



RESEARCH PAPER

Ibn Khaldun's Concept of *Asabiyyah*: Application on the Muslim Nationalism in Indian Sub-continent before Partition

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this research paper is to apply "Ibn Khaldun's concept of *Asabiyyah* on Muslim Nationalism in sub-continent before partition". *Asabiyyah* implies the concept of group solidarity; it is meant to sustain power or proclaim identity. In the same way, Muslims in the sub-continent had been described under the *Asabiyyah* of religious propaganda that proclaimed Muslim nationalism against the British rule and Hindus, as a result of which they succeeded in the partition of the sub-continent and got a separate homeland for themselves in the shape of Pakistan. This shows that strong *Asabiyyah* plays an important role in the rise and fall of nations. Thus, Pakistan emerged as a result of Muslim nationalism based on Islamic Ideology, which constitutes the core idea of Ibn Khaldun's religious perspective of *Asabiyyah*. Overall, the paper contributes to our understanding of Muslim Nationalism through strong *Asabiyyah* which played an important role in successful culmination of Pakistan.

Keywords: *Asabiyyah*, Ibne Khaldun, Islamic Ideology, Muslim Nationalism, Partition of India

Introduction

Etymologically the word *Asabiyyah*, has been derived from an Arabic words "*asab*" which means "to bind", i.e., to bind the individuals into a group and '*asabah* (union)' (Baali, 1988) . *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* defines *Asabiyyah* as, "... a sociocultural bond that can be used to measure the strength of social groupings." (Baali, 1988). Another definition of the term could be, "a quality or characteristic of a person who possesses '*Asabiyyah*, which are the characteristics of a person in helping his fellows or people against hostility, or being angry and fanatical for the sake of his people or group and acting to defend them." Scholars are of the view that Ibn Khaldun himself did not define the term clearly; it could be because it was a familiar term for his contemporaries. Thus, there is no specific term in English to translate *Asabiyyah* therefore for its understanding it could be translated as 'solidarity', 'group feelings', 'togetherness', 'group spirit', 'patriotism', and 'social solidarity' etc.

For further explanation of *Asabiyyah*, Ibn Khaldun, starts with the lowest group level of the nomadic society. *Asabiyyah* has two-layer bases, which support its existence in a society. First is the bottom layer, based on blood ties or kinship. Second is upper layer, which is based on religion or ideology as religion gathers men around one whole and arouses the sense of *Asabiyyah*. Muhsin Mahdi, by giving supreme importance to religion in strengthening the group feeling, states that, "religion gives a new loyalty, absolute belief in and obedience to, the demands of the law and the religious leader. (Mehdi, 1980)". Thus, both layers constitute the basis of *Asabiyyah*, which binds the people into a strong solidarity.

Literature Review

Abdul Rahman bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Al-Hassan bin Muhammad bin Jabir bin Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman bin Khaldun, generally known as Ibn Khaldūn is regarded as a philosopher, sociologist, historian, and economist of fourteenth century. His masterpiece, *The Muqaddimah* (The Introduction), is the first book of *Kitāb al- 'Ibar Wa Diwan Muftada' wal Khabar fi Ayyām al-ARabī' Wal Ajam wal Barbar, wa man Asarahum min zawi al-Sultān al-Akbar*. The book commonly known as *Kitāb al-'Ibar* has seven volumes, but its introduction known as the 'Prolegomena', had hugely contributed to different branches of knowledge particularly to the sciences of history and sociology. Ibn Khaldun studied the causes and nature of historical events, to articulate these new theories such as *Al- 'Umrān* and the theory of *'Asabiyyah*.

Scholars have written a lot on Ibn Khaldun. He is considered as one of the most discussed philosophers. There are so many reasons behind his popularity but the foremost is that his theories can be practically applied "...at the sub-state, inter-state and supra-state (civilizational) levels (Akifpınar, 2008)." His time has much resemblance to the condition and crisis of the present Muslims therefore his theories are considered as having the modern characteristics thus have been studied and interpreted to analyze the movements of 19th century i.e., nationalism, pan-Islamism, socialism, Islamism, and other ideologies.

This paper is an attempt to analyze in detail the theory of *Asabiyyah* and its application in modern times with special focus on the Muslim Nationalism in Indian sub-continent before the Partition i.e., 1947. The theory of *Asabiyyah* is one of the most widely written in academia from different aspects. However, there are few writings on the relation of *Asabiyyah* with religion in modern times. This paper is an endeavor to discover that how *Asabiyyah* ultimately gave rise to Muslim Nationalism which resulted in the partition of Indian sub-continent.

Asabiyyah and Religion

Religion plays an important role as a binding force and creates solidarity among the people to be united under common ancestry in a state. Religion and solidarity depend on each other as religious propagation cannot be possible without group feelings. To Ibn Khaldun, religious propaganda, Prophet hood or the sainthood enables the scattered Bedouin society of Arabs to overcome its local intense level of *Asabiyyah* (Rosenthal, 1967). This religious association gives them more power to make their *Asabiyyah* strong and enable them to conquer the settled people or protect and press claim. Through this religious identity, the people tend to be united and be counted as one body, based on common religious basis.

A strong relationship exists between *Asabiyyah* and religion as a social institution and as a means of social control. (Baali, 1988). It binds the subjects of the society and then all the institutions of the society automatically remain sustain in a state. Ibn Khaldun believes that religion provides them a social solidarity, cohesion, and oneness; it unites the members of the society together ultimately maintaining the society together (Mehdi, 1980). Without social organization and cooperation, human existence is not possible. It also results in a peaceful environment for the people to survive and remain helpful to each other. Thus, the idea supports strong *Asabiyyah*.

Asabiyyah based on religion removes the negative connotation usually associated with *Asabiyyah*. *The Muqaddimah* explains the term *'Asabiyyah* as 'bias', or to be more exact, "...blind support of one's group without regard for the justice of its cause". (Rosenthal, 1967). On the other hand, Islam, prohibit the Muslims from doing wrong or to help other people because of evil, or being biased but allows them to give support to each other, including members of their own group or from a similar background in virtue and goodness.

Ibn Khaldun further illustrates his theory of *Asabiyyah* by giving an example of Arabs, who lived miserable lives before Islam, by being scattered and divided. When Islam spread among them, it created strong unity among them under a strong *Asabiyyah* against the outward Arabs. Negative feelings such as hatred, jealousy and envy are removed in presence of religion, it binds its followers from injustices and commands to yield to divine order. Then the Muslims quite less in number had gained enough military strength based on their religious unity. To illustrate, the Muslims fought several wars with other powers, but they were not defeated. Arabs in the beginning of the Islam during the conquests, the Muslim Armies were at *al-Qadisiyah* and at the *Yarmuk* numbered some 30,000 in each case, while the Persian troops at *al-Qadisiyah* numbered 120,000 and the troops of *Heraclius*, according to *al-Waqidi* were 400,000. Neither of these two parties could overcome the Arabs. The Arabs routed them and seized power from them.ⁱ It indicates that *Asabiyyah* gives a nation the courage to claim its identity or nationalism.

Asabiyyah also gives rise to the royal authority and leadership, garbed with religious authority, which is possible through strong group feeling and solidarity. The rise of a house to royal authority and large dynastic power can be attained only through the group and group feeling. (Granes, 1962). People cannot live together in a state without a ruler who keeps them together, therefore, they need a person to restrain them, and who can provide them with leadership. (Granes, 1962). However, a large dynasty with wide powers and large authority finds a solution to their problem in a religious propaganda. In Ibn Khaldun's opinion, religion plays an important role to unite the diverse tribes and diverse groups. (Granes, 1962). Through religion the Arab tribes of Muslim faith had overcome their envy, jealousy and haughtiness and joined together as a community. They overcame all their weaknesses through religious propaganda which provides them superiority over all the other tribes.

Ibn Khaldun observes that "only religion was powerful enough bond to unite the proud, individualistic Arab tribes." (Granes, 1962). Religious propaganda itself cannot spread without group feeling. Ibn Khaldun in his book, the *Muqaddimah* expresses that when a dynasty is found, it ever goes through cycle of five stages. Strong religious propaganda plays a significant role in the rise and fall of a civilization. And the dynastic cycle of a civilization also has the same duration as the life of individuals (Ahmed, 2007).

***Asabiyyah* and Nationalism**

Nationalism is also a group feeling (Rosenthal, 1967) which supports the meaning of Ibn Khaldun's theory of *Asabiyyah*. Nationalism is a modern concept which has no specific definition. It has different connections to different nations. Generally, nationalism states that a patriotic feeling one feels for his state or a group of people, belonging to the same territory, same language, culture, tradition, and religion. Nationalism is a natural factor which an individual feels for his nation. It plays an important role in the solidarity of a nation that serves as an instrument for achieving political aim. As a form of politics, nationalism is essentially about power which today is primarily about control of the state. (Axman, 2008). In fact it is nationalist spirit that gives rise to the nation for a specific identity and existence. In modern times the concept of nationalism and ethnicism has replaced *Asabiyyah*. Nationalism gives a nation self-consciousness and awareness. Gellner argues that nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness; it invents nations where do they exist. (Axman, 2008).

***Asabiyyah* in Subcontinent**

Tangibly, nationalism in South Asia can be traced through religious perspective. The Muslims found Islam as the only uniting force through which they could nullify the Hindu dominance. *Asabiyyah* of Muslim nationalism under the fold of Islam can also be traced back in the Muslims of the sub-continent, who were oppressed as well as deprived of

all the necessities of life by both the British rule and Hindu majority. They had been thrown to slavery and were miserably ill-treated which was against the glory of the Muslims. Lack of modern education and disunity was responsible for oppression of the Muslims. In such a situation, the Muslim personalities like *Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan*, *Nawab Salimullah Khan*, *Maulan Muhammad Ali Jauhar* and *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah* paid their due attention towards the awareness and identity of the Muslims. They used religious symbols as deriving force for the national identity of the Muslims in South Asia. They paid staunch services for the rise of the Muslims. Later, under the spirit of Muslim nationalism all the Muslims of India were grouped together as a separate identity on the basis of which they had got a separate homeland.

At the end of the 19th century, the idea emerged that a distinct nation "Muslim", had developed within the sub-continent that continued to live without a name. (Qureshi, 2006). They failed to find a suitable name for themselves. Religiously, they were totally different from the Hindus. The British East India Company was ruling the Indian Sub-Continent which was more sincere to the Hindus as compared to the Muslims. The Muslim leaders of India were divided on ideological basis. Some were favoring the Muslim nationalism while others the Indian nationalism. In such circumstances some sensible steps were taken by some sagacious Muslim leaders like *Nawab Salimullah Khan*, *Nawab Waqar ul Mulk*, *Agha Khan* etc., who founded Muslim League in 1906. It was the first Muslim platform which started working for the attainment of Muslim rights like separate electorates. It can be a good example of the group solidarity of the Indian Muslims who came together under the religious propaganda and which supported Ibn Khaldun's theory of *Asabiyyah*.

Nationalism is basically a sentiment, a consciousness, a sympathy, which binds a group of people together. It is the desire of the group of the people to live together, if necessary, to die for common interests. The argument presented here is that nationalism, like so many other human experiences is a state of mind (Aziz, 2004). It motivated the nation for their cause to support their identity. It shows the common hostility of the people to oppose the other group. In the end of the 19th century, it became a reality that a distinct nation "Muslim" emerged within the sub-continent that continued to live without a name (Qureshi, 2006). The British East India Company was ruling the Indian Sub-Continent which was more sincere to the Hindus as compared to the Muslims. As a result, Muslims of the Indian Sub-Continent became hostile to both the Hindus and the Sikhs. The cause of this hostility was that one national group opposes the existence of the other. This feeling is inevitable in state, where more than one nation exists, (Aziz, 2004) which meant a state where the diversity of different national groups who were striving for their own interests. Sovereignty and independence are the goal of a nationalist movement. (Aziz, 2004). When a nation experiences struggle in its life, then it needs a separate state where they could serve their co-religionists according to their own willingness.

The Indian Muslims realized their true position in India after the advent of British rule. For many years lived under the directives of the British rule. The wrath of war of independence 1857 came as a perpetual threat to the Muslims. On the contrary, Hindus gained the full support and cooperation of the British, thus making a dark view for a Muslim existence in the upcoming socio-political and religious aspects in India. The Muslims also had not yet reconciled with the Hindus who dominated them in all the spheres of life. At that time, the Muslims realized their powerlessness, weaknesses, and spine minority. (Axman, 2008). This was the first time, casting of nationalism seeds among the Indian Muslims. *Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan* was the greatest Indian Muslim nationalist among the Muslim who molded the circumstances (Mehdi, 1980). Through injecting the idea of Two Nation Theory, he tried to have the real concept of *Asabiyyah* among the Indian Muslims. Through Aligarh Movement, he attracted the Indian Muslims towards their separate identity. He asked the Muslims to remain loyal to the British, "devote yourself to education; this is your only salvation" (Baali, 1988) and stay aloof from politics. Long before the formation of All India Muslim League, he vehemently criticized the idea of representative system of government

which was purely based on the notion that India is one homogenous nation. *Sir Syed*, in the Governor General Legislative Council, while speaking on Local Self-Government Bill by Lord Ripon, on January 15, 1883 stated:

The appointment of members through elections means the representation of the opinion and interests of the section of population. In countries whose population is composed of one nation and one religion this is, indeed, the best method that can be adopted. But, my lord, in a country like India, where class distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, such a system... would be attended with evils of greater significance. So long as the differences of race and creed and the distinction of caste form an important element in the socio-political life of India and influence her inhabitants in matters connected with the administration and welfare of the country at large, the system of election, pure and simple, cannot be safely adopted. The larger community would totally override the interest of the smaller community, and the ignorant public would hold government responsible for introducing measures which might make the differences of race and creed more violent than ever. (Ahmed, 1970).

His services played great role in the awareness of the Indian Muslims. He stressed the Muslims not to trust the Hindus because they were not loyal to the Muslims, since Hindus had left no stone unturned to press the Muslim as a minority.

The Indian Muslims were not yet a nation by itself, nor could they claim this title. (Ahmed, 1970). With the passage of time it became necessary for their survival of to be united to claim proper identity. This feeling of separateness from others was the symptom of Indian Muslim Nationalism in India. The impact of this reformism was revolutionary because it became developed in Muslims to safeguard their interest in that hectic situation. (Granes, 1962). In the beginning of the 20th century, the Muslim community set up a new idea of Nationalism. That had increased solidarity and unity among them. The old generation who had experienced disgrace and defeat, was succeeded by a new generation, young in heart and fresh to the opportunities of life, aware of the solidarity and hopeful of its future. The Hindus had organized the Congress earlier, had formulated their demands and had made the British aware of their existence. In contrast to Hindus, Muslims had also felt the need to organize themselves in a way to win powers.

The Muslim nationalism, based on religion, in South Asia was occasioned on the certain occurrences that challenged the Muslim identity. To site, the division of Bengal in 1905 and the subsequent annulment made the sense among the Muslims to be united and to be counted as a single body. It was Muslim triumph indeed because the Muslims of Bengal had got a separate province where they could easily get their rights. Contrary to this, Hindus had fully agitated against the British government decision which was condemned by the Muslims. (Qureshi, 2006). Hindus started anti-government activities and Muslims were also asked to join them to annul the partition of Bengal. These activities compelled the Indian Muslims to take part in politics and to form their own platform to safeguard their interests. In 1906, Muslim League was formed as the only Muslim party. Its main aim was to promote Muslim nationalism throughout the Indian sub-Continent. The first step taken by Muslim league was the passing of a resolution in September 1908, hoping that, "government would adhere to this settled fact". (Aziz, 2004). It meant that government would not reject this partition on any cast. The steps taken by Muslims in the first decade were the outcome of the Muslims strong *Asabiyyah* of nationalism. It is an important part of the Ibn Khaldun's theory of *Asabiyyah* that group feeling sometimes protects the community or a nation on religious basis. The period from 1906 to 1911 constitutes a rift between the Hindus and the Muslims, which was countered by the Muslims systematically through a strong *Asabiyyah*.

In fact, the Muslim nationalism was based on religious propaganda and through this solidarity they had been united strongly until the partition. (Talbot, 1988). Ibn Khaldun's concept of *Asabiyyah* also endorsed strong *Asabiyyah* among the Indian Muslims, which

plays an important role in the rise of the Indian Muslims. Although the circumstances were going against the interests of the Indian Muslims, but no doubt they did not lose their courage and remained united under the *Asabiyyah* Muslim nationalism for their goal of the separate identity. From 1857 to 1906, the Muslim remained neutral because they lacked behind in education as well as in other social activities, which were to be improved on any cost. The period from 1906 to 1911, remained a tussle period between Hindus and Muslims, which created hurdles for the Muslims in the rise of their Nationalism. Subsequently, Muslims did not lose their courage and remained in a strong *Asabiyyah*. This led them to gain the interests of both the Hindus and the British. (Aziz, 2004). In the same way, the period from 1911 to 1922 was proved to be friendly between Hindus and Muslim. They came closer during the Lucknow Pact and stood united against the British government. They demanded the right of separate electorates for both the communities. This was the biggest triumph for the Muslim nationalist movement, by getting status of separate nation in the eyes of both the Hindus as well as the British. During the *Khilafat* movement in the Indian Sub-continent, the Muslims supported the restoration of the *Khilafat-e-Ustmania*. (Talbot, 1988). The Hindus also supported the Muslims in this movement, but their support was interest based. Ultimately, they had withdrawn their support and had showed disloyalty to the Muslims which created hurdle for the Muslims. Even then the Muslims did not lose their courage and remained stuck to their cause of separate identity under a strong *Asabiyyah*.

After the Lucknow pact, the 1919 act was formulated on the basis of separate electorates which the Hindus had opposed and asked the governments to give them full share in government services. They agitated against the Muslims interests, because it was a great victory for the Muslim nationalism. In such a situation, a real threat was perceived by the Muslims of the Sub-continent to counter the Hindus persecutions. Again, a rift occurred between the Hindus and the Muslims in the upcoming constitutional developments.

In the beginning of the 1930s, three round table conferences were held, in which the British wanted to discuss the problems of both the communities and bring unity among them but was of no avail. The Muslim nationalism under the philosophy of Allama Muhammad Iqbal got another boost for the Muslim unity. He determined that philosophy in his famous 1930 Allahabad address. To Allama Iqbal, Muslims were totally different from the Hindus and the ultimate solution to their problem was territorial division. (Talbot, 1988). This approach comes close to the heart of the matter. The idea of territorial demand for the Muslims was raised which endorse another aspect of Ibn Khaldun's theory of *Asabiyyah*, the solidarity of a nation in a specific territory based on religious identity.

Furthermore, under the act of 1935, the provincial elections were announced. These elections were held in 1937, the Indian national congress won the majority of seats and All India Muslim League had lost those elections. The Congress made the ministries in all the Hindu majority provinces. It was the first time that the congress had experienced the government and on coming to power their attitude suddenly changed towards the Muslims. (Aziz, 2004). They once again started persecutions over the Muslims and also rejected the idea to make a coalition government with the All-India Muslim League. They wanted to show their imperialism against all the minorities. The congress wanted to impose Hindu Raj on India without any constitutional restrictions on its freedom of action. (Mehdi, 1980). They used every means to paralyze the Indian Muslim sentiments to press them forever. The Muslims were bothered culturally, religiously, and physically. The new constitutional Act of 1935 signified the Hindu Raj, purely and simply. (Qureshi, 2006).

These ministries claimed to be responsible for the new idea, emergence of Pakistan. L. S. Amery believed that, it was the conduct of congress ministries that drove the Muslims to separatism. (Rosenthal, 1967). H.V. Hodson, stated in his book *The Great Divide* (1969) that, "Muslims were in miserable condition, they were prevented to call their prayers, their mosques were desecrated, and music was sung in their vicinity.... their language, Urdu, was replaced by Hindi and the Muslim children were being forced to sing 'Band-e-Mataram.

Furthermore, they were denied their due share of public appointments.” (Hodson, 1969). These ministries finished chance of Hindu-Muslim unity forever. It practically ensured the partition of the Sub-continent that took place based on Islam. (Talbot, 1988). Suddenly, the Indian National Congress had resigned from the ministries, which was the end to the Muslim miseries. The Muslims as well as other communities from all over India had rejoiced over this. Jinnah called upon the people to observe a “Day of Deliverance” on 22nd December, to mark the end to the tyranny and opposition. (Aziz, 2004).

The Muslim reaction to the congress ministries was another surge of the Muslim solidarity in India. It had become important for the Indian Muslim to bind together to proclaim Muslim nationalism. The Muslims lost trust on Hindus forever because it was for the second time the Muslims had trusted them after the agitation of *Khilafat* Movement. In fact, it was the second time that Hindus had disappointed the Muslims. After the resignation of the ministries, the formation of Pakistan as a separate homeland became the goal of the Indian Muslims. Jinnah for the first time in 1937 said:

No settlement with the minority is possible, as no Hindu leader, speaking with any authority, shows any concern or genuine desire for it. An honorable settlement can only be achieved between equals; and unless the two parties learn to respect and fear each other, there is no solid ground for any settlement. Offers of peace by the weaker party always mean a confession of weakness, and an invitation to aggression. It does not require political wisdom to realize that all safeguards and settlements would be scrap of paper unless they were backed up by power. Politics mean power and not relying only on cries of justice or fair play of good-will (Firzada, 2007).

Many differences occurred among Muslim League’s leaders that hindered the Muslim nationalist movement for a separate homeland. But luckily, through different sagacious leaders of the Muslim League in different areas had brought back them together and created a strong sense of solidarity among them. This resulted in the great victory of Muslim League in the 1946 elections and All India Muslim League had won through majority of votes in all the Muslim majority areas. The victory in 1946 elections was the final assessment of a single Muslim-hood (Talbot, 1988). Jinnah while concluding the Legislators’ Convention, April 1946, stated:

Is Britain going to decide the destiny of 100 million Muslims? No, nobody can. They can obstruct, they can delay for a little while, but they cannot stop us, therefore, rise at the conclusion of this historic Convention full of hope, courage and faith. Insha Allah we shall win. (Firzada, 2007).

The assumption of Muslim solidarity was in fact the ultimate result of the fear of Hindus’ dominance under the idea of *Akhan Bharatthus*, Indian Sub-continent was partitioned between two nations based on religion. It was based on the strong solidarity among the Muslim if viewed through the prism of Ibn Khaldun’s theory of *Asabiyyah*.

Conclusion

Consequently Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *Asabiyyah* gives the idea that group solidarity is the main factor behind the rise and fall of civilizations, states or nations. He explained the historical evolution of the society and traced its origin from family to tribe and from nomadic to urban life. Therefore it indicates that like individuals, a nation or civilization also has stages of birth, growth, maturity, old age and then, death.

Muslims formed a nation that was based on the fundamental characteristics of nation most of which include same religious orientations. Furthermore, the “Muslim nation” was born out of the amalgamation processes between the Arabs and the native populations in the Sub-continent. The nation, as the theory of *Asabiyyah* states, matured into childhood.

That is to say that the Muslim community increased in religious and sectarian aspects. In addition, the nation multiplied and saw an exuberant youth where the Muslims began to rule the entire Sub continent. However, as the concept of *Asabiyah* states, the Muslim nation faced challenges in that the British colonized the Sub-continent in the process of which the Muslim solidarity underwent many blows including attacks on their religious solidarity, which was subjected to Christian proselytizing project.

On the other hand, the Muslim collective consciousness was also challenged by the Hindus-British nexus, which was used against the Muslim community. As the sequel shows that Muslim leaders identified the forces that were bent upon dismantling the solidarity of the Muslim masses in the Sub-Continent. They identified the reorganization of their community through the force of *Asabiyah*. The Muslim nation which saw its decay re-emerged as the Muslim leadership strove to establish their own separate country where their solidarity would be regained, and where it would be maintained.

The force of *Asabiyah* was reinforced by the Muslim leadership during the presentation of the Lahore Resolution in 1940. As professor Saeed says before the 1940, the Muslims of the Subcontinent were a disintegrated community. After the 1940, they were now determined to achieve their separate homeland. So, it was the force of *Asabiyah* that was reignited by the Muslim leaders and that was used to glue the Muslims through the width and breadth of the Subcontinent. Thus, the concept of Ibn e *Kahldun* proves what role did it paly in the rise of and fall and the reemergence of *Asabiya* in the Muslim nationalism in British India.

To apply this concept of *Asabiyyah* on the rise of Muslim nationalism before the partition of Indian Sub-continent, the Muslims were deprived of the basic access to a better living due to their lake of organization and hegemony of the Hindus over social and political arena of the British rule in Indian Sub-continent.

Precisely, through group solidarity the Muslims were united and present their demands for a better life to their rulers. Through this religious *Asabiyyah* of Muslim nationalism the Indian Muslims ultimately culminated in the realization of the demand for Pakistan. It is, this *Asabiyyah*, which helped the Muslims organize themselves and made them able to counter the hegemony of the Hindus and British over them. Ibn Khaldun explained that solidarity group feeling and national feeling are responsible for the rise of the state. However, he emphasized more on the internal factors for the rise of *Asabiyyah*, same was the case of the growth of Muslim nationalism before the creation of Pakistan.

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