

SHAH WALI ALLAH AND ABUL A'LA MAWDUDI:

Some Aspects of Their Lives and Political Thoughts

Abstrak

Shah Wali Allah dan Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi adalah pemikir-pemikir Muslim dari Anak-benua Indo-Pakistan yang sangat terkemuka pada masanya, masing-masing abad ke-18 dan 20. Kedua ulama ini yang masing-masing dipandang mewakili kaum Modernis dan Tradisionalis hingga tingkat tertentu, mempunyai pemikiran yang menyentuh spektrum yang cukup luas mulai dari ilmu agama tradisional seperti tafsir, fiqh, bahasa Arab dan sejarah Islam hingga ilmu umum modern seperti ilmu ekonomi, pendidikan dan politik kenegaraan. Dari sekian banyak aspek pemikiran mereka tersebut, pemikiran politik menjadi kajian utama dalam tulisan ini. Kemudian karena konsep dasar filsafat politik adalah konsep negara, maka tulisan ini lebih diarahkan pada pemikiran mereka yang menyangkut bentuk dan tujuan negara, peran kepala negara, syarat kepala negara, gelar kepala negara, tugas kepala negara, dan jenis golongan warga dari negara Islam. Kendati terdapat beberapa perbedaan dan sekaligus persamaan, gagasan umum mereka adalah ingin melihat terciptanya umat Islam, khususnya di Indo-Pakistan dan umumnya dunia Islam, bersatu padu di bawah bendera Islam. Sejalan dengan pemikiran ini, mereka sependapat bahwa tujuan dari negara Islam adalah untuk menjamin diterapkannya ajaran-ajaran Islam. Negara bukanlah tujuan melainkan sekedar alat untuk mencapai tujuan yang lebih luas dan mulia yang dalam bahasa Iqbal dimaksudkan "untuk mewujudkan Kerajaan Tuhan di Bumi".

Introduction

One of the characteristics of the Islamic religion in its early inception was its success in the field of politics, as is rightly pointed out by Abdurahman Abdulkadir Kurdi that, "From its inception the focus of Islamic ideology has been on the permanence of its polity, on its social and religious structures and on its appeal to people of all persuasions"¹. This historical fact is the basis of general knowledge among Muslims and non Muslims that Islam is closely related to politics. Moreover, because of this notion, there is a well-known statement which says that "Islam is a religion and state" or *al-Islam din wa dawlah*.² However, in the history of Islam there have also been many conflicts and wars among the Muslim people because of the political factors. This conflict began as early as the time when Uthman ibn 'Affwan, the third Caliph of Islam, was murdered. This 'black dot' in the historical pages of Islamic politics, called by some historians as *al-fitnah al-kubra al-ula* is followed by other conflicts. For instance, the debates over the differences in the essence of the relationship between religion and state in Islam is still going on even at the present time. Thus, there are at least two major trends in political theory in Islam; those separating religion from state and those uniting religion and state, called fundamentalism and modernism³ respectively. The basis of the political ideas in Islam are undoubtedly derived from the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah. However since neither of these sources give any details on politics, Muslim political thinkers have tried to formulate the ideal "Islamic state"⁴ based on their own deduction, reasoning, and understanding of those sources. The results differ appreciably.

Among the medieval Muslim political thinkers who are still respectable and influential are al-Farabi, al-Mawardi, al-Ghazali, Nizam al-Mulk, Ibn Taymiyyah, and Ibn Khaldun. These scholars no doubt inherited invaluable legacies on politics in Islam in their respective works. Unfortunately, after the death of Ibn Khaldun, according to Anwar Husain Syed, 'Muslim political theory is generally

considered to have been stagnant⁵. However, some sources convey that this generalization is not true, especially in the case of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. In the eighteenth century, for instance, there appeared a great scholar whose political ideas inspired even the thinkers of later generations of the subcontinent. He was Shah Wali Allah al-Dihlavi. This scholar wrote *Hujjatul Allah al-Baligha* and *Al-Budur al-Bitzigha* in which he conveyed, among other things, his own political ideas. Later on, in the twentieth century, there was another great scholar of Islam, whose reasoning has been the most influential in shaping the political discourse in the subcontinent and especially in Pakistan. The name of this great 'alim, who is later on also known as a Muslim political theorist, was Abu'l A'la Mawdudi. Like Wali Allah, he also wrote treatises on politics such as *Al-Khilafah wa al-Mulk* and *Islamic Law and Consstitution*.

These two great scholar of Islam had played important roles in their respective time. Besides these scholars, of course, there are still many more great scholars of the sub continent who also possessed brilliant ideas like Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Abul Kalam Azad, Muhammad Iqbal, Ali Jinnah etc. Since it is impossible to discuss all of them, the discussion focuses only on the political throught of Wali Allah and Mawdudi.

In this essay an attempt will be made first to find out the trends to which their political ideas belong, and secondly, to analyze, compare and contrast the political ideas of these scholars. This essay will be divided into five parts. The first part, to begin with, discusses the general background of the topics. The next part will give biographical sketches of Wli Allah and Mawdudi. In the following part their involvement in practical politics will be touched upon briefly. The theoretical aspects of their political thought will be taken into account in the fourth part. The last part will be a conclusion in which general summary is given.

Wali Allah and Mawdudi's Lives and Works

In order to give a better understanding of their political thought, we shall give their respective biographical sketches. Abu al-Fayyad Qutb al-Din Ahmad Ibn 'Abd al-Rahim al-Dihlawi was born, just five years before the death of Aurangzeb⁶, on 21 February 1703 A.D. in the vicinity of Delhi⁷. Later on, he was better known as Shah Wali Allah. He was a brilliant personality who formed the bridge between medieval and modern Islam and was the source of all later though systems of Muslim India. Among the Indian Muslim thinkers and reformers who were under his influence or got inspirations from him were Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Shibli Nu'mani, and 'Allama Muhammad Iqbal⁸. In addition, Fazlur Rahman and even Mawdudi were also touched by his influence. Wali Allah's father, Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahim⁹, was a prominent 'alim and sufi who taught Islamic teachings at his own seminary school, *Madrasah-i-Rahimiyah*. It was under his fathers guidance that Shah Wali Allah studied most branches of Islamic sciences, esoteric as well as exsoteric, such as theology or *kalam*, *Qur'anic exegesis*, *hadith*, *fiqh*, *usul al-fiqh*, *tasawwuf*, etc. It was, therefore, no surprise when he said that at the age of fifteen he had already studied many important works on *tafsir hadith*, *kalam* and *fiqh*.¹⁰ It was also at this age "he was initiated by his father into the Qadiriyya and Christiyya orders as well as into the Naqsabandiyya branch of Khwaja Khwurd".¹¹ When his father died in 1719 he was seventeen years old. He had memorized Qur'an, completed courses offered in any Muslim schools in Delhi, he had been married, and he then replaced his father teaching at the *Madrassah-I-Rahimiyya*. He continued teaching *hadith* and other Islamic sciences there until 1730 when he went on the pilgrimage to Makkah al-Mukarramah. He spent almost two years thereto furthering his studies on Islam at Makkah and Madinah, at a time when his great Arab costemporary, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab was also studying at these holy cities of Islam, and perhaps among others with the same teachers¹². It is said that during his stay in the holy city, Mecca, Shah Wali Allah

saw a vision in which the Holy Prophet blessed him with the good tidings that he would be instrumental in the organization of a section of the Muslim community¹³. In 1733 he returned to his home country. On his return he began his efforts at Islamic reformations. He devoted his time and energy to the study of Islamic subjects, to attempt to buttress the waning empire, and continued writing until he breathed his last on 29 Muharram in the year 1176 (20 August 1762) at Delhi and was buried there.¹⁴

Besides his own father, who colored his intellectual development, there were several teachers, as acknowledged by Wali Allah himself in his *Anfas al-'Arifin*, from whom he learnt much. Among them were Shaikh Abu Tahir al-Kurdi al-Madani from whom Wali Allah obtained his degree in hadith, Shaikh Sulayman Magribi who lectured to him on Maliki jurisprudence, and other Arab scholars like Shaikh Wafid al-Maliki, Shaikh al-Sanawi, and Shaikh Taj al-Din al-Qali al-Hanafi.¹⁵

It was exactly two hundred years after the birth of Shah Wali Allah that Sayyid Abu'l A'la Mawdudi was born, on 25 September 1903 AD at Aurangabad in British India's Hyderabad State, which was formerly the last significant center of the Mughal tradition¹⁶. "His father, Sayyid Ahmad Hasan, was a lawyer who abandoned his legal practice, apparently because of the realization that he was earning his living in an un-Islamic way"¹⁷. Since then, his father became a *sufi* and took the religious way¹⁸. In line with his father's 'fanaticism' or more appropriately 'traditionalism', the young Mawdudi was educated traditionally in two *madrasahs Fawqaniyyah* and *Dar al-'Ulum* in the vicinity of his own birth place. Unfortunately while he was studying at *Dar al-'Ulum*, his father died, which meant that he could not afford to continue his formal education. Mawdudi was, however, never hopeless nor ceased to fulfill his thirsty for knowledge. Instead of studying under several great scholars of Islam, as Wali Allah did, Mawdudi was self-educated not only in religious sciences but in modern sciences.

Mawdudi began his career as a journalist in 1923, a relatively similar age as Wali Allah when the latter began his career as a religious teacher. Among the daily, weekly and monthly newspapers and journals which Mawdudi joined or headed were *Madina* (1918), *Taj*, (1919-20), *Muslim* (1921-23), *Al-Jami'at* (1924), and *Tarjuman al-Qur'an* (1932-1936)¹⁹. He was remained occupied with journalism until at least 1936. Five years later, in 1941, he established a religio-political organization named *Jama'at-i Islami*. He then was elected as its first amir and remained in the position until 1972.

On August 14th 1947 when British India was partitioned into two independent countries: India and Pakistan, Mawdudi moved to the latter where he endeavored to 'Islamize' the new state for Muslim which, according to him, was not yet in line with Islamic principles. Moreover, Islam was the *raison d'être* of the state of Pakistan. Hamid Enayat points out that: "The sole justification for establishing the state of Pakistan was that its people belong to Islam, to a religion different from that of the majority of the inhabitants of the Indian sub-continent,"²⁰ Mawdudi was wholeheartedly engaged in convincing the Muslim Ummah that Islam has its own answer to the problems they faced, be they economic, educational, or political. Therefore, they had to live Islamically or, as Sheilla McDonough puts it 'that people must live according to the law of God.'²¹ Mawdudi continued to hold this belief and to work to make it come true until his death on 22 September 1979.

The Works of Wali Allah and Mawdudi

Having discussed both Wali Allah and Mawdudi's respective lives, it is time to turn our attention to their works, which may serve to give complete picture of their thought.

Shah Wali Allah was a voluminous writer without equal among his contemporaries. Some writers said he wrote more than two hundred books, some others believed he composed

about seventy books, but still some other, including Abu Muhammad Rahim who was an early biographer of Wali Allah, were of the opinion that his works numbered only around forty five.²² He wrote these books in two languages, Arabic and Persian. The former were intended to be consumed by Muslim scholars who felt more at home reading in that language, whereas the latter were provided so as to reach common Muslim people whose main literacy language was Persian. Shah Ali Allah was one of the first scholars of Islam in the sub-continent of India to translate the Qur'an into Persian, which was more commonly understood by most Muslims of his time. This effort was considered very brave, challenging the prevailing belief of the 'ulama' of his time who strongly forbade translating Qur'an into other language. Therefore, this noble 'ijtihad' was undeniably one of the most important contributions of Wali Allah to his *ummah*.

Shah Wali Allah's writings cover almost all main branches of Islamic sciences as can be seen in the following incomplete list. Those written in Persian are *Al-Fawz al-Kabir fi Usul al-Tafsir*, *Altaf al-Quds fi Ma'rifa La'if al-Nafs*, *Anfus al-'Arifial*, *zalut al-Khafa' 'an Khilaafat al-Khulafa'*, *Muqaddima dar fann-i Tarjama-i Qur'an*, *Tafhimat i Illahiyya*, and *Lamahik*. Second, those written in Arabic are *Al-Insaf fi Bayan Sabab al-Ikhtilaf*, *Al-Budur al-Bazigha*, *Al-Khair al-Kathir*, *Al-Qawl al-Jamil fi Bayan Sawa'al Sabil*, *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha*, *Fuyud al-Haramain*, *Iqd al-Jid fi Ahkam al-Ijtihad wa al-Taqlid*, *Ta'wil al-Ahadith*. Third, the works of translation are *Radd-i Rawafid*, and *Fath al-Rahman*.

Besides these books, of course, there are still many more which cannot be mentioned here²³. Among these books, however, according to most writers, *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha* constitutes his *magnum opus* like *Ihya 'Ulum al-Din* to Imam al-Ghazali. It is therefore not surprising that this book is still used as a textbook at many educational institutions in the Arabic world, especially at al-Azhar University in Cairo and at several Muslim Colleges in Sudan²⁴.

Moving to Sayyid Abu'l A'la Madudi, in term productifity, he was not less productive then shah wali Allah. He was a very prolific and orator who wrote no less then a hundred works and delivered no less than a thousand speeches²⁵. Like Wali Allah's Mawdudi's academic outut was also voluminous, covering tradition, law, philosophy, history, economics, sociology, theology, and politics.

Abu'l A'la Mawdudi began his intellectual live with writing of a monumental work entitled *Al-jihad fi al-Islam*, which was followed by other works on many aspects on Islam. Among the works which are available in English are *Towards Understanding Islam*, *The Revivalist Movement in Islam*, *Purdah*, *Political Theoriy of Islam*, *The Process of Islamic Revolution*, *Right of Non Muslims in Islamic State*, and *Islamic Law and Constitution*. If *Hujat Allah al-Baligha* contitutes Wali Allah's magnum opus, *Tathim al-Qur'an* wich took him thirty years to finish, is Mawdudi's master work.

While Wali Allah wrote his work in Persian and Arabic, Mawdudi wrote most of his work in Urdu. It is true that Mawdudi mastered several other languages such as Persian, Arabic, and English. At any rate, he usually wrote in Urdu because it is the most popular language use by his audience, as were Persian and Arabic in the time of Wali Allah. Today many of Maududi's work have been translated into English, some even into over a dozen languages. This was not the case whith Wali Allah's works which are still rarely translated into other languages. So far there are only two partial translations from *Hujat Allah al-Baligha* and *'Iqd al-Jiid fi Ahkam wa aal-Taqlid* which are respectively done by Marces K. Hermansen and Muhammad Daud Rahbar²⁶.

The Sides of Wali Allah and Mawdudi's Practical Politics

Having discussed Wali Allah and Mawdudi live and works, the practical sides of their politics need also to be taken briefly into account. Then, later on, special attention

will be given to their respective political ideas on theoretical level.

Wali Allah was a great Islamic scholar who was endowed with a wide range of knowledge on Islam from the exoteric like *Shari'a* up to the esoteric like *Sufism*. In line with this, his self-appointed mission was to guide the *Ummah* of his time. He proclaimed himself a *Mujaddid* or reformer of the 12th century A.H.²⁷. Since Islam is a complete way of life, his mission was not only concerned with religious activities but also economic, social and political affairs as well. This mission would be successful if there were peace in the land, whereas political turmoil and political intrigue would merely imperil the accomplishment of his noble mission. Henceforth, not long after his arrival from the pilgrimage, from Delhi he started bitterly criticizing the Mughal rules through private and open letters, for their inefficiency, indolence and corruption, calling upon them to stop policies that cannot stop their bad character trait and advising them to manfully shoulder the burden of their responsibility in a spirit of righteousness²⁸. However, he did not merely criticize them but gave them the alternatives or ways out of the problems they faced. It was hoped by doing so he could make them realize their duties and better their peoples condition. Relating to this determined effort S.A. Abbas Rizvi comments:

Although we have no documentary evidence to support the belief that Shah Wali Allah's concern with the political disintegration of the Mughal Empire began before he left the country on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina in 1731, we may not be wrong in assuming that his sensitive soul had for many years been deeply disturbed by the decline of Mughal rule in India. On his return in 1732 he began to exhibit for the first time his conviction of the need for a return to Mughal rule. This idea was to become an obsessive and integral part of his beliefs which he was later to be renowned²⁹.

Unlike most Muslim writers of the middle ages. Shah Wali Allah did not simply focus his attention on the

administrative and financial bankruptcy of the state. He went deeper into the causes of moral inertia and analyzed carefully the factors which had deviated Muslim society by disturbing its economic equilibrium and creating a schism in its soul.

Living in the Mughal Era, he wanted that the Mughal Empire to remain strong and its people keep united under Islamic teachings, G. Allani, in this respect, maintains that according to Wali Allah. "The strengthening of the Mughal Empire was, however, only one of the means to an end. His real aim was the establishment of a socio-political structure on the lines and traditions of early Islam."³⁰ His criticism and advises were not only directed to the kings and princes but also were equally expanded to people of all levels. He forcefully warned them to be conscious of their duties before they could demand their rights. In addition, he also persuaded further both the 'men of the pen' and 'men of the sword', that they should work united and hand in hand for the solidarity, integrity, and prosperity of the nation. To serve his purposes, Shah Wali Allah wrote no less than three hundred fifty eight letters³¹ to a variety of Muslim subjects.

Shah Wali Allah was, indeed, not involved himself in practical politics as it is understood in modern sense, because he believed and had drawn a clear distinction between the succession to the Holy Prophet in worldly matters and spiritual affairs. He defined the former as *khilafati-zahiri*, and the latter as *khilafat-i-butini*. It seems Wali Allah himself was in favor to be claimed as *khilafat-i-batini*. In relation with these khilafat, as quoted by Sh. Muhammad Ikram, Wali Allah says:

In the life of the Holy Prophet there is a noble model for all his followers. For those who are his successors in affairs of the state, there are duties like the enforcement of the Islamic Law; making arrangements for *jihad* the fortification and security of frontiers; granting gifts; sending embassies; the recovery and allocation of *sadaqat*, taxes and revenues; the adjudication of disputes; the protection of orphans; the supervision of *waqf* properties of Muslims; construction of

roads mosques and other buildings, and similar affairs. Those who are engaged in these services and occupations are successors to the Holy Prophet in worldly affair.

The successors in spiritual affairs and those entrusted with the teaching of the Islamic Law, the Holy *Qur'an* and the Traditions, or with enjoining what is lawful and forbidding; those whose words strengthen the true religion, either through controversies and discussions, as was done by the *mutakallimin*, or through peaching and advice as is done by Muslim preachers; those who through their company and spiritual guidance and training serve Islam and Muslims as is the case with the *sufisaints*; or those who arrange for prayer or pilgrimages or guide the people towards piety. These we call the spiritual successors of the Holy Prophet.³²

However, one of the greatest results of his short-term practical politics, in terms of persuading and giving advice to the rulers, was the decisive blows of Ahmad Shah Abdali directed at the Marathas in the third Panipat was in 1761, which caused the latter to suffer a total defeat. Shah Abdali's great victory over the Marathas was considered by many writer as the peak of the political efforts of Shah Wali Allah that he himself witnessed during his life time because a year later Shah Wali Allah departed to the eternal world³³.

As Wali Allah was brought up in a deteriorating Mughal Empire, Mawdudi was grown up in a time when there were many movements against the British occupation in the former Mughal Empire. They were aware of the meaning of freedom and independence. The peak of the movements was the Independence of India which was divided into two states, India and Pakistan.

Like his contemporary, Muhammad Iqbal, Mawdudi was formerly a nationalist who wanted to see all of India united under one nationality. However, later on he changed his mind, for he considered nationalism as un-Islamic. He was of the opinion that Islam is the only *raison d'etre* for an Islamic state, not other ties such as race, language, nationality, etc. Muslims could not live in a Hindu-majority democratic

system³⁴. In line with this, he turned his attention toward and participated in several Islamic movements such as the *Khilafat*, the *Tahrik-i Hijrat*, and the *Jama'at 'Ulama'* movements.

However, since these movements' aims and strategies were not 'realistic and well-planned', they could not satisfy Mawdudi's ideals. It was, therefore, understandable that "around the year 40 Mawdudi developed ideas regarding the founding of a more comprehensive and ambitious movement and this led him to launch a new organization under the name of the *Jama'at-i Islami*"³⁵. This foundation of the *Jama'at*, according to W.C. Smith, constitutes "one of the most significant developments in contemporary Islam and one of the most significant forces in contemporary Pakistan"³⁶.

When Pakistan was established in 1947, Mawdudi moved to the new born country and the *Jama'at* was divided into two organizations; those who remained in India and those who followed Mawdudi to Pakistan. Administratively and organizationally they are separate. Mawdudi headed the latter until 1972. During his leadership, he always propounded an Islamic state as the final form of the country. Like Wali Allah, Mawdudi was never involved himself in any governmental post. His practical politics, perhaps, reached its peak when he succeeded in making the government adopt several points he proposed for the constitution of Pakistan.

Political Ideas of Wali Allah and Mawdudi

After looking at their respective involvements in 'practical politics', it is time to touch on their political ideas as reflected in their works, that is, their political theories. Tracing Shah Wali Allah's socio-political thought is not always easy because it is interconnected to his religio-philosophical thought which is also linked with a well-knit ideological system. Unlike most modern sociologists and political scientist, he theoretically approached social and political problem of human society from a metaphysical point of view. Indeed, his way of thinking is unique. "He starts."

Shafi Ali Khan explains, "with metaphysical premises and gradually comes down to tackle the practical problems of everyday life."³⁷

First of all he expounds his ideas about Almighty God and the universe and the creation of man. Later he touched on death and the life in the hereafter. He is of the opinion that the life in this world is closely related to the next life. This means that temporary life is preparation for the next eternal life. Thus, the position of man in this universe and his relation to Almighty God shaped his religio-philosophical thought, while his characteristics, nature, and relations with other human being from his socio-political thought. In Islamic terminology, perhaps the first is more appropriately called *'ibadah* whose rules are clearly stated in the *Shari'a*, and the latter is called *mu'amalah* whose rules are not clearly stated thus they leave a room for different interpretations.

In line with this, for his religio-philosophical thought he based himself more on the Qur'anic teachings and Prophet's traditions rather than merely his rational exercise. On the other hand, for his socio-political ideas he relied more on his rational thinking rather than being strictly tied to Qur'anic and Prophetic teachings. They are, as A. Ghazi pointed out, based on philosophical speculation and have no reference to the Holy Qur'an or the Sunnah³⁸. More appropriately, they are based on his own *ijtihad*, say, the *ijtihad* in the political field. He was doing so because the Qur'an does not give exact explanations on politic which are subject to change in accordance with time and place. The Holy Qur'an only gives the general principles such as life in the community, justice, obedience to the leader, equality, freedom of religion, etc.³⁹

Man is endowed by Almighty God with an intellect that differentiates him from beasts. God had deposited in him moral excellence and social temptations. In Shah Wali Allah's metaphysical philosophy man had surpassed, say, material, mineral, plant and animal stages. However, since man is not able to live separately from his fellow man, he lives in a group or groups which thus form a human society. Human

society develops towards the larger and more organized society that forms a nation. Henceforth, he tried to understand the development of human society and social and economical interactions which finally led him to his own theory of social and political development of the society.

In his socio-political frame-work, for instance, Shah Wali Allah observed and formulated a theory of the preservation of the Indian Muslim community in particular and Muslim society in general. Hence, the human society that constitutes one of the important elements in politics or specifically in the Statehood was not far from his concern. On that 'socio-anthropological basis', he divided the growth of human society into four stages that he called *irtifaqat*. Explaining these stages, Aziz 'Ahmad briefly summarizes:

The first of these stages is that of primitive society which has a minimal code of social behavior; the second stage is marked by the growth of urban life which is first led as a good state by its philosophers, but later degenerates into factions and needs centralized control; this necessitates the third stage, that of monarchy to establish order in the place of chaos; and the final stage is that of the universal state which requires a khalifah, with effective authority to hold down various rulers of the decadent civil society.⁴⁰

The structure of the theory of society that Wali Allah formulated seems to be influenced by, if not borrowed from, that of 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) laid down four centuries earlier in his monumental work on history, namely *al-Muqaddimah*⁴¹. Ibn Khaldun, who presented the first empirical study of the state, associated the concept of state with that of social solidarity or '*asabiyah*' and contended that human beings were naturally inclined toward social organization. Such organization, he believed, could be maintained only with the existence of an authority or a leadership that facilitated coordination and provided guidance. However, Shah Wali Allah went further in that he idealized the universal Khilafat, a term that is also called, by Muslim Modernists like Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838-1897). Pan-Islamism and by Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) as

Universal Brotherhood. Moreover, he differentiated between *Khilafa Zahiriyya* and *Khilafa Batiniyya* a distinction absent in the earlier political thinkers including Ibn Khaldun himself.

When discussing Wali Allah's political ideas, it is almost impossible to neglect his *irtifaqat* theory. From this basis he seems to develop his political ideas. In other words, it is from this theory that we can infer or deduce his political ideas. Therefore, we will discuss his *irtifaqat* theory below.

Politically, the development of a state follows the development of its society. A more developed a society means a more complicated administration. Clarifying the definitions of politics and state, Shah Wali Allah asserts that it is the science which discusses the ways and means of preserving the relationship existing among the citizens of the state, and by state he means a community of closely related people having mutual transactions and relationships but of different families and houses⁴².

The society of the first stage, representing the most primitive society or to be more correct the pre-social human existence, still does not need any state. However, the societies from the second stage on, whose members are increasing, need states and governments to organize their people's interests. Having mastered and possessed five wisdom in the second stages such as the wisdom of economic, earning, household, business, and cooperative, then a stronger state is needed.

The second stage represents the pre-political stage of social organization. The third and the fourth stages, which will be discussed, are the stages of political organization of society. Thus, human society develops hierarchically and pyramidically through four phases toward its perfection.

In the third stage, human society undeniable needs stronger and more organized institutions. In his theory of development of society or *Irtifaq*, the condition of Indian society at his time seems to be in the fourth stage, in which they need the khilafat system. In this stage, the society is

considered mature socially, economically, and politically. Thus, the society has to set forth the permanent governmental system. It is, according to Shah Wali Allah, collectively incumbent (*Fard Kifaya*) upon Muslims at all times to elect and install a Khalifa possessing the requisite qualifications and preconditions⁴³. The Khilafat system that he idealized is not that of the Umayyads, 'Abbasids, or Ottomans, but of the first four rightly-guided caliph, i.e., Abu Bakr, 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, 'Uthman Ibn 'Affan, and 'Ali Ibn Abi Thalib. Whereas the subsequent khilafat system were considered as merely monarchs which were only good and suitable for the individual Muslim state, as in the second and third stages, so as just to maintain its peace and order⁴⁴.

The *khilafat* system he proposed is a universal one which is intended to protect all of the Muslim *Ummah*, not only that of India. This kind of government will protect and unite all governments of the lower *irtifaqat*. Meanwhile, the duty of this kind of government is nothing other than to make sure that the Islamic Law is consistently carried out. In his works entitled *Izalat al-Khifa' al-Khilafat al-Khulafa'*. Shah Wali Allah clearly conveys the duty of the Khilafat governmental system: "Khilafat in general terms is a form of State which is established for the enforcement of the Laws of Shari'a in accordance with the will of the Holy Prophet."⁴⁵ Furthermore, relating to the primary function of the Khilafat, he further states that: "The foremost functions of the Khilafat are the revival of Islamic teachings and their translation in practical life, preparing the millah for endeavor (*jihad*), and carefully suppressing all those evils which arise from the misuse of its functions."⁴⁶

From this exposition it can be inferred that the head of the khilafat system is none other than a Khilafah or Caliph. The Khalifa, in this respect, is one who acquires power, prestige, enthusiastic support and the affiliation of skilled military manpower to such a high degree that it is almost impossible for him to be overthrown⁴⁷. In line with this, several questions may arise such as who deserves to occupy

the office of Caliphate, who will act to choose the Caliph himself, and how the process of election will be carried out.

Regarding the first question Aziz Ahmad explains that, "According to Shah Wali Allah the right to universal Khilafat is confined to Quraysh"⁴⁸ From this point it is apparently clear that Wali Allah is basing his idea on prophetic Sunni tradition that says: "There is no a leader but from Quraish."⁴⁹ Similarly, Rashid Rida also still holds the same opinion⁵⁰ as that of Shah Wali Allah. In this respect, therefore, Mawdudi goes beyond their ideas for he does not hold anymore that the caliph must be from Quraish.

In addition to this requirement, there are still many more that should be fulfilled. Mahmood A Ghazi maintains that the person who will be chosen as Khalifa, according to Wali Allah, should meet the requisite conditions and qualifications as follows:

The first and most important is that Khalifa should be a Muslim because a non-Muslim cannot justly attain the objectives and ideals of the Khilafa.

Second, a Khalifa should be in full possession of his mental faculties and should have reached the age of majority.

Third, he should be male because female or women are considered to be generally less proficient in mental and physical than men.

Fourth, he should be a free man and not a slave.

Fifth, he should be of sound judgment and opinion, having the capability and insight to reach the right decision at the right time.

Sixth, he should not be lethargic nor inexperienced.

Seventh, he should be just or in other words he should abstain from major sins and refrain from minor sins.

Finally, he should be an 'alim, having reached the rank of a reformer or mujtahid⁵¹.

In addition to these, according to Wali Allah, a caliph should also possess in him seven major virtues; otherwise he will be a burden on the state and the state will be a burden on him, and both will degenerate. These virtues include bravery, magnanimity and tolerance, wisdom, moral integrity, eloquence, piety, and good manners.

Similarly, almost seven hundred years earlier al-Ghazali had proposed ten requirements to be met by a king or caliph. He must be (1) an adult; (2) of healthy mind; (3) free and not a slave; (4) male; (5) of Quraysh descent; (6) healthy of hearing and vision; (7) have real power; (8) possess guidance; (9) possess knowledge; and (10) be observant of religious obligations (*wara'*), to lead a spotless life with ability for self-control, not committing prohibited and contemptible acts⁵². However, Shah Wali Allah's requirements tend to be heavier than those of al-Ghazali's, for the former included being a mujtahid as one of the requirements, i.e., he should also be a competent scholar of the following; the Qur'an, Qur'anic exegesis; *ahadith* and their assessment, Arabic, and analytical reasoning in matters relating to *fiqh*.⁵³ These are similar to the conditions proposed by Al-Mawardi⁵⁴.

Since the duties of the *Khalif* is very important, if not the most important one, i.e., to guarantee that the Islamic law is consistently carried out by the people, he should meet all these seemingly very difficult conditions without which he cannot shoulder the responsibility. "A *Khalifa*," Wali Allah asserts, "cannot revive religious sciences, establish the pillars of Islam, enjoin good, forbid evil, organize the Jihad, administer justice and enforce the hudud without these qualifications⁵⁵."

In dealing with routine state affairs, according to Shah Wali Allah, the caliph is assisted by seven officers:

1. The Caliph, in dealing with the collection of taxes and their distribution and expenditure, will be helped by a Wazir or prime minister who will also be the supreme authority for all the government functionaries.

2. The Caliph is assisted by *Amir al-Ghazali* or commander of the warriors. This commander will be responsible to raise armies and study their affairs. He will also keep himself informed about their ranks and rates of pay.
3. *Amir al-Hirs* will be given responsibility by the Caliph to attend to misdeeds and admonish those responsible.
4. The *Qadi* will be in charge of adjudicating in legal affairs and in disputes between the litigants.
5. In looking after the establishment of the Islamic religion and the organization of religious guidance, the caliph will be helped by *Shaikh al-Islam* whose lieutenants will look after the institution of *Amr bi al-Na'ruf* and *Nahy'an al-Munkar*.
6. *Hakim* will help the Caliph in organizing the teaching of medicine, literature, astronomy, history, arithmetic and the art writing.
7. The caliph's personal income and expenses will be organized and managed properly by his assistant entitled *Wakil*⁵⁶

Having discussed the matter of who deserves to be chosen as caliph as well as who will assist him in dealing with state affairs, we come to discuss how the caliph is to be elected or appointed. The Prophet Muhammad himself was actually the first Muslim ruler and the head of the 'Islamic State'⁵⁷, but he was not elected by his people but chosen by Almighty God. His successors were elected by people in several ways. Following the earlier political thinkers like al-Mawardi and al-Ghazali, Shah Wali Allah is also of the opinion that the office of caliph should be elected or appointed in at least in one of the four ways, as practiced especially by the four rightly-guided caliphs as well as by some certain subsequent caliphs.

Firstly, through *bay'a* of the elite, such as those '*ulama*', *qadis*, leaders and eminent people present at the spot where *bay'a* is offered. The presence of the elite of all the Muslim lands is not obligatory. However, the *bay's* of one or two

individual is not sufficient. This was how Abu Bakr was chosen. In other words, a Khalifa is chosen by the members of *Ahl al-Hall wa al-'Aql*, by those with authority to commit and to analyze, or what is called *al-Ikhtiyar*.

Secondly, the caliph was to nominate the most highly qualified among all the possible candidates for the caliphate as *istikhlaf* or successor. He was to declare his choice to an assembly of people and was to issue an injunction in this regard. This was how 'Umar, the second caliph, was elected.

Thirdly, the caliph could choose a number of well-qualified candidates and order that after his death, those candidates elect a caliph for themselves, say, through *Shura*. 'Uthman ibn 'Affan was elected through this way as the third caliph.

Finally, after the death of the caliph a new leader come to power by military means, or by winning the hearts of the majority to his side. This method, known as *istila*, legitimized the authority of the caliph, and obedience to his orders which were in accordance with the laws of the *Shari'a*, was imperative⁵⁸.

Shah Wali Allah is not the only scholars to hold to this method of elections. Many scholars, whether traditionalists or modernists, share the opinion that the best model of electing the head of state is that of the first four rightly-guided caliph. Among the traditionalist there is Sayyid Abu'l A'la Mawdudi and among the modernist, Fazlur Rahman⁵⁹.

As said earlier, one of the main functions of the caliphate is to make sure that the *Shari'a* is consistently carried out by the people. It means guaranting the application of the *Sharia* of Islam. Talking about the application of the *Shari'a* in the society of the caliphate government, a special attention should also be paid to its members i.e., individuals. For instance, what his role in the mosaic building of society is and what his relationship to the government is, etc.

Shah Wali Allah, as 'Abdul Hamid Siddiqi puts it, clearly explains the relationship between the individual and the

state. According to his theory of State, which he has in fact drawn from the teachings of Islam, an individual is not a mere part of a social whole in the same sense as bees, ants, and termites, etc. An individual has a real value of his own, for in Islam the beginning and the end of every consideration is individual. But as each human being lives in a society, it is through the social pattern that his spiritualist is properly developed. Being the most powerful the all-round in the social pattern, a Muslim State is primarily responsible for the all-round development of an individual⁶⁰.

The societies or citizen of this kind of government are divided into three categories: (a) Those who accept Islam without any reservation, i.e. Muslims who are natural citizen; (b) Those who obey the laws of Islam, but with mental reservations; and (c) Those who are professedly infidel, and should be treated as *zimmis*⁶¹. This last category should be prevented from causing harm to the society and obliged to pay *jizya*. They should not enjoy equality with Muslims in matrimony nor be appointed to important positions in the government. The application of this treatment, in turn, will make them accept Islam as their religion⁶².

He then further divides the members of the society into several groups such as 'ulama, politicians, theologians, etc., and explains their respective responsibilities within the state.⁶³ The role of politicians, for instance, are enumerated as follows; to enforce the laws of the Shari'a; to make arrangements for war; to collect charities and revenues and to spend the money thus collected on appropriate needy persons, to decide cases through legal procedures; to look after the orphans, the *awqaf* of Muslims, roads, mosques, madrasas, etc.; The 'ulama function to disseminate the teachings of the Qur'an, the Sunnah and the Shari'a; to enjoin what is good and to forbid that which is evil. This 'ulama group includes the theologians, who are engaged in contro-versies and defend Islam against the attacks by people from other faiths, the sufis, who strengthen the faith of the

people through personal contact, and the preachers, who exhort people to the right path through their sermons.

As for obedience of the society to the caliph, according to Shah Wali Allah, there are two possibilities. On the one hand, as long as the caliph pays enough attention to his people's welfare, spiritually and materially, there is no reason for people to disobey him. As long as the caliph walks on the right path as stipulated in the Qur'an and the Sunnah, there is no reason for people to rise against him. But on the other hand, if the caliph acts contrary to the Shari'a, the people are allowed him and even depose him from his office, because it the society who possesses the right to elect as well to depose the caliph.

To Shah Wali Allah Khalifah is disposable. He explained that the following conditions are sufficient to legitimate the action of rebellion against the caliph.

1. Should the caliph refuse to obey the rules of the faith and turn apostate, rebellion against him was the most virtuous form of *jihad*.
2. Should the caliph begin to kill his people, plunder their property and rape their women, his followers then came under the category of robbers and as such it was imperative to defend the people and annihilate such tyranny.
3. Was against the caliph who clearly violated Islamic Laws was permissible⁶⁴ so long as it was to establish the Shari'a of Islam.

The final aspects of Wali Allah's socio political through that deserves our attention is the principle of '*adl* or justice and *tawazun* or economical equilibrium. Only a political structure based on these two principles can provide a healthy society which is, according to his view, free from moral abuse and economic distemper⁶⁵. Justice and economic equilibrium should man equally applied to both Muslims and non-Muslims, because a hungry and oppressed man cannot celebrate the praise of God properly. By including economic

justice and the idea of the total elimination of poverty from the state, and especially that of Muslims, Shah Wali Allah was indeed reminding every person of the points and principles of economic and commercial behavior as enunciated in the Qur'an and further explained in the Sunnah. He firmly believed in that no Muslim rule would ever succeed and society prosper unless the economic order was restored on just footing in a practical way. Some modern writers say that Islam is basically a revolutionary religion, but the Islamic revolution which he wanted to bring about was fundamentally concerned with the welfare of the common people. He wanted to replace disorderliness by discipline, disruption by development and debauchery by decency⁶⁶. Being in favour of the separation of religious and political affairs, the political affairs to be dealt with the Imam or Khalifah zahir whereas religious affairs are to be tackled by 'ulama' or khalifah batin. This stance is different from that of Mawdudi. He is of the opinion that the state should be ruled by 'ulama' or those who are well-versed in Islamic teachings, not by scholars who educated in a Western milieu and have no knowledge of Islamic teachings and principles.

Like his predecessor, Shah Wali Allah, Sayyid Abu'l A'la Mawdudi (1903-1979) was also of the opinion that socio-political basis of the Muslim ummah is none other than the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's traditions. However, since neither of the basic sources explains the system of Islamic politics, he comes up with his own understanding or interpretation of the Islamic political system, which to a certain extent differs from Wali Allah's. To make this point clearer it should be borne in mind that Islamic Laws or Shari'a are of two categories:

The first consists of Ahkam or legal injunctions set down for religious and spiritual purposes. These include the rules of faith and worship. The second category comprises the rules and laws administering and organizing the state, the government and the community, as well as the relations between individuals and their communities. These includes

the rules of human behavior, criminal laws, laws of civil status, constitutional laws, international laws, etc.⁶⁷.

Politics, thus, falls into the second category. As noted earlier, therefore, it is not surprising that there are differences found among the scholars of Islam concerning political thought.

Mawdudi was of the opinion that political system in Islam should be based on three very basic elements or principles. They are *tawhid* or unity of God, *risalat* or prophethood and *khilafat* or vicegerency⁶⁸. By the principle of *tawhid* he means that only Almighty God is the Creator, Sustainer and Master of the universe and all that exists in it, including human beings. Therefore, it is not for man to decide the aim and purpose of his own existence or to set the limits of his authority. This right rests only with God. Mawdudi asserts that: "God alone is the Ruler and His Commandments is the Law."⁶⁹ The *risalat* is only a medium through which man receives the Law from Almighty God. The sources of the law are none other than the Qur'an and the Prophet's traditions from which the Shari'a is derived. The last principle is *khilafat* which means representation. According to Islam, as interpreted by Mawdudi, man is the representative of God on earth. He is therefore, required to exercise his God given authority in this world within the limits prescribed by God in the holy *Qur'an*.

From these three foundations then Mawdudi tries to construct his theory of statehood in Islam. When discussing the state in Islam, Mawdudi considers it as part of a broad integrated theology whose cardinal principle is the sovereignty of nature's creative God. There is, he reasons, basing himself on the Qur'an and Sunnah as well as his own observation, a law that governs everything that exists in this world⁷⁰. Like Shah Wali Allah, Mawdudi believes that the Islamic state⁷¹ should take the political pattern of the al-Khulafa" al-Rashidin period as the best model for a government system that accordance with Islam⁷².

The distinguishing mark of this kind of Islamic state, according to Mawdudi, is its complete freedom from all traces of nationalism and its influences. There are four conditions to be met by such a state:

- a. Affirmation of the sovereignty of Allah
- b. Acceptance by the government of the limitation that it would exercise its power and discharge its functions within the bounds laid down by Allah.
- c. All existing laws which were contrary to the Shari'a would be repealed, and that.
- d. All new laws would be in accordance with the teaching of Islam.⁷⁴

About the form of the state, it seems that Mawdudi is in favor with the caliphate system when he states that: "The state that is established in accordance with this political theory will in fact be caliphate under the sovereignty of God."⁷⁵ But, later on, Mawdudi prefers coining the new term of "theo-democracy" to denote the Islamic government.⁷⁶ This government takes the 'shura' system, similar to the parliamentary system. Everything related to the state constitution is derived from the God's Law, i.e., Shari'a. This is because, on the one hand, "in Islam, "he says" de jure sovereignty exclusively and solely belongs to God under His aegis to His Prophet."⁷⁷ On the other hand, God has chosen man as His vicegerency on the earth to apply His Laws. Henceforth, the Islamic state is not ruled by any particular religious class but by whole community of Muslims who have been given limited popular sovereignty under the suzerainty of God. They are merely executing the authority according to and based on the message in the Qur'an and Prophet's Sunnah. Responding those who accuse him of promoting a type of theocracy, he declares that it is true that Islamic state is based upon the doctrine of God's sovereignty, but it is fundamentally different from the theocratic state as it is understood in the West. Again, quoting Robert Briffault, Mawdudi says 'in the East (i.e., the Islamic world) theocracy never produced intellectual tyranny. In these (Islamic)

countries we cannot give a single example of obscurantism, restrictions on free thought and knowledge as was the case in Europe including Rome and Greece."⁷⁸ Relating to the purposes of the Islamic state Mawdudi remarks:

The purpose of the state visualized in by the Holy Qur'an is not negative but positive. The object of the state is not merely to prevent people from exploiting each other but to safeguard their liberty and to protect its subjects from foreign invasion. It also aims at evolving and developing that well balanced system of social justice which has been set forth by God in His Holy Book. Its object is to eradicate all forms of evil and to encourage all types of virtue and excellence expressly mentioned by God in the Holy Qur'an⁷⁹.

The head of the Islamic state, in Mawdudi's point of view, can be named either as Imam, Amir, or Khalifah. The most important thing is that he should meet minimal basic requirements. There are four basic requirements for the head of the Islamic state. He should be a) a Muslim, b) a male, c) sane and adult, and d) a citizen of the Islamic state⁸⁰. These four conditions are also legal qualifications which determine a person's eligibility to the membership of the Consultative Assembly or Majlis Shura. In this respect, Mawdudi is different from Shah Wali Allah who gives nine requirements for Khalif and even determines the ways the Khalif is elected. Mawdudi does not mention the best method for electing the head of the state and members of the Majlis Shura, giving the reasons that "Islam does not provide a definite example"⁸¹ and that "different methods can be adopted in different places, on different occasions, and under different circumstances".⁸² However, several points should be reconsidered relating to the election of the head of Islamic state. They are;

1. In an Islamic state, the election of its head of state depends entirely on the will of the general public and nobody has the right to impose himself forcibly as their Amir.
2. No clan or class has a monopoly of the office.

3. The election should take place with the free will of the Muslim masses and without any coercion or force⁸³.

In order to preserve justice and avoid tyrannical system, the establishment of political parties is allowed. This nation is in line with the electorate system through which people can choose their representatives in the Majlis Shura. Formerly, Mawdudi disagreed on plurality of political parties in the Islamic state, but later on he realized the importance of the political parties." Without, he said, "there would be complete chaos in the political field, for it is in the parties that people of like mind come together, discuss political problems and arrive at a decision as to the course of action to be followed."⁸⁴ The political parties also function as a means through which all citizens of the country convey their political aspiration.

Discussing the citizenship of the Islamic state, Mawdudi is of the opinion that the citizenship falls into two kinds: the Muslims and the Zimmis. The latter, he divides further into three categories, viz. ; a) Those who become the subjects of an Islamic State under some treaty or agreement; b) Those who become its subjects after being defeated by the Muslims in a war; and c) Those who are there in the Islamic State any other way⁸⁵.

In the Islamic state both of the Muslim and non Muslim citizens deserve similar rights such as in education, economics, employment, housing, etc. They are all protected by the government. In this respect Mawdudi asserts that "so far as the general rights of non Muslims (i.e., the fundamental human rights) are concerned, all are treated alike."⁸⁶ However, non Muslims or Zimmis are, according to him, not only exempted from military duty they are also not allowed to hold the key posts in the government. More over, they are also obliged to pay *jizya*. The amount of *jizya* will, of course, be fixed according to their economic status. The rich will have to pay more, the middle class will have to pay less and the poor will have to pay a nominal amount. However, those who have no means of living (income or wealth),

children, women, lunatics, detards, employees of churches, temples, and synagogues will be exempt from *jizya*.

Concluding Remarks

Based on the previous explanation on Wali Allah and Mawdudi's political ideas it can be inferred that they wanted to see all Muslims, especially in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and in the Muslim world in general, united under the banner of Islam. The final ideal Islamic state in none other than state which does not recognize any boundary, nationality, language, or blood ties but Islam. In their respective times, they had been involved in all efforts towards this ideal as proved from their endless life struggles. Their pens fruited thousands of words expressing their political philosophies which were in line with Islamic teaching.

Since "the basic concept in political philosophy is the concept of state"⁸⁷, the most parts of the scholars ideas under discussion which is touched in this paper is, therefore, confined around the form of the state, role of the head of state, the requirements of the head of state, and the kind of the citizenship of the state. Both Wali Allah and Mawdudi, who were Sunnis, claimed base their political ideas on the very basic Islamic sources, i.e. the Qur'an and the Sunnah, and the practice of the four rightly guided caliph. They differ in formulating an ideal Islamic polity.

Based on the criterion offered by Ahmad S. Moussalli, it seems that Wali Allah, to a certain extent, belongs to the modernist group' whereas Mawdudi is classified in the traditionalist or fundamentalist one. As can be seen from previous passages, Wali Allah was of the opinion that religious affairs should not be entrusted to the head of state, but to the Islamic scholars or 'ulama or, to use his own term, Khalifa Batini. As for all the mundane affairs which are related to the statehood should be entrusted to the king or Caliph which he calls Khalifa Zahiri. At the same time, he also insists on that the head of the state must come from the

Quraysh which means he still holds to medieval political thought in that the caliphate system is based on the right of the Quraysh.

On the other hand, Mawdudi believed that politics can not be separated from religion, if they are separated it means violating the principle of tawhid which is the first basis of his political ideas. About this Asghar Ali Engineer states that "according to Mawdudi both are not only inseparable but the religion of Islam admits no other way of life except the one we find in the Qur'an and Shari'a as formulated by the early 'ulama' on the basis of the Prophet's traditions and Sunnah."⁸⁸ In line with this, the *raison d'être* of man existence is, according to Mawdudi, none other than to worship Him. Worshipping Him means to implement His Law on the earth. The implementation of the Shari'a can be realized only if the Muslims have their own independent state, i.e., an Islamic state. In this respect, though not clearly stated, Wali Allah is in line with Mawdudi.

As for the purpose of the state, Wali Allah and Mawdudi do not disagree each other. They absolutely believed that the purpose of the Islamic state is the application of Islamic injunctions. This means that the state is only a means to achieve a wider goal, i.e., to borrow Iqbal's words, to realize the "Kingdom of God on earth". Both are of the opinion that according to Islam justice is the supreme goal and objective and at the same time it constitutes as the foundation stone of the structure of an Islamic state. The head of Islamic state should highly appreciate and hold firmly these principles.

Concerning the qualification of the head of state, generally speaking Wali Allah and Mawdudi are almost not in disagreement. The main difference is that Wali Allah insisting on that the head of the Islamic state should be a Quraysh whereas Mawdudi refused this medieval political theory. In his plan for election of the head of state Wali Allah is following the models of the four rightly guided caliph, but Mawdudi leaves this matter to the people in accordance with the needs of place and time. Though they explain in detail the requirements of the head of state, unfortunately, neither

Wali Allah nor Mawdudi gives an explanation of how long a head of the Islamic state should hold the position and how long should they be obeyed by the people.

Wali Allah and Mawdudi are totally convinced that after the obedience to God and His Prophet comes the obedience to those who have been vested with political authority. These are called the *ulil amr* who include not only the head of state and his ministers but also political leaders, 'ulama' who furnish intellectual and religious guidance to the people and the qadis. They should, of course, be obeyed so long as they themselves obey God and His Prophet.⁸⁹ In the case of the head of state, the citizens may depose him if he does not carry out Islamic teachings.

As far as the division of the citizenship of the Islamic state, there are no differences in their ideas. Both of them are of the opinion that the citizens of the Islamic state is of two kinds; Muslims and non Muslims. Non Muslims, who are called *Zimmis*, living within the Islamic state should pay *jizya* in accordance with their capacity.

So far, most of the political ideas of both scholars are similar, if not identical. However, it is undeniable that Mawdudi's political ideas cover a wider scope and are more complete than those of Wali Allah. For instance, Mawdudi discusses political parties in the Islamic state, legislative, executive, and judicature system, etc. However, it does not mean that Mawdudi political thought is free from defect or not open to. Apart from the weaknesses found in Mawdudi's political theory, he is nonetheless considered as a great Islamic political theorist who "presents the most complete and detailed concept of a government system."⁹⁰ Wallhu a'lam bi al Sawab!!!

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². This statement has appeared in the "Islamic political vocabulary" since Islam made a contact with Persian Aryanism. Nurcholis Madjid's Introduction to Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985, reprint 1987). p.1 see also Toha 'Abd al-Baqi Suror. *Dawja al-Qur'an*. (Cairo: Dar al-Nahda Misr, 1972), p. 80 and Muhammad Yusuf Musa. *Nizam al-Hukm fi al-Islam* (Cairo : Dar al-Kitab al "Arabi, 1963), p.18.

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¹¹ J.M.S. Baljon, *op cit.*, pp.4-5.

¹² Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture*,...p. 201

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20. Hamid Inayat. *Modern Islamic Political Thought* (Austin : University of Texas Press, 1988).p.100.

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- ³¹ Shafi Ali Khan. "Nationalist 'Ulama's interpretation..." p.220.
- ³² Sh. Muhammad Ikram. "Shah Wali Allah: Life and Achievements in the Religious Sphere" in *A History of the Movement*. Vol. I. Ed. by Mahmud Husain. (Karachi : The Boards of Editors, 1957). p.497.
- ³³ Shafi Ali Khan. "Nationalist 'Ulama's Interpretation..." p.221.
- ³⁴ Instead of one nationality for the whole India, Mawdudi proposes three forms of government. 1) Federation of nations in which each group of nation is represented in the central government according to their proportions. 2) Each nation is permitted to establish a democratic state in its own territory. East Bengal, Hyderabad, Junagadh, Delhi, and parts of northern United Provinces, northern and western portion of the Punjab, Sind, the North West Frontier Province, and Baluchistan to be designated as Muslim territories. 3) The Muslim states should form a federation of their own that would enter into a confederacy with the non-Muslim states to provide for their common defence, communications, and international commerce. See Anwar Hussain Syed, *Pakistan; Islam, Politics and National Solidarity* (New York : Praeger Publishers, 1982). p.32-34.
- ³⁵ Khurshid Ahmad and Zafar Ishaq Ansari, *Mawdudi: An Introduction to His Life and Thought* (London : The Islamic Foundation. 1979). p. 8.
- ³⁶ Wilfred Cantwell Smith. *Modern Islam In India*. (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1963). p. 235.
- ³⁷ Shafi Ali Khan. "Nationalist 'Ulama's Interpretation of Shah Wali Allah's Thought and Movement." in *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*. Vol. XXXVII, part 3 (July 1989). p. 222.
- ³⁸ Mahmood A. Ghazi. "State and Politics in the Philosophy of Shah Wali Allah," in *Islam: State and Society*. Ed. by Klaus Ferdinand and Mahdi Mozaffari. (London : Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, 1988). p. 95.
- ³⁹ Munawir Sjadzali. *Islam and Governmental System: Teachings, History and Elections* (Jakarta : INIS, 1991). p.1.
- ⁴⁰ Aziz Ahmad. *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1964). p. 206.
- ⁴¹ Cf. Ibn Khaldun. *The Muqaddima* Translated into English by F. Rosenthal. (New York: 1958). pp.249-272 .
- ⁴² Shah Wali Allah. *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha* Vol 1. (Cairo, 1322). p. 34 as cited by Mahmood A. Ghazi "State and Politics in the Philosophy of Shah Wali Allah," in *Islam: State and Society*, Edited by Klaus Ferdinand and Mahdi Mozaffari. (London: Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, 1988). p. 93.

⁴³. Mahmood a. Ghazi. "State and politics in the Philosophy of Shah Wali Allah"P.97

⁴⁴. *Ibid.* p. 207.

⁴⁵. Cited by Hamid Siddiqi in his "Renaissance in Indo-Pakistan : Shah Wali Allah Dihlavi", in *A Short History of Muslim Philosophy*. Vol. II. Edited by M.M. Sharif. Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1966, reprint 1983).pp.1562-1563.

⁴⁶. *Ibid.* p.1563.

⁴⁷ Mahmood A. Ghazi. "State and Politics in the Philosophy of Shah Wali Allah". p.96.

⁴⁸ Aziz Ahmad. *Studies in Islamic Culture*.... p.206.

⁴⁹. Cited from H. Munawir Sjadzali. *Islam and Governmental System*. (Jakarta : INIS. 1991). p. 78.

⁵⁰. In al-Manar as cited by Syafii Maarif, 'he says that "this matter (caliphate) is always with the tribe of Quraysh as long as two men are left"

لا يزال هذلي فريش ما بقي من الناس اثنان

See A. Syafii Maarif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan*. p. 45.

⁵¹. Mahmood A. Ghazi. "State and politics in the Philosophy of Shah Wali Allah", pp. 99-100.

⁵². H. Munawir Sjadzali. *Islam and Governmental System*. p. 55.

⁵³. Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi. *Shah Wali Allah and His Times*. p. 289.

⁵⁴. According al-Mawardi there are seven conditions to fulfil by a caliph : 1). Justice with all condationc, 2). Have sufficient knowledge to enable ijtiḥad, 3). Be healthy in hearing, vision, and expression, 4). Have all parts of the body intact, 5). Have sufficient perception to manage the life of people and the public interest, 6). Have sufficient caurage to protect the people and expel the enemy, and 7). Be of Quraysi descent. See: Munawir Sjadzali. *Islam and Governmental System*. p. 45.

⁵⁵. Shah Wali Allah. *Izalat al-Khifa' al-Khilafa' al-Khulafa'*. Vol. 1. (Lahore: 1976). pp.4-5. as cited by Mahmood A. Ghazi. "State and Politics in the Philosophy of Shah Wali Allah". pp. 100-101.

⁵⁶. Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi. *Shah Wali Allah and His Times*. p. 289. and Mahmood A. Ghazi. "State and Politics..." ,p. 95

⁵⁷. Afzalur Rahman. *Islam: Ideology and the Way of life*. (London ; The Muslim Schools Trust, 1980). p. 314.

⁵⁸. Shah Wali Allah Izlar al-Khifa. 1. pp. 18-26, Cf. Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi Shah Wali Allah ; His Life and Times. p. 289.

- ^{59.} See Fazlur Rahman "The Principle of Shura and the Role of Muslim Ummah in Islam." in *State Politics and Islam*. Ed. by Mumtaz Ahmad. Washington : American Trust Publications. 1986), pp. 87-96.
- ^{60.} Abdul Hamid Siddiq. "Renaissance in Indo-Pakistan : Shah Wali Allah Dihlawi," p. 1563.
- ^{61.} Hafeez Malik. *Moslem Nasionalisme in India and Pakistan* (Washington: Public Affairs Press. 1963). p. 133.
- ^{62.} *Ibid.*, p. 134.
- ^{63.} B.A. Dar "Wali Allah : His Life and Times," *Iqbal Review*. Vol. VI No. 3 (October 1965), p. 22-23.
- ^{64.} Shah Wali Allah. *Izllar al-Khafa'* . I. pp. 574-610, as cited by A.A. Abbas Rizvi. *Shah Wali Allah and His Times*, p. 290.
- ^{65.} Sayyid Ahmad Shahid "Shah Wali Allah : His Work in the Political Field," in Mahmud Husain, ed. *A History of the Freedom Movement*. Vol. I (Karachi : The Board of Editors. 191957). p. 521.
- ^{66.} Shafi Ali Khan. "Nationalist "Ulama's Interpre-tation ...". p.223.
- ^{67.} A. Rahman I doi. *Shari'ah in the 1500 Century of Hijra: Problems and Prospects*. (London : Taha Publishers, 1981). p. 45.
- ^{68.} Sayyid Abu'l A'la Mawdudi. *The Islamic Way of Life* (London : The Islamic Foundation, 1986, reprint 1992). p. 29.
- ^{69.} *Ibid.* p. 30.
- ^{70.} Charles J. Adams. "Mawdudi and the Islamic State," in *Voices of Resurgent Islam* Ed. by John L. Exposito. (New York : Oxfröd University Press. 1983). pp. 111-112.
- ^{71.} The term of Islamic state is inded a new phenomenon in Islam. It was not used until Rashid Rida for the first time employed the term in his al-Khilafah which was pulished in 1922. Cf. Ahmad Syafii Maarif. "Politik Dalam Prespective," *'Ulum al-Qur'an* Vol. IV. No. 2 (1993). p.3 Loay M. Safi "The Islamic State : A Conceptual Framework," in *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*. Vo. 8. No. 2. (September 1991). pp. 221-222.
- ^{72.} Munawir Sjadzali. *Islam and Governmental System*. p. 113.
- ^{73.} For amore detail and wide discussion on nationalim see S. Abu'l A'la Mawdudi. *Nationalism and India*. (Pathankot : Maktaba e-Jama'at e-Islami Daru-ul-Islam . 1947) . pp.1-69.
- ^{74.} Sayyid Abu'l A'la Mawdudi, "Twenty Nine Years of the Jamaat e-Islami, *The Criterion* Vol 6. No. 1 (January-February, 1971). p. 29.

75. Sayyid Abu'l A'la Mawdudi. *Human Rights in Islam*, 2nd ed (London ; The Islamic Foundation, 1976, rep. 1990). p. 10.
76. Sayyid Abu'l A'la Mawdudi. *Islamic Law and Constitution*. 10 th ed. Lahore: Islamic Publications Ltd., 1990). p. 139.
77. Sayyid Abu'l A'la Mawdudi. *Islamic Law and Constitution*., p. 218.
78. S. Abu'l A'la Mawdudi. *Islamic State: Political Writings of Mawlana Sayyid Abu'l A'la Mawdudi*. Compiled and edited Mazheruddin S. (Karachi : Islamic Research Academy, 1986). p. 65.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
81. Munawir Sjadzali. *Islam and Governmental System*., p. 119.
82. Sayyid Abu'l A'la Mawdudi. *Islamic Law and Constitution*, p. 235.
83. *Ibid.* p. 235
84. S. Abu'l A'la Mawdudi. *Islamic State*. p. 76.
85. S. Abu'l A'la Mawdudi. *Rights of Non Muslims in Islamic State*, 7th ed (Lahore : Islamic Publications Ltd. 1982). p. 6.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
87. Qamaruddin Khan. *Political Concepts in the Qur'an* (Karachi : Institute of Islamic Studies, 1973). p. 1.
88. Asghar Ali Engineer. *Theory and Practice of the Islamic State*. (Lahore:: Vanguard Books Ltd., 1985). p. 124.
89. This Statement is perhaps derived from a hadith narated by both Bukhari and Muslim. The hadith says "Muslims should obey the directives of their ulil-amr (men in authority) whether they like them or not to long, as they are not ordered to commit a sinful act. But if they ordered to commit a sinful act, no obedience is due to them (i.e., the people of the authority".
90. H. Munawir Sjadzali. *Islam and Governmental System*. p. 113.



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