

SYED JAMALUDDIN AFGHANI: AN ICON OF POLITICO-CULTURAL RENAISSANCE IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD

A CASE STUDY OF AFGHANI AND ISLAMIC RESURGENCE IN EGYPT

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To better than these two the East has not given birth. Indeed they have solved many of our problems. This leader of leaders, Maulana Jamaluddin, Whose word had put the fire of life into the heart of the high and low. (Niaz, tr. 1984: 94).¹

Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1790 opened a new chapter in Asian history. The Napoleonic expedition to Egypt had three vital objectives: to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Suez; "to ensure to the French Republic the free and exclusive possession of the Red Sea"; and by reopening the Mediterranean Red Sea route to India, "to combat the satellites of the English government there...and drive the English from all Oriental possessions". (Howard, ed. 1961: 232-233; Gregorian 1969: 91).

During the three year French occupation, Egypt entered the mainstream of European power politics, much to its dismay. Napoleon brought with himself a host of Egyptologists, scholars, engineers and botanists. Later on their findings were published in a series of volumes, providing in-depth knowledge about land and people of Egypt.

But Napoleon a "child of Revolution" as he called himself, was defeated at Waterloo in 1815, took his dreams of world dominance into exile with him to St. Helena, where he died in 1821. However, the Tsarist Russia, a former ally of the English against Napoleon, replaced the French as the major imperialist rival of the British in Asia.

On the other hand the Muslim world, i.e., Ghaznavid Afghanistan, Mughal India, Timurid Central Asia, Safavid Persia, Umayyad Arab Near East, Ottoman Turkey having reached several climaxes now slowly eroded. The Russians had completed their conquest of Central Asia: Samarqand fell in 1868 and the Khanate of Khiva in 1873; in the same year, through a treaty with the Amir of Bukhara, they also acquired a foot-hold in the Emirate.

Indo-British influence continued in Afghanistan during the reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan (1863-1879) with the publication of the first books, which include translations of the British military works and the first Afghan periodical, *Shams-un-Nahar*.² The main objective of the periodical was to kindle the idea originated by Jamaluddin Afghani that the public should be informed by the press of all the government's decisions. The people were to be made aware that they need not suffer pauperisation through feudal wars and foreign intrigue.³

The intellectual and economic growth stunted by external forces which destroyed the hydraulic bases of the societies, virtually stagnated (Dupree 1980: 362). Internal intellectual schisms proved

debilitating. Lacking natural resources or having no knowledge or technology, exploring in the Muslim World lagged behind that of the most affluent West. "No empires last forever, no nation has the answer to western imperialism, so the pendulum had swing from the East to the West" (Dupree: 362).

The reaction to western imperialism in the Muslim world was expressed in the radical and revivalist movements led by Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab (1703-92) in Arabia, Syed Ahmad Bareilvi (1786-1831) in India, Muhammad Ali Ibn Al-Sanusi (1787-1859) in Libya and Muhammad Ahmad (1848-85), the Mahdi of Sudan. All of them reemphasised the belief that the socio-moral revival of Islamic society required political action, an activism epitomised by *Jihad*, the exertion to realise God's will through moral self-discipline and, when necessary, military combat or warfare (Hasan 1987: 75).

Such religio-political currents, which gripped the Muslim countries from North Africa to South-East Asia, left their mark on an influential section of the Muslim intelligentsia. Elsewhere, there were similar reactions against the aggression of western empires, which were being felt from the 1870s and which culminated in the French occupation of Tunisia in 1871, the British possession of Egypt in 1882, the Russian conquest of Merv in 1884, the Italian seizure of Tripoli in 1911 and the Balkan war of 1912-13. Muslim responses to these developments ranged from rejection to adaptation, from withdrawal to acculturation and reform. Most notably, however, the examples of German and Italian unification suggested the potency of movements for unity of divided territories behind a single government.

The Islamic resurgence and modernist movements were born in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as a result of the Muslim world's comprehension of its debility and backwardness in relation to the atheist, but materially overwhelming West. How to resist the onslaught of the Western conquerors? Such was the problem which served as a starting point to the long and fascinating part of contemporary Muslim history. The first answer was: (a) by regaining purity; (b) by going back to the primitive pure and progressive Islam; (c) back to the great civilisation and educative force of the Medina Caliphate; (d) by rediscovering the dynamism which had enabled Arabs to become world conquerors and symbolic of a great civilisation.

The failure of puritan reforms (i.e., Wahabism of Central Arabia, the Indian Wahabism and the Libyan Senusiya) to shake off the Western domination resulted in the birth of liberal reformism in the second half of the 19th century, that accentuated not only "purity" but, even more so, "power". More politicised, going deeper and with more lasting effect than the puritan revivalism, this movement endeavoured to change society within the framework of Islam and to fulfil a political objective independence from Western domination by a spiritual and cultural revival.

During the latter part of the 19th century, the first and most typical leader of this second phase of Muslim reformism and resurgence was, Jamaluddin Afghani (1839-1897), who emerged from Afghanistan⁴ as the sole spokesman and perhaps the first Muslim who fully grasped the "impending peril of Western domination and devoted his entire life to warn the Islamic world of the all pervasive danger and suggested elaborate measures for its defence" (Stoddard 1922:52). He is known above all as the founder of modern Muslim anti-colonialism and Pan-Islamism. His Pan-Islamic vision inspired various activist groups in different lands, and lives on patiently, if amorphously, in the aspirations of many Muslims.⁵ He, who called the Muslims to make a political stand against the

West; to liberate themselves from its control, but also to carry out the internal reforms that would allow their regeneration and to cultivate modern scientific knowledge that would enable them to compete with the West. In the introduction to his *Tatimmat-al-Bayan-fi-Tarikh-i-Afghan* (A Short History of the Afghans), Jamaluddin Afghani viewed Britain with suspicion and described her as "a dragon which had swallowed two hundred million people, drunk up the waters of Ganges and the Thames, but was still unsatisfied and ready to devour the rest of the world and to consume the waters of the Nile and the Oxus" (Al-Afghani 1318: 61).

Jamaluddin Afghani's appeal was taken up and developed by many thinkers throughout the Muslim world: Muhammad Abduh⁶ in Egypt, Tatar Shihabeddin Marjani and Qaym al Nasyri⁷ in Kazan, Namik Kemal and Tevfik Fikret⁸ in Turkey, Sheikh Hadi Najimabadi, Mirza Raza Kirmani, Malkm Khan, Muhammad Hussain Khan, Sheikh Ahmad Ruhi Kirmani in Iran,⁹ Hasan Melikov Zerdabi¹⁰ in Baku, Mahmud Tarzi¹¹ in Afghanistan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal¹² in British India and Sheikh Muhammad Tahir B. Jalaludin Al-Azhari¹³ in Malaya, all of whom proclaimed that Islam far from opposing science and reason, encourages these. They expounded the view that by acquiring scientific knowledge and by adapting to Islam the new cultural and political forces and ideologies of the West, Muslims were not betraying their culture but only retrieving their lost heritage.

Islamic resurgence in the form of modernist reformism touched all the fields of human activity and practically all the area of *Darul-Islam* (abode of Islam). It created a new rationalistic theology, promoted by many bold religious reformers, such as the Tatar Shihabeddin Marjani, Musa Jarullah Bigi (d. in 1949), Shibli Numani (d. in 1914), who condemned blind obedience to traditional authorities (*taqlid*) and proclaimed that every believer was entitled to find in the Quran and the *Hadith* an answer to all religious questions (Schinasi: 11).

Afghani led a highly active life travelling throughout the Muslim world and Europe, propagating his reformist ideas, and searching for fertile soil in which his ideas could flourish.

Afghani visited Egypt twice. Once in 1869, when he spent forty days in Al-Azhar University, Cairo. During his lectures at Al-Azhar University, Afghani could not refrain himself from attacking the Egyptian government's pro-Western policies. He criticised the growing British influence in Egypt. He influenced the youth of Cairo and Alexandria, so that his personality left a mark both on future moderate leaders and partisans of immediate violence. (*Encyclopedia of Islam*: 417). The Egyptian intellectuals were already groaning under the autocratic rule of the Turks in Egypt. Describing the hatred felt in Egypt against the Turks, Muhammad Abduh wrote: "Every Egyptian whether he be an *Ulama* or *fellah*, an artisan or merchant, a soldier or a civilian a politician or not politician hates the Turks and detests their infamous memory" (Karandikar 1969: 42).

For the second time, Afghani arrived in Cairo on 22nd March, 1871, where he stayed until his expulsion by Khedive Tawfiq in September 1879 because of his political activism. Just few days after his entrance into Egypt, he met with Riaz Pasha, the Prime Minister of Egypt. Afghani's intelligence and intellectual approach impressed the Prime Minister so much that he requested him to stay longer in Egypt. The students of Al-Azhar University also urged him to make permanent stay in Egypt. Afghani stayed in Egypt from 1871 to 1879. He left a lasting impact, for his ideas were embraced and nurtured by Egypt's leading figures, the most prominent of whom were Sad

Zaghlul (the future hero in the struggle for independence), Adib Ishak (Founder and editor of journals *Al-Tijara* and *Misr*), Abdullah Pasha Fikri, Khayri Pasha, Muhammad Pasha, Mustafa Pasha Wahabi and most celebrated Muhammad Abduh. On the impact of Afghani on Abduh, Osman Amin has commented:

It was natural-after the young Azharite came in contact with that powerful and magnetic personality- that he fell under its spell and allowed himself to be swept along the path it outlined for him. Nor is it strange that we see the youthful theologian who had espoused the credo of Islam as interpreted by the Asharities and Sunnites representing the most conservative group in Islam swerve from the path without hesitation. In his "Glosses on the Commentary of *Al-Dawani* on the Creeds of *Al-Adud*" he turns into a partisan of the Mutazilites and rationalists and all kinds of free-thinkers and liberals. It was also to be expected that the young Sufi leave asceticism and his repudiation of humanity behind, and instead begin to cultivate a taste for the active life emulation of his teacher Jamaluddin and that he should lunge into the study of various sciences not included in the Azhar curriculum, such as philosophy, dogmatic theology, the exact sciences, politics and ethics. (Ali 1983: 359).

Afghani also held his young disciple Abduh in great esteem even in his final departure from Egypt in 1879 by saying: "I have left you Sheikh Muhammad Abduh. His wisdom will suffice for Egypt" (Ali 1983: 360).

Abduh's fascination even outlasted his contact with Afghani, who led him on the path of revolution and reason. It was under the tutelage of Afghani that he became a political activist, and publicly challenged the intrusion of British imperialism in Egypt and the rest of the Muslim world.

Egypt during this time was passing through a very critical epoch of modern history as there was widespread political and intellectual anarchy in the country, and both the religious scholars and statesmen were groping in the dark searching for a ray of hope that could help them to salvage the nation from a sense of helplessness in every sphere of life. In the midst of all this, the British intervention made the confusion worst confounded. Afghani, from the beginning of his stay in Egypt, had been a source of numerous controversies both in the religious and political circles. Abduh in the biography of his master has stated that due to his innovative interpretation of the Quranic text the circle of his followers increased very rapidly. But many traditional *Ulama* were very unhappy with Afghani's presence in Egypt. They found in Afghani's teachings germs of unbelief or perhaps revolt (Ali 1983: 360-1).

Abduh had been a student at Al-Azhar since 1866, and when he first met Afghani, he was twenty-two years old. As an ardent young man, he was exploring every possible avenue of formal knowledge and spiritual experience to satisfy his curiosities about the ultimate destiny of man and goals for which human beings lived in society. His thought process was a harmonious blend of mysticism and realism. In mysticism he was deeply influenced by Sufi Sheikh Darwish and in realism by Afghani.

In Abduh, the adoration reached the highest pitch of devotion and "one of his students later mentioned that whenever he talked of Afghani, tears used to roll from his eyes and he would be radiant with emotions of love and admiration" (Ali 1983: 374).

Abduh has given the following description of his teacher: "While I found myself in this state, the arrival of the perfect sage of Truth personified of our venerated master Sayyed Jamaluddin Afghani who does not cease to garner the fruits of science, made the sun of truth rise for us which illuminated the most complicated problems" (Keddourie 1966: 10). In 1883, he wrote a letter from Beirut to Afghani:

You have made us with your hands, invested our matter with its perfect form and created us in best shape I have been endowed by you with a wisdom which enables me to change inclinations, impart rationality to reason, overcome great obstacles, and control the inner-most thoughts of men I have been given you a will so powerful as to move the immovable, deal blows to the greatest of obstacles and remain firm in the right (*haqq*) until truth is satisfied (Ali: 374).

It is true that after 1885, Abduh parted company from his master but still he admired his master. B. Michel and Abdel Razik in their biography of Abduh have summed up the impact of Afghani's thought on him in the following words:

Jamal-al-Din exercised on Sheikh Abduh a very great influence-making him aware of his own strength and opening a new world, which was no longer that of mystic dreams but that of realities. At the moment of their meeting Sheikh Abduh was completely given up to Sufism endowed with that psychological intuition that leaders of men possess and thanks to his encyclopedic knowledge, Jamal-al-Din knew how to capture the young scholar on his own terrain and lead him bit by bit only to a more immediate interest, those that arose for the Orient out of its relations, each day closer, with the West (Ali: 375, 376).

Abduh read from Afghani numerous works of theology, mysticism, philosophy and science. Afghani was not certainly the first to introduce the study of Islamic philosophy in Egypt, but most of his biographers agree that he was among the first to demonstrate that the philosophy was not merely an exercise in abstract thinking but had inherent practicality. He dissuaded his pupils from the traditional memorization and always tended to give new interpretations to the classic text books on theology and expected his students to do the same (Ali: 376).

Though the religious reforms of Afghani would not have upset the Egyptian authorities, but he produced a lot of scepticism and hostility among them when he began to dabble seriously in politics, and used every possible forum to agitate against the corruption and weakness of native rulers and the exploitation of the British imperialism. He had come to this grave realisation after a close study of British policy in Afghanistan, India, Egypt and the Sudan.

It was in 1877, that Afghani and his disciples made headlines in newspapers for their subversive activities against the foreign government in Egypt and their statements captured the attention of the public at large.

Meanwhile the British expanded their influence in Egypt through financial investments, purchase of the Khedives shares of the Suez Canal Company (1875), the control of Egyptian finances and the ultimate occupation of Egypt in order to safeguard their interests (Khan 1989:55).

In Egypt which had become virtually their protectorate and its government a puppet in the hands of the British, Jamaluddin could not help ridiculing the observations of the British Minister of Interior, who stressed that Egypt with its European based system of administration could only be governed by a popular form of government (Afghani 1884). He was amazed because it was an open secret that the Egyptian ministers were not even free to travel without permission of the British authorities (Afghani 1884: 55). He ridiculed British Foreign Secretary George Canning's (1770-1827) policy assertion, reaffirmed by Prime Minister Lord Palmerston (1784-1865) that "the contraction of a loan by a British Government with an undeveloped power was undesirable because it ultimately involved interference with internal affairs" (Afghani 1892: 246-247; Afghani Nos. v, vi, 1884). This was negated, too, as the British money-lenders continued to invest in India and Egypt and the British government itself followed the same policy by purchasing the Egyptian shares of the Suez Canal Company and provided monetary subsidies to the Afghans.

But Afghani was not the man who could be impressed by the size or strength of the British Empire.¹⁴ The British defeat in Afghanistan was primarily the result of the Afghan spirit to remain free and independent. They were repulsed from Sudan because their aggression in Egypt had given momentum to the Mahdist Movement in Sudan. Afghani had little doubt that the British shall meet the same fate in Egypt and elsewhere as soon as the people were united and they resolved to shake off their ignorance, credulity and fear of British power.

Afghani was instrumental in arousing the Egyptians against the government through his public speeches. Egypt at this time appeared to be a web of complex political activities in which intrigue and subversion played a very decisive role. All this culminated in a plot to depose or assassinate Khedive Ismail. The forces working against the Khedive were successful. He was deposed and his son Taufiq became the new Khedive. His succession, however, did not make matters easy for Afghani and the relations between the two became so strained that the government issued orders for his immediate expulsion along with his faithful disciple Abu Turab from Egypt in August 1879. In Egypt, the slow awakening of the people manifested itself in 1879, when Afghani established the first Egyptian political party *Al-Hizb al-Watani al-Hurr* (the National Liberal Party). Though the movement of national emancipation inspired by Jamaluddin and spearheaded by Arabi Pasha did not succeed in extricating Egypt from the British sphere of control, yet Afghani always remained sanguine about its ultimate success. Leaving the country, which provided him with his most receptive audience, Afghani spent two years in India before moving to Paris, where he was joined by his disciple Muhammad Abduh. After the expulsion of Afghani the authorities also took steps to put serious curbs on the political activities of his disciples. Abduh whose name had been so closely associated with Afghani was exiled to his village.

However, Abduh estrangement with the government did not last long and next year after certain promises and compromises, he was made the editor of the official gazette called *Al-Wakai-al-Misriyyah*. He used this forum effectively against the increasing Anglo-French encroachment in the country, socio-political reforms and as instrument for nation-building.

The thirty-six articles that Abduh wrote for this gazette and that have been preserved by Rashid Rida in the biography of his master, provide an eloquent testimony of the breadth of his vision

and depth of his understanding of national problems (Ali: 362). Osman Amin points out that "he freely advocated a social renaissance, even when such an advocacy clashed openly with the established order" (Ali: 363).

At the early stages of the Arabi revolt,¹⁵ Abduh was very critical of the nature and objectives of this rebellion. He believed that representative institutions established through violence could never be stable. But gradually it was becoming very obvious that the British were trying to cripple the nationalist movement through crafty manipulation of the chaotic conditions prevalent in the country at that time. The people in general felt that the British were trying to cripple the nationalist movement through crafty manipulation of the chaotic conditions prevalent in the country at that time. After this realisation, Arabi suddenly became a national hero and most sections of the population including even Abduh became his supporters.

After British bombardment on Alexandria in June, 1882, Arabi's forces were routed in every sector of the war and consequently the British occupied the country. Khedive returned with the British support in September, 1882 and arrested all leaders including Abduh, who spent three months in prison.

The dismal turn of events in Egypt which culminated in British occupation after the defeat of Arabi Pasha at Tel al-Kabir (Sept. 1882) had a disturbing effect on the Muslim intelligentsia all over the world especially in India and Egypt. There was a pressing need of working not only for the restoration of assertiveness but also to inspire hope of a bright future among the Muslims. Ultimately Abduh was exiled from Egypt. He joined his teacher Afghani in Paris in late 1883 and founded a revolutionary journal *Al-Urwa al-Wuthqa* (The Firmest Bond). The journal was hostile to Britain in its tone and spirit and preached revolutionary ideas. It was distributed throughout the Muslim world, especially in Egypt and India. Apparently, *Al-Urwah* was also the name of a clandestine organisation headed by Afghani himself.¹⁶ This organisation helped in financing and distributing the newspaper and was dedicated to two objectives: the struggle against imperialism and the unification of the Muslim community. The newspaper was forced to stop after publishing eighteen issues when the British authorities in Egypt and India enacted severe measures to prevent its distribution. The possession of one issue of the newspaper, for instance was punishable in India by 100 pounds and two years imprisonment (Safi 1995: 28).

In 1884, Abduh after visiting Tunis arrived in London as a guest of Wilfrid Blunt. In London he pleaded the case of the Egyptians. After visiting many countries, Abduh returned to Egypt and was appointed as Judge in Cairo.¹⁷ In 1899, he was appointed to the highest religious position in the state that he occupied till his death.

Abduh was successful in having a disciple like Sheikh Rashid Rida to continue his movement for religious reforms and to rediscover the true spirit of Islam. Rashid Rida started *Al-Manar*, a journal in 1897 which became a mouthpiece of religio-political reforms of Afghani and Abduh.

Afghani along with his eminent disciple Abduh, endeavoured to combat fatalism, which plagued the bulk of Muslim societies by the turn of the 19th century. It was widely accepted then that Muslim decadence was natural, as it reflected an advanced stage in the continuous moral decline since the time of the Holy Prophet. It was also believed that this trend was inevitable and beyond human control.

Afghani rejected this interpretation of history, advocated by traditionalists, insisting that Muslim decadence had been precipitated by moral and intellectual decline, and that the superiority of the West and its triumph over the Muslims, was a temporary stage in the continual struggle between the East and West. He attributed Western military superiority to its scientific advancement, arguing that the French and English had been able to conquer Muslim lands not by virtue of being French or English but because of their superior and more advanced scientific capabilities (Safi 26; Afghani 1968: 17). Furthermore, Afghani saw a positive aspect of the rivalry between the East and the West, contending that Western invasion of Muslim lands had a stimulating effect on the Muslims, and would eventually awaken them from the state of slumber that had dominated their lives for centuries (Safi 26).

He repeatedly advised the Muslim potentates to close their ranks and called upon the Muslims of India and Egypt to defy their British rulers at an opportune time when the latter were engaged in military ventures elsewhere.

Afghani believed that it was not sufficient to demand from Great Britain the evacuation of Egypt without security against any future aggressor. Advocacy by some political figures for a Belgium type neutrality for Egypt was not popular in Europe and Afghani feared that Egypt would possibly be re-occupied by some other European power in case the British evacuated it. In his defence of the continued presence of Great Britain in Egypt, Afghani appeared to be over-enthusiastic in recounting the advantages it had conferred. Though difficult to justify his attitude, one may say that his political experiences had convinced him that without any satisfactory international guarantees Egypt could not have maintained its independence, and if left alone, due to its strategic importance and military weakness, it was most likely to have fallen prey to some other Western power (Khan 60).

It was, however, in Paris that the seeds of discord were also sown between the two reformers—Afghani and Abduh. *Al-Urwat-al-Wuthqa* collapsed and gradually a realisation dawned upon Abduh, that his master's extremism both in political and religious reforms was only leading to a mirage and was often counter-productive.¹⁸

He was in complete agreement with Afghani that the West had victimised the East, and the Eastern nations were being grossly abused and exploited by Western imperialism. In an article published in *Al-Ahram* in December 1876, Abduh wrote, "this antagonism between East and West is hereditary and worthy of consideration." (Ali 398).

Abduh, after his return from exile, softened his attitude towards Western powers to a vast extent.¹⁹ He became convinced that impulsive and misdirected violence in politics were futile, and realised that Egypt and the rest of the Muslim countries were not threatened by the material ascendancy of the West, but they were confronted with the biggest challenge of their history by the intellectual, social and ethical dynamism of the Western civilisation. He had serious doubts about the Islamic doctrine as it was understood at that time of having the ideological potency to successfully meet this challenge (Safran 1961: 63).

Abduh believed that the mind and spirit of the Egyptians in politics should be transformed gradually. He justifies his gradualism on the ground that the crux of healthy politics is public opinion. This public opinion needs to be properly educated and organised which is an extremely slow process.

He calls this the collective intelligence of the community (*Ar-ray al-amm*), and believes that it is the major determinant of the ideals that motivate political behaviour (Ali 403). In an article jointly authored by Afghani and Abduh in *Urwa* made the following remarks:

The foundations of Islamic religion are not limited to calling mankind to the truth and to the realization that the nature of their souls is spiritual, summoned away from this base world, rather it ensures this by setting forth the limits of transactions among men and clarifying their rights. In both in a general and a particular way, and by setting limits to the enforcing authority that undertakes to give effect to the revealed laws, apply the prescribed penalties and define their circumstances of application (Ali 404).

For Abduh the ideal of a Muslim society was the combination of revolution, reason and law. When Islamic law is fully understood, obeyed and rationally interpreted, the society flourishes, but the moment it ignores and deviates from the fundamentals, decadence sets in, and its affairs become chaotic and uncertain (Ali 393). In making *Ijtihad* a basic principle of Islamic thought, Abduh was in complete agreement with Afghani. He considered the closing of the doors of *Ijtihad* by the earlier jurists as totally unwarranted and one of the greatest tragedies of the Islamic civilisation (Ali 385-6).

It is true that what he hoped to change was not accomplished in fullness, but the reform movement in Egypt during the twentieth century provides a clear indication that whatever success has been achieved towards modernisation of law and religion is due to momentum given to it by the zeal and genius of Abduh. According to Kedourie Abduh "was a child of expediency, and did not achieve anything of enduring significance so far as the reformation of Islam was concerned" (Kedourie 34-39). But the image delineated above, however, is misleading and does not seem to be free from some kind of intellectual presupposition. It is true that Abduh started his career as a political activist and this tendency in him was vastly accentuated by his association with Afghani, but with the passage of time as his thought matured, religious reforms became the primary commitment of his life.

In their effort towards religious reformation neither Abduh; nor his mentor Afghani laid any claim to Mahadism because they were convinced Islam had enough inner strength and flexibility to maintain the requisite pace of progress under changing circumstances. Abduh castigated fanaticism and tolerance in very strong terms. In his opinion, Islam forbids a Muslim from making a judgment on another co-religionist (Ali 396). The division of the Muslims into so many sects was clear indication that the jurists of the past exercised considerable tolerance in religious matters.

There is no doubt that Abduh was in complete agreement with Afghani in his denunciation of despotic Muslim rulers, whose incurable corruption in his opinion had been the chief cause of the political downfall of the Muslims. Rashid Rida in his account of this issue (caliphate) has recorded that in 1887, he privately expressed his opinion that Sultan Abdul Hamid's title to caliphate was not legitimate because it was grounded in personal ambition and self-aggrandisement. He seems to have said that the Muslims were left with no *Imam* except the Quran.

Rashid Rida has remarked that Abduh had two different solutions for Egypt's political problems. One during the occupation, and the other he envisaged could be evolved after independence (Ali 408). Afghani and Abduh were convinced that the rising tide of secularism could not be countered

by traditional orthodoxy that had remained stagnant for centuries and had failed to keep pace with the progress of intellectual thought.

The system of justice prevalent in Egypt during the last decades of the nineteenth century was a bewildering maze of local and alien practices. Abduh's intention was to create a legal system for his country that would synthesise all the diverse elements and integrate them as a part of *Sharia* law. The true Jurists, they argued, always believed in social change to alleviate the tension and the stress between the ideal and the actual. In jurisprudence, Abduh rediscovered an old practice called the principle of *Talfiq*, which in essence meant that while handling legal matters, the courts should make use of rules enunciated by jurists of different schools of jurisprudence (Ali 417, 418).

Afghani and Abduh wanted to replace *Ijma* with *Ijtihad* as the primary source of law after the Quran and the *Hadith*. Abduh argues that any principle based on *Ijma* is subject to review by later generations (Ali 407, 418).

In the history of modern Egypt, no other reformer has been accorded a niche of such eminence as Muhammad Abduh. He came to the scene at a time when Egypt was passing through a period of traumatic cultural changes. On one side proponents of traditional culture had created a horror of everything associated with modernisation, while on the other hand a new class of intellectual elites had emerged who were totally disenchanted with the religious and cultural legacy of Egypt (Ali 424). It was fortunate for Abduh to have met Afghani in his youth who instilled in him fresh thinking about the entire religio-political framework of Islam. He adored traditional Islam, but showed deep-seated revulsion against customs and practices that had killed the innovative potential of the religion.

Abduh's followers later on divided into two groups: Ahmad Lutif el-Sayyid and Sad Zaghlul²⁰ were the leaders of the one group while the other group was led by Rashid Rida. The former became more Western than Muslim, while the latter remained more Muslim than Western (Ali 425). In 1907, the Abduh's disciples started a newspaper called *Al-Jaridah* which eventually became an organ of a newly created political party called *Umma*. Ahmad Lutif el-Sayyid acted as editor of *Al-Jaridah* and played an important role in the *Umma* party.

In certain pieces of writing that are autobiographical in character, Abduh has pointed out that "his primary objective was to release the mind of the Muslims from the captivity to ignorance and imitation. It was his intention to integrate knowledge, reason and religion into compact ideological framework that would provide a permanent beacon of light to progress" (Ali 426-7).

The modern Islamic movement lingered on to swing in between non-violent and violent forms and was confined to intellectual domain until late 1920s, when Hassan Al Banna founded *Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun* (the Muslim Brethren) in Egypt. The close affinity between the concept of Muslim unity as propounded by Afghani and that of *Al-Ikhwan* reflects in the sayings of Al-Banna: The *Ikhwan* respect their particular nationality on the consideration that it is the first foundation of their cherished (Islamic) renaissance.... After this, the *Ikhwan* supports Arab unity as the next step towards this renaissance. Then they strive for Pan-Islamism as a fence of protection for the general Islamic fatherland (Rosenthal 1965: 117).

Al-Banna was a charismatic leader with both traditional Islamic and Western knowledge. From an early age, Al-Banna was alarmed by the deteriorating conditions of the Muslims particularly in Egypt and generally in the Muslim countries. He attributed the backwardness of Egyptian society to the spiritual and moral decline of the Muslim individual. Al-Banna, declared that the mission of his organisation was to accomplish two objectives: the independence of the Muslim land from foreign domination, and the establishment of an Islamic socio-political system (Safi 28). He believed that reviving and resurrecting the *Umma* must inevitably begins with the individual, stressing that those able to rebuild the Muslim community must have three qualities: spiritual strength manifested through the determination of the individual and his integrity and self-sacrifice, knowledge of the principles of Islam and the ability to relate the Islamic principles to real life and apply them effectively to practical circumstances (Safi 28; Hussain 1983: 6-7).

In less than two decades, Al-Banna's *Ikhwan* grew from a small association to a major political power with numerous branches scattered throughout Egypt. He employed an elaborate structure to organise the *Ikhwan* with its headquarter in Cairo. He called for a gradual approach for achieving the *Ikhwan's* goals in three stages: First was the stage of communication and propagation, aimed at exposing the Egyptian society to the true Islamic principles; second was the stage of mobilization and organization in which the movement would select and train its active members; and, third, the stage of executing and implementing the Islamic rules and principles in which a society is completely transformed into an Islamic one (Safi 30).

He also warned those among the *Ikhwan* who were looking for fast results that they would either have to learn to be patient and persevering or leave the movement (Safi 30). Indeed, during its early years, the *Ikhwan* Movement rejecting violence, adopted a peaceful approach aimed at the gradual reform of society. They sponsored social welfare projects, such as hospitals, schools, charities, clubs and the like. But within one decade the reformist tone of the *Ikhwan* was gradually replaced by a militant one.

The *Ikhwan's* increasing militancy was also reflected in the establishment in 1940 of a paramilitary wing known as the Special Organisation, sometimes referred to as the Secret Apparatus. The first director of the Special Organisation was Salih al-Ashmawi. In January 1948, the government of Prime Minister Mustafa Al-Nuqrashi, under pressure from the British government which was alarmed by the rising anti-British sentiments and activities on the part of the *Ikhwan*, cracked down on the *Ikhwan*, closing their offices and publications and confiscating their properties. Twenty days later, Al Nuqrashi was assassinated by members of the *Ikhwan*. In a communiqué issued right after Al-Nuqrashi's assassination, Al-Banna strongly condemned the assassins and their act, proclaiming that they were neither *Ikhwan* nor Muslims (Safi 32).

Overtly, these paramilitary operations were carried out by the Special Organisation of the *Ikhwan* without the knowledge and approval of Al-Banna, or any of the executive officers for that matter. Close friends of Al-Banna disclosed that the formal organisation of the *Ikhwan* had lost control over the Special Organisation (Safi 33). This situation continued to be a source of frustration even for Al-Hudaybi (successor of Al-Banna) until he finally resigned from his post as the Supreme Guide of the *Ikhwan*, after the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Nasser in 1954, which was again blamed on the Special Organisation.

The bloody confrontation between the monarchists and the *Ikhwan* finally culminated in the assassination of Hassan al-Banna by the Egyptian secret police in 1949. Shortly before his assassination, Al-Banna expressed his desire to withdraw the *Ikhwan* from the political arena and confine its operation to religious, educational and economic activities, while allowing a number of outstanding members to engage in politics using the platforms of other political parties (Safi 33).

Despite the *Ikhwan's* active involvement in Egyptian politics, al-Banna did not see his organisation as a political party, but as a prototype of an Islamic society. Anwar el-Sadat in his autobiography mentions that even as early as 1942, in his secret meetings with Sheikh al-Banna he discerned clearly that the *Ikhwans* had become a political party and wished to be treated as such (Sadat 1978:100).

Hudaybi also declared that his movement was non-political but after 1952 he changed his decision and proclaimed in unequivocal terms that the *Ikhwan* ultimately wanted to obtain complete control of the country and would govern by *Sharia*. The growing militancy and internal dissensions in the rank and file of *Ikhwans* culminated on the attempt on life of Jamal Abdul Nasser and resultant mass arrests and execution of Syed Qutb,²¹ who was the Supreme Guide after Hudaybi. Qutb gave the modern Islamic movement a revolutionary intonation, though "non-violent", despite the fact that most of his ideas were borrowed from Afghani, Abduh, al-Banna and other Muslim writers, yet he was able to develop these ideas into more refined and systematic concepts into an ideology. But the internal schisms and mistake of the *Ikhwan* and the changed political condition inside Egypt brought sudden and fast decline to the Movement and its leaders.

In 1970s, Islamic movement re-emerged in Egypt with radical, militant malevolence such as *Jamaat al-Muslimin* (the Muslims Group) of Shukri Mustafa, *Shabab Muhammad* (Muhammad's Youth) of Salah Sariyah, *Al-Jehad* of Muhammad Abd al-Salam Faraj and *Ikhwan* led by Muhammad Hamid Abu al-Nasr with low profile and non-radical approach and tactics.²²

Conclusion

Afghani emphasis on *Ijtihad* and his criticism to stagnant orthodoxy opened new vistas of knowledge and learning for a novel and dynamic Islam, and not in contradiction with science and modern knowledge. He tried to blend together conservatism with modernism, nationalism with Pan-Islamism and provided a 'broad intellectual framework' for redefining the relationship between Islam and the changing world.

Afghani has also been hailed as the torchbearer of freedom movements in the Muslim world. His magnetic personality, his new ideas and journalist efforts kindled the fire of freedom, progressive outlook, reforms and constitutionalism. In the Arab world particularly in Egypt he left a lasting impact on religion, politics, education and journalism. In Egypt, he became the founding father of a new trend in politico-religious movements and journalism whose primary objective was to stir up the masses to fight against tyranny and injustice. Muslim reformers, Muslim puritans, Islamic socialist, political agitators and all other shades of revolutionaries look towards his message for inspiration

His efforts to minimize the gap between ideals and reality in a new brand of progressivism and modernity was reinterpreted by his disciples and followers with both violent and non-violent methods in politics round about one century that followed his death.

In Egypt or in any other parts of the Muslim world, the unity and diversity in the rank and file of Islamic movements in the wake of geo-political changes and cross currents, the post-modern challenges should be addressed with new dynamism of Islam to accommodate traditionalism with modernity, illiteracy with literacy, ruralism with urbanization, agrarianism with industrialization, fatalism and quiescence with constructiveness and progressiveness, and above all to solve the question of relationship of Muslim societies with state and *Shariat*. Afghani's worldly outlook is more vividly expressed in his remarks: "The world is a game of chess; the loser loses and the winner wins" (Moazzam 3).

Notes

¹ See for Persian *Javed Nama* of Dr. M. Iqbal, p. 65.

² The idea of public responsibility of the press in Afghanistan was introduced by Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani during the short reign (1867 to 1869) of Amir Muhammad Azam Khan. Afghanistan was beset in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by intermittent strife and civil war. Azam Khan, trapped feuding chieftains, embraced Jamaluddin's ideas and thought that publication of a newspaper might help to bring unity and harmony throughout their factious land. Afghani who became Azam Khan's Prime Minister, is credited with being the editor of a journal entitled *Kabul*. Mayil Harawi, *Muarrifi ruznamah-ha, Jaraid, Majallat-i-Afghanistan*, Kabul, 1962), p. 4; See also Ibrahim V. Pourhadi, "Afghanistan's Press and its literary Influence:1897-1969" *Afghanistan*, Journal, Jg. 3, Heft. 1, USA, 1976. p. 28. No issues of this journal are available in public libraries, although references are made to it in several Afghan publications, affirming that Afghani was its editor.

³ As one surveys Afghani career, it would not be amiss to state that the editor's theme could not have been other than that of Muslim unity and the renaissance of the eastern people.

Afghanistan's scholars, referring to the period in question, believe that Jamaluddin would have succeeded through his pen in bringing harmony among the contending chieftains had it not been for the obstinacy and nepotism of Azam Khan. This not only brought an end to his rule but also suspended all publications for a decade. Although Jamaluddin's idea of public responsibility of the printed page did yield quite obvious results, the idea of responsibility of the press penetrated like a strong gale into every humble dwelling in the country.

After a decade of secrecy, early in 1879 "*Shams-un-Nihar*" (The Daylight Sun) came into the open. (This monthly paper under the editorship of Abdul Qadir p. Yusufzai was actually in operation since 1873 on a restricted circulation for fear of inflaming public temper. Early in 1879 it appeared as bi-weekly in the reign of Amir Sher Ali (1869-79) who dethroned his brother Azam.

Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India (1876) when failed to cultivate friendship with the Afghan ruler (Amir Sher Ali) and his chiefs tried to tame them by adopting policy of "divide and rule". This maneuver of the British was publicized by "*Shams-un-Nahar*" and spread across Afghanistan by word of mouth. It served as a political publication among the proud Afghan populace and beyond the borders of Afghanistan.

Anti-British feeling and its political repercussions were visibly manifested in Central Asia, particularly among the Muslims of India. The British government considered *Shams* anti-British propaganda as one of the main reasons for the alarming situation in India and therefore they took some steps to stop "*Shams un-Nahar*". The journal discontinued at the end of 1879. Pourhadi *op. cit.* p. 28.

⁴ There is a controversy about the country of Afghani's birth. According to strong evidences both local and contemporary he was born in 1837/38 in Safdary Shergarh, Assadabad, Kunar, Afghanistan and died in

Istanbul (Turkey) in March, 1897 and buried there but in December 1944 his remains were brought back to Kabul via Lahore (In Badshahi Mosque his *Namaz-jinaza* was offered near the mausoleum of Dr. Iqbal) and laid to rest on 2 January, 1945 in the University of Kabul (Aliabad) with honour. On the other hand, several Iranian and European sources support the view that Jamaluddin was born in Asadabad, Hamadan (Iran) and was a *Shia*. This version is reproduced in the latest CD Encyclopedia. But the arguments put forwards by Jamaluddin Afghani's origin are logical and rational for the following reasons:

- a) Afghani himself has always stated that he was an Afghan and signed his letters with Jamaluddin Al-Hussaini al-Afghani.
- b) He wrote a book on Afghan history and particularly such like topics as Pakhtunwali etc.
- c) Why and how a non-Afghan would call himself an Afghan.
- d) Why an Afghan Amir (King) in tribal country like Afghanistan would appoint non-Pashtun or Afghan as Prime Minister and particularly an Iranian with whom Afghans had traditional rivalry.
- e) In Iran no one can claim to be an Afghani.
- f) Some of his disciples and close associates held him as an Afghani.
- g) The argument is not valid that Afghani was Iranian, *Shia* and *Babi* and deliberately concealed his Iranian origin to present himself to the Muslim world as a *Sunni* rather than *Shia* formed majority of Muslims.
- h) Qazi Muhammad Abdul Ghaffar, *Assar Jamaluddin Afghani*, (Urdu), (Lahore: Alfasil Books Traders, Urdu Bazaar, 1989). In this book a full chapter is devoted to the Iranian and Afghan origin of Jamaluddin with references and personal meeting with the friends and other associates of Afghani. The worthy author in his concluding remarks considers Jamaluddin as Afghani. See also Abdul Majed Afghani "*Tazkira Syed Jamaluddin Afghani*" probably published during Amanullah's reign (1919-1929) in Peshawar supports Jamal Afghani origin. Another work is actually a Ph.D thesis (now published) of Anwar Moazzam, *Jamal Al-Din Al-Afghani: A Muslim Intellectual*, (Lahore: Progressive books, Urdu Bazaar, nd) on Afghani life and work; Sahid Hussain Razaqi, *Syed Jamaluddin Afghani-Hiyat-wa-Afkar*, (Lahore: Adara Saqafat Islamia, Club road, 1986) has confirmed with latest proof Jamal Afghani origin; Allama Muhammad Iqbal in his *The Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam*, (edited by M. Saeed Sheikh, Institute of Islamic Culture, Club road, Lahore, 1986) p. 78 and in his *Javed Nama* consider Jamal as Afghani.
- i) Mr. Habibullah Rafi in his article in Dari (Afghan Persian), *Syed Jamal-ud Afghan Wa Afghanistan*, published in journal *TAAWOON*, cooperation centre for Afghanistan (CCA) vol. 4, No. 6, February-March, 1997. pp. 3-20 proved with fifteen authorities that Jamaluddin was an Afghan by birth.

The arguments in support of Jamaluddin's Irani origin emanates from Iranian sources and got currency in the works of those Europeans who were acquainted with Iran, Persian language and literature. Some of the other reasons are:

(1) Afghanistan a landlocked backward country was not known to many as Persia or Iran was. It was after Anglo-Afghan wars that Afghanistan was emerging from obscurity; (2) Persian language was already known to many Orientalists and Occidentalists; (3) The sources in English are manly derived from Persian sources; (4) In Afghanistan during monarchic period, (Zahir Khan & Sardar Daud) were more interested in the nationalist thoughts of Khushal Khan Khattak as compared to Pan-Islamism of Afghani; (5) Among Pakistani historians K. K. Aziz, *A History of the idea of Pakistan*, vol;1, (Lahore: Vanguard Book Ltd, 1987), pp. 23-27 supported Iranian origin of Jamaluddin.

⁵ Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (London, 1966) p. 227. Everywhere, in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Persia as well as in the Caucasus, in Central Asia and in India and Java, there appeared political organizations, some of them secret, others undisguised, representing all shades of political creeds - but with an increased leaning towards radicalism. Even in Russia the Muslims held three congresses and in 1905 founded a Pan-Islamic political party the *Ittifaq-al-Muslimin*, followed rapidly by various local political groups and organizations in Baku i.e *Musavat* and *Hummet* and Kazakh steppes the radical national *Alash*.

- ⁶ Muhammad Abduh was born in 1849. His father, Abduh Khayr Allah came from an Egyptian peasant stock. He was a man of tireless energy, piety and knowledge. He remained aloof from society. Three things seem to have left a lasting impact on Abduh's future thinking and mental make-up: His father's magnetic personality, complexities and inadequacies of Egyptian family and rapacity of the government officials against peasants.

He memorized Quran at the age of ten and in 1862 he was sent by his father to Ahmadi Mosque in Tanta but he left it for the uncongenial atmosphere and unscholarly attitude of its teachers. In 1865, at the age of sixteen, he was married. He once again went to Kanayyasat Awrin, for learning and studied with Sheikh Darwish (his father's uncle) who had reputation as Sufi and man of piety and knowledge. Sheikh Darwish created in him search for knowledge, mysticism and his rebellious nature was tamed. On the persuasion of Sayyid al-Madani he entered into the Sufi order of Shadhali brotherhood.

In 1866, he joined Al-Azhar but academic and intellectual climate at that time was excessively conservative and traditional. Though there was small group of *Ulama* who were nurtured on the Sufic tradition of Islam and it was but natural that Abduh was attracted by this group. In short Abduh was not satisfied in Al-Azhar. He was bitter and his soul seemed to be stricken with eternal sadness. He was restless and there was revolt in his mind but he found himself helpless to channelize them to constructive destiny. It was at this crossroad that he met with Afghani.

- ⁷ In Turkestan people calling themselves *Jadids* (as opposed to *Qadimi* meaning old), had appeared long before *Jadidism* took shape. The word *Jadid*, meaning "new" was taken from the Persian expression *Usul-i-Jadid* or new method. It was applied to those who organized or supported the new method schools, where reading and writing were taught not by learning *suras* of the Quran by rote but by the phonetic method. These schools were set up in the second half of the 19th century among the Tatar in the Crimea and the Volga regions and in Azerbaijan and in the 1890's in the cities of Turkestan. Its pioneers were a Tatar Abu Nasar-al-Khursavi (1783 1814), Shihabeddin al-Marjani (1815 1914) and Aqmet Tursinuli (1873 1937) etc.

It was primarily a Muslim reformist movement with Pan Turkic and Pan-Islamic overtones, which aimed at modernizing the Muslim system of education and also at introducing a uniform Turkic language for use by all the Turkic peoples in Russia.

- ⁸ In Turkey, Afghani's ideas remained as a source of inspiration to certain celebrities as Shinasi (1826-1871), the founder of *Tanzimat* literature who was a very close friend of Afghani. His ideas were owned by Namik Kemal, Zia Gokalp, the theorist of Turkish nationalism and the nationalist poet Mehmet Amin and Tefvik Fikret etc. It is also reported that Afghani was member of the *Bektashi* Order of *Darvishes* which cooperated with the Young Turks. The 'Young Turks' Revolution of July 24, 1908 was a nationalist reaction against oppression, absolutism and corruption in the regime of Abdul Hamid II. It was a revolutionary reformatory group, suppressed in 1901 but reorganized in 1908 which led a rebellion against the authoritarian regime. The revolution gave full powers to the Young Turks committee of *Ittihad va Terakki* (Union and Progress). After the revolution, the Sultan restored the constitution, abolished censorship, released all political prisoners and disbanded his army of 40,000 spies. (J.A.R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1951. pp. 434 435; See also Anwar Moazzam, *Jamal Al-Din Al-Afghani: A Muslim Intellectual*, (Lahore: Progressive books, Urdu Bazaar, nd) pp. 131-132. Enver Pasha, Jamal Pasha, Talat Pasha and Mustafa Kemal Pasha were some of its leaders. Once Mustafa Kemal had been imprisoned for reading such seditious authors as John Stuart Mill. Another author whom the Young Turks read was Mahmud Tarzi, whose unpublished satiric works were circulating underground. See Rheattally Stewart, *Fire in Afghanistan 1914 29, Faith, hope the British Empire*, (New York, 1917), p. 9; J. A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question*. (Oxford 1951). See also Sir E. Pears, *Life of Abdul Hamid*, (London. 1917).

- ⁹ In Iran Afghani (1886-87) met various intellectuals and scholars. His anti-Western thoughts left a deep impact upon the contemporary and later intellectuals and religio-political leaders which manifested in the national movement and revolution. Some of them were Mirza Nasrullah Malik al-Mutakallimin, Mirza Fursat al-Dawlah Shirazi, Sheikh Hadi Najimabadi, Mirza Raza Kirmani, Malkm Khan, Muhammad Hussain Khan, Sheikh Ahmad ruhi Kirmani etc. Mirza Raza Kirmani in 1896 assassinated Nasiruddin Shah, King of Iran.

The revolutionary ideas took a new form when the constitutional movement was reborn in 1906, the middle class merchants and democratic elements in Teheran, supported by England, forced the conservative aristocrats and Shah Muhammad Ali Qajar (Qachar) to grant a constitution. The constitution limited royal power and authorized the formation of a cabinet and a bicameral legislature composed of an appointed Senate and an elected Assembly. In 1920, *Hizbi Tudeh Iran* (Masses Party of Iran), *Firqah-i-Adalat* (Justice Party) and *Firqah-i-Koministi-i-Iran* (Communist Party of Iran) were founded by those liberal democratic nationalist elements of Iran which were active in the movement for Constitutionalism in 1906. Sulayman Iskandari, Assadullah Khan Ghafarzadeh, Sultan Zada, Karim Nikbin, Hadir Khan and Hussain Sharqi etc were some of its founding members. Most of these were educated in Russia and Central Asia. These socialist parties were suppressed by Raza Khan but reemerged in 1941, when Raza Khan left his country. Noorudin Kianoori and Ehsan Tabri of *Tudeh* Party were responsible for infiltration of the Marxist Leninist literature in Afghanistan and according to *Tehran Times* (6th May, 1984) report Ehsan Tabri was the teacher of Babrak Karmal.

¹⁰ Afghani political and religious thoughts were owned by intelligentsia and particularly Hasan Melikov Zerdabi in Baku (Azerbaijan).

¹¹ Mahmud Tarzi (1866–1933) was an Afghan reformist, Pan Islamist, anti Imperialist and above all father of Afghan journalism, nationalism, modernism, preacher of new thoughts in 20th century Afghanistan. Mahmud's father, Ghulam Muhammad Tarzi was banished from Afghanistan by Amir Abdur Rahman Khan and he along with his family was living in Turkey. It was in 1896, Tarzi met with Jamaluddin in Istanbul and remained there for seven months. Tarzi says: "These seven months of dialogue are as good as seven years of travel". From the residence Aqarat Humayun in the district of Besiktash where Afghani was staying, he went every day to Nishantash, to be with the master, in whose proximity he thus lived the last months of the latter's life, witnessing his illness, his operation and his death in March 1897. Tarzi himself believed the master had been assassinated, and pondered on the identity of the likely assassin: the Jewish doctor in charge ? More than a doctor, he was a man in whom Jamaluddin had placed complete trust. From memory Tarzi quoted, for instance, the Master's fiery reply to journalists forever curious about his enigmatic origin: "Well, the Afghans do not call me Afghan, the Iranians do not consider me as Iranian, nor the Turks Turkish, and the Europeans do not admit to me being European; but which damned nation in the world will have the courage to tell me: Jamaluddin is descended neither from Adam or Eve ?"

Mahmud Tarzi became an ideologue of the Young Afghans just like the Young Turks, the Khivans and the Young Bukharans. The Young Afghans were educated, nationalist, Pan Islamist, anti British organized in different groups and factions for *Mashroota* (Constitutionalism) and independence of the country during the reign of Amir Habibullah and onward. Tarzi was a prolific writer of Pashtu, Dari, Arabic and French, he had to his credit many books and articles. Tarzi was father in law of two Afghan princes, Amanullah Khan and Inayatullah Khan.

The first and only issue of *Sirajul Akhbar Afghanistan* (the lamp of the news of Afghanistan) was published on 11th January 1906 in Dari from Kabul. Maulvi Abdur Raouf Khaki Kandahari (formerly a *Mullah* of the royal court and a teacher at the Royal faculty) was its editor and Maulvi Najif Ali Khan as a sub editor. After a six years interval, *Siraj* again appeared on 9th October, 1911 with Mahmud Tarzi as editor and manager. This time its name was *Sirajul Akhbar-i-Afghania* publishing fortnightly. It ceased publication in February 1919 with the death of Amir Habibullah. *Siraj* and its editor not only created a new class of modernism and constitutionalism, but above all, got independence for Afghanistan in 1919 from the British under the leadership of young and energetic King Amanullah Khan. See for more details Rawan Farhadi, *Maqalat-i-Mahmud Tarzi dar Sirajul Akhbar* (1290 97) Kabul, 1355; M. Nazif. Shahrani & Robert L. Canfield, *Revolutions and Rebellions in Afghanistan: anthropological perspective*. (Berkeley: IIS, University of California, 1984), p. 31; See also May Schinasi, *Afghanistan at the beginning of the Twentieth Century: Nationalism and journalism in Afghanistan. A study of Sirajul-Akhbar (1911-1918)*, (Naples 1979). pp. 60, 61.

¹² In July 1906 a new periodical in Malay entitled *Al-Imam* (The Leader) made his first appearance in Singapore. Its aim was "to remind those who are forgetful, arouse those who are asleep, guide those who

stray, and give a voice to those who speak with wisdom". Eminent among the small group of men who started *Al-Imam* in 1906 were four persons who had contacts with the Middle East. Sheikh Muhammad Tahir b. Jalaludin Al-Azhari (MinangKabau), the first editor; Sayyid Sheikh b. Ahmad Al-Hadi (Malacca-born Malay Arab) frequent contributor); Haji Abbas b. Muhammad Taha (Singapore, the second editor) and Sheikh Muhammad Salim Al-Kalali (an Achehnese merchant Director of *Al-Imam* for its first two years.) Sheikh Muhammad Tahir b. Jalaludin Al-Azhari went to Egypt in 1893 and spent four years as a student in Al-Azhar and in the company of Abduh and Rashid Rida. Later, in 1898, when Rashid Rida founded the periodical *Al-Manar*, Muhammad Tahir contributed articles to its columns and was profoundly influenced by the reformist ideas of "Al-Manar Circle". *Al-Imam* itself assisted in the establishment in Singapore in 1908 of the *Madrasah al-ikbal-Al-Islamiyyah* run by an Egyptian Othman Effendi Rafat. Like this school other schools were opened in different parts of Malaya. The new *Madrasah* acted as an effective agents for the dissemination of the new reformative ideas which consequently emerged in a formation of a reformist group known as "*Kaum Muda*" (the Young Faction) into conflict with other groups in Malay society- "*Kaum Tua*" (the Old Faction) or the official Ulama, the traditional elite and conservative religious hierarchy. William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, (Singapore: Kuala Lumpur University of Malaya Press, 1967), pp. 56, 66, 67.

- ¹³ Impressed by Afghani's ideas and his journal *al-Urwah al-Wuthqa* Maulana Abul Kalam Azad started in India a weekly *Al-Hilal*. He wrote some stirring articles pleading the Muslim of the world that unless they closed their ranks at the international forum they would always be humiliated. The real aim is the promotion of Pan-Islamism. He is the author of many books and articles. He remained with All India National congress. Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal in his *The Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam*, and *Javed Nama* praised Afghani and his ideas. On September 19, 1933 Dr. Iqbal refuted Sir Fazal-i-Hussain who once remarked that political Pan-Islamism had never existed in Islamic history with following words: " Sir Fazal-i-Hussain is perfectly correct when he says that political Pan-Islamism never existed. It has existed, if at all, only in the imagination of those who invented the phrase, or possibly as a diplomatic weapon in the hands of Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey. Even Jamaluddin Afghani, whose name is closely associated with what is called Pan-Islamic movement never dreamed of a unification of Muslims into political state. It is significant that in no Islamic language – Arabic, Persian or Turkish – does there exist a phrase corresponding to Pan-Islamism. It is, however, true that Islam as society or as a practical scheme for the combination of only of races and nations, but also of all religions, does not recognize the barriers of race and nationality or geographical frontiers..." Parveen Shaukat Ali, *The Political Philosophy of Iqbal*, (Lahore: United publishers, 1978), p. 225.
- ¹⁴ The British reverses in the First Anglo-Afghan war (1839-42), according to him, shattered the myth of invincibility of the British arms. The subsequent failures of the British forces in the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-81) and in the Sudan (1882-5) administered further blows to the military prestige of Britain.
- ¹⁵ Ahmad Arabi Pasha (1839–1911) was Egyptian nationalist and member of a secret organization of Ali Rubi for expulsion and minimization of Turkish elements in Egypt. In 1881, he along with his armed companions revolted against the Khedive, the Circassian officers in the army and foreigners. The revolt failed because of the British intervention of 1882 ending in the occupation of a country. Arabi Pasha was defeated and awarded death sentence but later on exiled to (Ceylon) Sri Lanka. After spending 20 years in exile, he was allowed by Khedive Abbas in 1901 to come to Egypt. He died in 1911.
- ¹⁶ In March 1981, *Al-Urwat-al-Wuthqa* (The Firmest Bond) again started publication by Dr. Abdul Hakim Tabibi, an Afghan scholar and diplomat from Geneva, Switzerland. He was publisher and its Editor-in-Chief.
- ¹⁷ Some of Abduh monumental work on theology are: *Risalat al-Tawhid* (1897), *Islam Wal-Nasraniya Maaliilm wal-Madaniya*. He also composed a commentary on the book of logic entitled *Sharh Kitab al-basair al-nasiriya, tansif al-Kadi Zain al-Din* (1898).
- ¹⁸ Zaki Badawi has given some other reasons for the differences between Afghani and Abduh. (Badawi 1978:39).

- ¹⁹ During the last years of his rule, Khedive Ismail had become too weak and incompetent and this had resulted in the Anglo-French control over the policy-making machinery of the country. The country was on verge of bankruptcy. His difficulties were further aggravated when after the civil war in the United States, the cotton prices in the world market fell sharply and he was forced to borrow large sums of money from abroad. The dual control of England and France was meant to insure the payment of these debts. Due to these chaotic conditions there was revolt of Arabi Pasha and after suppression of revolt the country passed under the British occupation.
- ²⁰ Sad Zaghlul (1860–1927) from Egyptian *flaheen*, educated in Al-Azhar University and inspired by Abduh and even had an opportunity of meeting with Afghani. He became editor of a newspaper but imprisoned by the Britisher in the Arabi revolt. Became a lawyer, a judge and later in 1906 appointed as Minister of Education and then in 1910 Minister of Justice. Khedive Abas and British authorities compelled him to resign. In 1918, he demanded independence for Egypt but arrested and sent to Malta. He was released in 1921 but again arrested for charges of uprisings and deported to Eden and then Algeria. He became Prime Minister in 1924, resigned and later on became President of Egyptian parliament. On 23rd August 1927 he was killed in Cairo.
- ²¹ Syed Qutb s/o Haji Ibrahim Qutb had migrated from Arabia and settled in northern Egypt. Studied at Al-Azhar, he joined teaching profession and later on became Inspector of Schools. Sent to USA by Education Ministry for higher education. He visited some European countries. With close observation of Western culture and civilization and *Ikhwan* literature, he ultimately joined the *Ikhwan-ul-Muslimin* in 1940s. Arrested in 1954 and imprisoned for 15 years but was freed after ten years of his sentence. In jail, he was appointed as head of the *Ikhwan* and continued to serve until he was executed in 1966, after being charged with the attempt to assassinate Nasser and overthrow his government.
- ²² On March 19, 1979, Shukri Mustafa along with others was executed on charges of kidnapping and murdering of former Minister of *Awqaf*. On November 10, 1976, Salah Sariyah was also executed for attacking Military Technical College in Cairo.

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