulf nations (Engineer, “Communal Riots” 40). Such activities by the Muslims stoked animosity between Hindus and Muslims and paved the way for inter-community conflict. As a result, communal riots erupted, and many Muslim-owned factories were destroyed (Engineer 78).

Though Asghar Ali and many other human rights activists, journalists, writers, and CPI leaders relentlessly worked to build an inclusive and peaceful Indian nation, communalism and communal violence remained on the rise. Some Muslim leaders were inciting Muslims once more about the Aligarh Muslim University, the Urdu language, and Muslim personal law while ignoring their socioeconomic concerns to consolidate their victory in election. Further, Syed Sahabuddin called for a protest meeting on the Ramajanmabhumi-Babri Masjid dispute at the Gateway of India in February 1987. That gathering drew five lakh Muslims. Twenty thousand of them were from Meerut. Leaders delivered stirring speeches on the rally route to the Gateway of India. Shahi Imam Abdullah Bukhari even declared that “he would break the legs of Congress ministers if a single brick of

the Babri Masjid were touched” (83). Such provocative speech did not go well and led to a communal violence and the political leaders earned political gain during 1990’s election.

After these communal riots, Asghar Ali also urged the Muslim community to stay calm and fight for justice. He asked Muslims to fight for the Babri Masjid not against Hindus but against those who destroyed it. He continued saying that this fight was not between Hindus and Muslims but rather between secularism and communalism. Though such pedagogy of Asghar Ali Engineer was completely right, Many Muslims did not heed his advice and instead threatened to kill him.

Under such a conjuncture, Asghar Ali Engineer and many other academics, journalists, and writers formed a social organization, Ekta (Committee for Communal Harmony). They set out to promote secular and humanistic sentiment within the nations in order to accelerate the development of inclusive nationalism in post-colonial India. This organization arranged many workshops with journalists and human rights activists to instruct them on combating communal problems (89). Further, in October 1990, they organized a peace march from Bombay’s Azad Maidan to Thane. Many notable actors, including A. K. Hangal, actively participated in the march. Apart from Ekta members, many journalists, university faculties, and social activists also showed lots of love, support, and emotion to the peace march organizers. Even after the Babri demolition, he led a peace march in Bombay with 500 people. Many notable film actors, writers, and intellectuals helped him to make it a success (90-91). The poison of communalism got increasingly toxic over time, and communal rioting continued to rise. However, Asghar Ali never gave up and always confronted communalism with new tactics. Continuous communal riots made Asghar Ali conclude that individuals who were instigating the unrest were receiving support and encouragement from their leaders. Their leaders even taught them that they were fighting for religion. Therefore, even though every religion condemns killing innocent people, they must preserve religion.

On the other hand, the activists of interfaith harmony and inclusive nationalism could not work consistently. They lacked an understanding of communal unity, inclusive nationalism, and nation-building. Consequently, they failed on their path of secularism and interfaith harmony (90-91). The members of the Communist Party were steadfast in their work of secularism to create a classless society. However, after the 1980s, the communal forces posed a more significant threat to the peaceful coexistence and heterogeneous culture of Indian society. As a result, the communist party shifted its focus away from communal forces to vote bank politics. Only a few of them co-operated with Asghar Ali in developing secular values in the nation. Asghar Ali Engineer always continued his struggle even though people left him during his old age (91).

Asghar Ali Engineer conducted numerous investigations into the causes of communal riots and communalism to resolve these issues and move forward. He discovered that a distorted version of history is being taught in educational institutions, and that was why communalism was growing. In this case, while discussing the causes of communal riots, he brought up the subject of Rajasthan's school curricula and claimed that Islam had been misrepresented there. As a result, Hindu students were instilled with a negative image of Islam and Muslims. For instance, a textbook said, "Islam came to India with bloodshed" (102). In this regard, Asghar Ali argued that if such a distorted version of history is being taught in any institution, it would create a negative mindset against Muslims and Islam. Asghar Ali appealed to think about it. He further argued that such a syllabus instigated the police and police officers to get involved in most of the riots. In some places, the police cooperated with the rioters to keep the riots going; in others, they shot dead Muslim youths to bring the riots under control (86). Thus, the police became communal and did a big unjust to the people of a particular community, hampering the nation-building process in post-colonial

India. Therefore, Asghar Ali took an innovative initiative to organize workshops on communal harmony with police constables and officers to stop communal riots.

During that time, he used to stay in Bombay. His friend RD Tyagi was the police commissioner of Maharashtra. Asghar Ali one day paid a visit to him during the allotted time and proposed conducting a communal harmony workshop. He readily agreed to cooperate with him in doing so. Hence, Asghar Ali Engineer launched the first workshop program in 1995 at the Police Club of Bombay. He narrated that around 80 DCP rank police officers attended workshop making it big success. Upon hearing the eloquent discourse of Asghar Ali, he felt delighted. Later, Asghar Ali conducted more than 70 workshops in different zones of the Bombay Police with his assistance. Later, Asghar Ali observed that such workshops had played a significant role in developing a sense of communal unity and humanity among police constables and officers (94-95). Hence, he also conducted workshops in Andhra Pradesh and Haryana, instilling the concept of communal harmony in 4000 police and police officers (96). During that time, he came across an honest police officer, VN Rai, director of the Madhuban Police Training Academy in Haryana, who was working tirelessly for communal harmony. VN Rai even offered to cooperate with Asghar Ali in selling his book, “Communalism and Communal Violence in Post-Independent India,” to strengthen communal oneness. Besides, he translated this book into Hindi to further spread the idea of communal harmony among the masses (96).

Asghar Ali also held many workshops for IPS officers in Hyderabad, Karimnagar, and Mahbubnagar, where he delivered many talks on Islam and communal harmony. As a result of working with police constables and police officers, Asghar Ali conceived that there are some honest police officers in the country who could put a communal riot under control in less than 24 hours. However, in most cases, their hands were tied by corrupt and communal-minded politicians. Due to this, most police officers could not prevent the communal riots

even if they wanted to. Instead, they assisted the rioters in continuing the riots to produce a favourable outcome at the ballot box. On the other hand, he also observes that if the leader is honest and upright, then the communally minded and corrupt police will also be compelled to turn back toward the righteous path (97).

Thus, this study has explored Asghar Ali Engineer's understanding of the origin, backdrop, evolution, nature, and nature of communalism and its possible solution in his autobiography. It has also attempted to argue that there is no relationship between religion and communalism; instead, communalism is a product of politics, and to win elections, certain politicians divide communities by uniting adherents of one religion while demonizing adherents of other religions. Besides, Asghar Ali Engineer wonderfully portrayed his struggle to destroy this hideous atmosphere of communalism and communal riots in distinctive ways. Thus, he attempted to unite Hindus and Muslims and contributed to Indian nation-building in post-colonial India. Though Asghar Ali Engineer failed in many respects; he succeeded in bringing communal harmony to some extent in India.

Chapter-V

Conclusion

5. Conclusion

The study has explored various aspects of nationalism reflected in the selected Indian Muslim (Minority) autobiographies in the twentieth century India. It has portrayed their vision of the Indian nation and inclusive nationalism and how they have contributed to it. The present study has also looked at their ideas for creating their own identity following Islam while considering the process of Indian nation-building. A close reading of the selected autobiographies revealed that their concept of nation was different, and they had attempted to develop the Indian nation through various means.

Maulana Azad strived and envisioned Indian nation-building through the freedom movement, inclusive nationalism, and communal harmony. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan strengthened the work of Indian nation-building by lighting the lamp of education among the Pakhtuns and motivating them to unite for the anti-colonial movement. Khwaja Abdul Hamied sought to develop the Indian nation through the development of science and technology. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas portrayed different ideas to enhance the process of inclusive nationalism through the development of pluralism, interfaith harmony, and an inclusive nationalistic idea among different Indian nations. Asghar Ali Engineer battled using a variety of strategies to put an end to communal rioting and foster inter-communal harmony in post-colonial India. He also played a significant role in reframing the religious identity of the Bohra nation to equalize it with other nations. Maulana Muhammad Ali also contributed significantly to Indian nation-building during the first three decades of the 20th century by merging the Khilafat movement to revive of Muslim culture and identity with the Indian independence movement.

During the twentieth century, many countries were colonized. The identity of the Muslim ummah was also on the verge of crisis due to the destruction of the caliph institution and Islamic culture by the Western world. As a result, Muslims in India and around the world

launched campaigns against the colonizers to save this institution. India was also under the colonial regime of Great Britain. They joined hands with the freedom fighters from different faiths and started a mighty struggle against colonial power for India's freedom. Muslims in India and abroad also worked to construct Muslim (minority identity) identity through religious reformation and saving the institution of the Caliphate.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan conceived that his Pakhtun community was one of the most underprivileged, poor, and illiterate communities around the globe. Further, he observed that India had gone under colonial rule, and the Islamic Caliphate was on the edge of collapse. Hence, Ghaffar Khan started spreading the light of education within his community. He made them worthy of carrying out the anti-colonial movement for freedom and nation-building of India. Ghaffar Khan found that only the British colonial regime was the main hindrance to India's nation-building process. That was why he founded the *Khudai Khidmatgar* organization to enhance nation-building in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) via the educational and socioeconomic development of Pakhtuns. To accomplish the task of nation-building, Ghaffar Khan began constructing educational institutions in the NWFP. Then, with the assistance of *Khudai Khidmatgar* members, he launched anti-colonial campaigns in that area. Further, to make it stronger, he first approached Muslim League. However, when he conceived that Muslim League was a colonial legacy and working against Hindu-Muslim unity, he joined hands with M. K. Gandhi and tried to strengthen the freedom movement for India's nation-building. Their campaigns eventually led to India's independence, but it was divided. The NWFP was included with the Muslim League's Pakistan, which Ghaffar Khan considered an enemy because it worked on behalf of colonial power. Even though his vision of a unified India did not come true, his Pakhtun nation managed to develop in terms of education and the economy. As a result, they now share

space with other communities in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Even after independence, he maintained good relations with India despite being a citizen of Pakistan.

The study on Khwaja Abdul Hamied's autobiography has delved into the history of contemporary Indian scientific growth and his contributions. He was the first scientist who thought of establishing scientific laboratories in India. However, the central government did not pay any heed to his project. Hence, he set up a medicine and drug-making factory, *CIPLA*, in Bombay in 1935, which brought a revolution to India's drug-making industry. Later, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) was founded by the central government of India in 1942 though his proposal was submitted in 1927. Since then, thousands of researchers have worked tirelessly to advance Indian science and technology. Besides, Khawaja Abdul Hamied has addressed the problems and prospects of Indian science in his autobiography. Thus, he tried to improve the science of India, which accelerated the progress of the Indian nation during the twentieth century.

Maulana Azad's autobiography, *India Wins Freedom*, depicts his idea of making India a secular nation through freedom movements and the unity of Hindus and Muslims. Maulana Azad joined Congress and urged the Muslim community to strive for national independence while M.K. Gandhi was leading the freedom campaigns. Though Sir Syed Ahmad developed pro-British mindset among Muslims, Maulana Azad brought a large section of the Muslim community toward India's freedom movement. While he was the president of Congress, he learned that the leaders had a common problem. To strengthen the National Congress and advance Indian nationalism, he initially tried to address these issues. In addition, he disapproved of the Muslim League because of its anti-nationalist position toward India. To prevent India from partition and to strengthen freedom struggle, he attempted to spread secular patriotic thought across communities. Thus, due to the collective efforts of the freedom fighters from both communities, India achieved independence but,

regrettably, was divided. However, it can be claimed that it was due to Maulana Azad's efforts that Muslims came out of Sir Syed's pro-British mentality and participated in the freedom struggle. Besides, Maulana Azad's efforts resulted in many Muslims supporting the Congress rather than Muhammad Ali Jinnah, which improved inclusive nationalistic ideas and inter-religious harmony in pre and post-colonial India. Maulana Azad and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan worked only for Indian nation-building. However, Maulana Muhammad Ali was somewhat different from them. He not only worked for India's independence and nation-building. Rather, he attempted to save the caliph institution and wanted to instil the religio-cultural identity within Muslims, which they had lost for centuries.

Maulana Muhammad Ali discussed various aspects of the rise and fall of Islam in several chapters of his autobiography. He highlighted that, on one hand, Western culture and colonialism have undermined the Islamic identity, and at the same time, they have colonized India for millennia. That was why Maulana Mohammad Ali combined the Khilafat movement with the Indian independence movement and continued the united anti-British/anti-West movement. He also maintained the fight to safeguard the Caliphate through different ways in India and overseas. India eventually gained freedom, but the United Western world overthrew the Caliphate system in 1924. Thus, although he failed to preserve the caliphate system. His efforts inspired the next generation of Muslims to endeavour to preserve Islamic culture and identity. Perhaps with this spirit of Maulana Muhammad Ali, the religious culture, identity, and humanity of Muslims have improved to some extent. Moreover, his contribution to India's freedom, on the one hand, and efforts and ideas to protect Islamic culture and identity, on the other hand, have taught the next generation of Muslims to love India while maintaining their religious identity and culture.

Asghar Ali Engineer portrayed a small nation, Bohra, which adheres to the Shia doctrine of Islam. However, they lost their religious identity as they were bound to prostrate

to their religious head, the high priest even though Islam forbids the prostration of anyone other than Almighty. The study explores his autobiography and unveils how the high priest has violated human rights and oppressed the Bohra nation in different ways and how he attempted to resolve such problems to save the religious identity of the Bohra. Even in post-colonial India, he saw that people in the Bohra nation lacked social, religious, and political rights and became slaves of the high priest. Unfortunately, nobody cooperated with him regarding this issue. The goons of the high priest attacked Asghar Ali Engineer many times, he was always rescued from death and continued his movement until death. Thus, the study of his autobiography has examined the Bohra nation's sufferings due to the loss of religious, social, and political identity. It also examines Asghar Ali's efforts to restore such identities, which they had lost and had become slaves of high priest for many decades.

KA Abbas has depicted different implications of Indian nationalism through countering colonialism and communalism in the last century. At the beginning of his autobiography, he portrayed the unknown freedom fighters, whose contributions are not available in mainstream discourses but have contributed to Indian nation-building through freedom movements and constructing interfaith harmony. Further, KA Abbas has also depicted the role of foreign interference in the process of India's freedom. For instance, China requested British colonial authority to transfer power to the Indian counterparts. He has also depicted Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as a hero of Indian Nation-building who played an essential role in conducting anti-colonial movements and developing communal harmony in India. Besides, KA Abbas has discussed different tactics that may effectively resolve the communal problem that prevails in today's India.

Asghar Ali Engineer has contributed significantly to India's nation-building through his efforts to quell communal unrest and promote a climate of communal harmony in the country. In his autobiography, he explores the causes and backdrop of communal riots before

and after independence. He examined that the communal riots before 1960s were due to religious orthodoxy and the British government's "divide and rule" policy. However, the causes of communal rioting got changed after 1960. He observed that communal riots did not occur for religious reasons; some politicians used them to gain political advantage.

Moreover, he observed that the police administration was heavily involved in organizing communal riots. Therefore, he organized many workshops and seminars on communal harmony and Islam with police officers, IPS officers, and police constables of different states and delivered many speeches to stop communal riots. Moreover, he spoke with the state administration and obtained assurances that no educational institution will give students an education that misrepresents any faith. He also provided books on communal harmony to the people of Rajasthan. Thus, he has depicted numerous innovative approaches to prevent communal riots in post-colonial India that might work even today to reduce communal riots and promote communal harmony between Hindus and Muslims. In this way, this research has attempted to bring out some subtle truths of modern Indian history which were almost unknown in the mainstream discourses.

Thus, the study has examined the different aspects of nation, nationalism, and nation-building as appeared in the select autobiographies of Muslim leaders and intellectuals. Some autobiographies portray freedom movements as nation-building, educational development as nation-building, and science as nation-building. Besides, some have found secularism and communal harmony as a medium of nation-building in their autobiographies. On the other hand, some of them believed that their community or nation had been enslaved by a culture other than Islam, particularly the culture of the West. Therefore, they worked for their own religious and cultural reformation in order to construct their Muslim identity while keeping Indian nation-building in mind.

Therefore, the study has explored how these minority, especially Muslim intellectuals who have contributed in shaping Indian nation by developing interfaith harmony, freedom movements, the development of education, the progress of science, and reframing Muslims' Islamic identity as Islam teaches them to love their motherland as much as they love Islam. Furthermore, this dissertation has exclusively focused on the selected minority, primarily Muslim intellectuals using their autobiographies to understand their conceptions of nation and nation-building. In contrast, previous studies have disregarded and been less focused on considering them as minority life narratives. Thus, this study attempted to fill the space between dominant nationalistic discourses and minority, particularly Muslim nationalistic life narratives, and contributes to the existing historical and interdisciplinary discourses. The study also has explored Muslim consciousness and their contribution to the Indian nation and responds to the dominant narratives that have misrepresented them through institutional textbooks, social media, print media, films, and mass-media.

The contributions of Muslims to Indian nation-building are largely denied and forgotten nowadays. Due to communalism, many communal riots happened even in the twenty-first-century India. Therefore, this scholarship comes up with a contextual grounding for recent developments of communalism, communal riots, communal tension, and the question of Muslims' loyalty to the Indian nation, and thus, it may kindle readers' interest in studying the nationalistic life narratives of the Indian Muslim minority.

The present study has certain research gaps or limitations like; it has exclusively examined Muslims' contributions to India's nation-building and how they are portrayed in the select autobiographies. The study does not discuss how the people of other religions, such as Jain, Parsi, Sikh, etc., have contributed to Indian nation-building. The study has restrained itself in terms of the time period in selecting the research's primary texts. Further, it has not depicted the complete reviews of literature; instead, it has incorporated those texts and

articles most pertinent to this study. The researcher has not focused much on the women's narratives. In the future, scholars may study these texts from various perspectives, including historical, socio-political, pre- and post-partition, and women's narrative perspectives.

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Nationalism of the Minority: A Reading of Select Indian Muslim Autobiographies

by Md Samsujjaman



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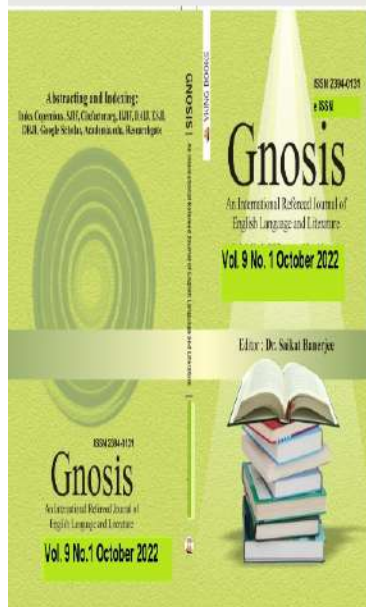
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Editorial

The July 2019 issue of GNOSIS had a very warm response from the readers in India and abroad that articles have been flowing in quick succession to fill the folder for this issue even before the deadline of 31 May 2019. The thumping reception of the journal shows the depth of multicultural issues in literature to which critics and readers are attracted. As a journal committed to quality research and writing, we are aware of the need to delink quality from publication cost. Hence, our decision to charge no publication fee from the scholars whose papers will be published in the issues of GNOSIS. At the same time since GNOSIS is a self-financed venture, co-operation and support in the form of subscriptions are solicited from the readers and admirers of English Literature and Language from all over the world. It is my honour and privilege to inform all the well wishers of GNOSIS that GNOSIS has been included in the approved journal list of UGC with serial number 48815. On behalf of the entire family of GNOSIS I would like to thank the officials of UGC for recognising the hard and honest work put in by each and every member of GNOSIS and enlisting it in the approved list of journals. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank all the Academicians and well wishers of GNOSIS who recommended GNOSIS to be included in the UGC list. There are thirty eight research/critical articles and five poems in this issue. Before concluding, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my reverend Associate Editor, Dr. Indira Nityanandam and our esteemed members of the Board of Advisors and Review Editors for their selfless and tiresome efforts in assessing the articles very sincerely and giving their valuable remarks to bring out this issue in such a grand manner. I am also grateful to the revered contributors who have made this issue of the Journal a beautiful reality. Wishing all the readers a mental feast. Happy Reading!

Dr. Saikat Banerjee
Editor

The Role of Science in Indian Nation Building: Placing the Life Writing of Khwaja Abdul Hamied

Md Samsujjaman

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Abstract: From the beginning of the twentieth century, Indian scientists like Dr. C V Ramon, Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, Homi Jahangir Bhava, Venkataraman Radhakrisnan, S. Chandra Shekar, Satyendra Nath Bose, A P J Abdul Kalam, Srinivasa Ramanujan, Meghnad Saha, Profullo Chandra Bose, Jagdish Chandra Bose, and many have contributed a lot for the scientific advancement of the nation. Many articles and essays have written on them for the same. Even their achievements have been documented on the golden page of our history. But chemist, K A Hamied's contribution for the establishment of the research laboratory and the development of science in India have given less importance and remained unknown to us. Hence this study is an endeavour to examine K. A. Hamied's contributions for nation-building through industrial development in India from 1928 to 1973. It will also explore the history of origin, development, and problems of Indian industry especially the chemical industry as reflected in his autobiography, *An Autobiography; a Life to Remember* (1972).

Keywords: Nation-building, autobiography, chemical science, technology, industry, chemistry, laboratory.

The significance of science in human life is immense. It provides a solution for all the cruxes which the civilization faces on its way. It has invented many things which are serving us continuously from wake up in the morning to go to bed at night. With the assistance of it, we have decorated the whole universe beautifully. We have made our life very comfortable and secure with making stunning architectural buildings, roads, parks, and gardens. Even we do anything effortlessly and quickly by using the tools, machines, and instruments which science has invented (Ratnasiri). Thus our life has become very much blissful nowadays. Hence the establishment and advancement of science is considered one of the essential bases for nation-building in today's world.

Critics and scholars have written many articles regarding the scientific contributions of the scientists who are famous in the mainstream discourse. Moreover, they have published many papers and essays concerning their scientific discoveries and ideas of secularism, pluralism for nation-building. But the scientists and scholars, belonging to minority communities have been less focused and remained unknown to us. Hence this study would like to concentrate on a minority scientist named, Khwaja Abdul Hamied to examine his contributions for Indian nation-building through the establishment of laboratories and industries which have recorded in his autobiography, *An Autobiography: A Life to Remember* (1972). This Scholarship is also an endeavor to explore the history of origin, development, problems, and their solution of Indian laboratories which are keys to industrial development as reflected in the autobiography of Khwaja Abdul Hamied.

After completing M. Sc in chemistry from Allahabad University, K A Hamied went to Germany for higher studies in 1924. He admitted to the Berlin University for pursuing Ph.D. in chemistry (64). While pursuing a Ph.D. at Berlin University, he acquired practical knowledge of organic, inorganic, and physical chemistry. He also worked in a chemical laboratory in Germany which manufactures drugs and medicines and became adept at making drugs and medicines. Further, He visited many chemical, physical, and agricultural laboratories in the UK, Germany, and the USA and conceived how to develop our nation in science and technology. He also found many problems responsible for the backwardness of our nation in science and technology.

He found that the teaching of sciences in India is worse as compared with the first world countries. The teachers of the 20th century India emphasize theoretical activities not to the laboratory-based research works, though its development depends upon the scientific exploration going on in the laboratory. Regarding this, K A Hamied argues- "I wonder why in our educational system in, we lay so much importance on book knowledge without acquiring sufficient proficiency in experimental chemistry." (Hamied 37)

K A Hamied also remarked that once an industry is established in India, no research have been done so far and no new technology have been used for its advancement. That's why India lags behind many nations in science and technology and it has become one of the biggest buyer countries of the world (37).

After gaining Ph.D. degree from Berlin University in 1927, Khwaja Abdul Hamied was coming back India through a steamer. He reminisced his life's vicissitude and difficulties as he had less amount of money with him. He also worried about his uncertain future. But one thing made him very happy that he had sufficient knowledge of chemical science and technology which he could use for scientific advancement of the nation. Hence he started to think about the same profoundly at the steamer and finally prepared a scheme for the establishment of a "Technical Research Institute" and published it in 1928 (58). In the scheme, the author not only wrote about how science and technology could be enhanced but also he had explained many problems regarding the Indian chemical and industrial factories and science teaching method which have prevented the scientific development of the nation. Regarding the major problem with the science students of India, author says that; "Our students lack not only a knowledge of industrial chemistry and physics but also the necessary field for the application of such knowledge, even if they possess it" (Hamied 60).

K A Hamied argues that research in the laboratory is the main base of a nation's scientific development as it invents new things and develops technology to make a better quality product. In this context, he opines that; "The theoretical and practical knowledge gained in the universities has to be supplemented by the special courses of technical studies before a chemist or physicist can be of any help to the industrial development of the country" (Hamied 59).

Further, he experienced and realized that natural things like pearls, diamonds, and indigo are losing its market day by day due to the artificial invention of these things in the chemical industry. Even the new technology of the developed countries is making good quality products and occupying our markets. Hence we have very much needed to develop our products to re-occupy the markets which we have lost. In this conjuncture, the technical research institute needs to be set up in our nation for its all-round development. So the plan of establishing a technological research institute which the author K A Hamied had made at the way back to India from Germany in 1927 showed to his father, and he had sent many copies of it to the government and many reputed universities. But nor the government neither the universities were ready to listen to him at that time in 1927. Even he tried to collect the fund for establishing such a technical institute in India, but he failed to do that (61).

K A Hamied had an aspiration to develop his nation's science and technology during his stay in Germany. So he could not give up his dream for the same and hoped that one day, he would establish such an institution for the scientific advancement of the nation. Thus after 14 years of waiting, his dream came into reality. In 1942, Sir Ramaswami, the member for the industries in governor's executive council had taken his plan into consideration, and on 26th September 1942, the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) was set up in Delhi. Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar became the first director general of it, and the post of deputy director general was offered to the author, but he refused the same due to his business for his research work in Chemical pharmaceutical and Industrial Laboratories (154-55).

In the same year, the CSIR established "National Chemical Laboratory" in Poona and National Physical Laboratory in Delhi with the financial assistance of the Central government. In posterior to independence, many more prominent and well-equipped laboratories were set up in different places of India by the independent government led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Now the CSIR has 38 research laboratories, and nearly 1200 scientists are working relentlessly and developing many things for the scientific advancement of the nation (CSIR Annual Report 2014).

The life narrative K A Hamied also narrates the importance of chemical science and technology in developing the other industries in India. He says that food is the most necessary thing in human life, and its production and quantity depend upon the advancement of agricultural science and technology. Chemical science has a significant contribution to the development of agriculture. Even the textile industry also cannot be developed without the assistance of chemical science and technology. Equivalently the soap, glass, enamel, steel and many other metal industries depend upon chemical science. He further argued that the medicine industry is one of the essential industries which entirely depend upon chemistry. But unfortunately, our government hardly did for its development. According to K A Hamied:

Government has not only done nothing but had put handicaps in the way of development of industries by private enterprises. Even government's duty for industrial development was hampering than assisting the industries. (Hamied 158)

K A Hamied not only argued regarding the problems of scientific development but also he tried to find out the solution of these real

cruxes. He opined that appointing the distinguished scientists in the high positions cannot solve the problem, but only a stable, national, and secular government can bring real industrial development in the country. The central government needs to assist all the industries of the nation. He also says that the planning and development of industrial technology can be well left entirely to the industrialists and experts as the growth of industries in developed nations happened under such political freedom from their respective government (159-60). Further, he requested the government to follow the same, but the government never gave any heed to him, never gave importance to the scientific advancement of the nation. That is why, even today, India lags behind many European countries in scientific progress till to date. That's why it has become one of the biggest buyer countries in the world.

In 1944, the Indian Chemical Manufacturers' Association was formed. The government appointed the author, K A Hamied as the president of it. The author told the governmental authority that India needs to make an amicable relationship with the developed country like U. K. to know their last ten years of technological advancement. Hence the government needs to send a delegation to U. K. for the same. The government authority readily agreed and formed a commission. In 1945, under the leadership of K A Hamied, the commission went to U. K. to visit their chemical, physical and agricultural laboratories. The directors, technicians, and managers of all the laboratories in U. K received them nicely and explained their manufacturing process. They also illustrated the scientific research was going on in their laboratories to the delegates. (185).

Further, at the day of returning, the British Chemical Manufacturers' Association invited the delegates for lunch and meeting at a restaurant. K A Hamied gave an excellent lecture in the meeting regarding the purpose of sending such delegation and how scientific cooperation can enhance the development of science and technology of both nations. The delegate team came back to India and submitted the report to the government. But it is a matter of regret that the government never gives any heed on the report to modernise our industries up to the mark till date. Hence our nation has become one of the backward and most impoverished countries in the world, and up to 30% of people go to bed without having dinner (Sen 67).

K A Hamied's most outstanding contribution for nation building through the advancement of science and technology is the

establishment of the Chemical Industrial and Pharmaceutical Laboratory (CIPLA) in 1935. It used to produce drugs and medicines for selling with the chief rate as he wanted to serve the nation with his scientific inventions. Within a few years, CIPLA became prevalent in the global market. Right now, it is the top and most respected pharmaceutical company in India according to the business world report, 2017.

Besides, his providence regarding nation building through education was outstanding. According to him; “Education alone can raise the physical, moral, and ethical standards of the people and give them a discipline and character so necessary for the progress and development of the nation” (Hamied 295).

K A Hamied also argues that no nation can develop unless every individual is adequately educated to enable himself to understand and shoulder his responsibility to the country and the state. He further remarks that establishing heavy factories and putting up big mansions for the government’s secretariats cannot make a nation developed unless the first and foremost task of nation-building through education is laid highest importance (296).

Thus this study tries to enlighten the author, K A Hamied’s struggle and contributions for the scientific advancement of the nation. In most of the cases, the author failed to accelerate his scholarship as he could not bring his dream into reality due to the government’s indifferent nature. Hence he alone compelled to establish his research institute (for research on drugs & medicines), CIPLA which is one of the best leading medicine companies in India as well as in the global market. Even it is providing better quality medicines to the people with chief rate from many decades for the humanitarian cause. Besides, his son Dr. Yusuf K Hamied, now the director of CIPLA got Padma Bhushan as a forerunner in the global fight against HIV/AIDS.

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WEST BENGAL, INDIA

CERTIFICATE OF APPRECIATION

This is to certify that MD SAMSUJJAMAN, Research Scholar, University of Hyderabad, has presented his/her research paper titled "Mapping Resistance Against So-called Religious Head: Reframing and Regaining the Identity of Indian Bohra Community" in the One-Day International Conference on "Race, Ethnicity and Migration in Postcolonial Literature" organized by the Publication Committee of Aligarh Muslim University, Centre Murshidabad on 23rd March 2022 in online mode.

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Certified that Prof./Dr./ Mr./Mrs./Ms Md Samsujjaman of Dept. of English, University
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titled Journey of Indian Nationalism from Exclusive to Inclusive:
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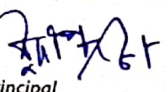
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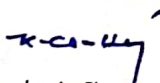
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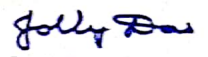
This is to certify that Prof./Dr./Mr./Ms. Md. Samsujjaman
of University of Hyderabad University/College
presented a paper/chaired a session titled Resistance against the Venom of Communalism
and 'Religious Neocolonialism' in Post Independent India: A Reading of
Asghar Engineer's Autobiography 'A Living Faith: My Quest for Peace, Harmony and Social Change' I participated as an official
delegate in the International Conference, organised by the Departments of English, Raja Peary Mohan College,
Uttarpara, West Bengal and Pandit Raghunath Murmu Smriti Mahavidyalaya, Bankura, West Bengal on 21-22 February
2018 at Pandit Raghunath Murmu Smriti Mahavidyalaya, Bankura, West Bengal, India.

Dr. Sudip Kr. Chakrabarty


Principal
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