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EDITOR'S NOTES

We feel privileged to present to our readers the first issue of THE JOURNAL OF PAKISTAN STUDIES. The present volume is exclusively devoted to SIR DR. MUHAMMAD IQBAL, the Poet-Philosopher of Humanity as a centennial tribute on the anniversary of his birthday which was celebrated year before not only in Pakistan, but also elsewhere around the world. Our Pakistan Centre at Columbia University in the City of New York also celebrated Iqbal's centennial birthday anniversary on December 10, 1977. Mr. A. K. Brohi, leader of Pakistan Delegation at the United Nations, and later Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs graced the function, and delivered a special lecture on Islamic Sources of Iqbal's Philosophy. Besides, several scholarly papers were presented at a Symposium on Iqbal. In this volume, we reproduce the revised versions of Mr. Brohi's lecture, and a few other papers.

In substance, the message of Iqbal is addressed to mankind in general insofar as it asserts that Islamic ideology is the only panacea for the ailing humanity. However, Iqbal's message has a special significance for the people of Pakistan at this very critical juncture of our national history. Pakistan, itself, is a living symbol of all those ideals which our poet had always cherished for the regeneration of the Indian Muslim community. It is a sad reminder to all of us that Iqbal had envisioned the idea of creating a new Islamic Republic in the Indian sub-continent so that we, Muslims, could fashion ourselves into a new kind of individuals on truly Islamic model, and integrate ourselves into a new social entity—the Millat which would ultimately merge itself together with other Muslim peoples into a Muslim Commonwealth of Peoples. Let us ask ourselves a very pertinent question: have we fulfilled Iqbal's mission? If not why have we strayed away from his noble ideals? These questions become much more relevant in the present disposition of our national life. During the past thirty years, our ruling elites have only misguided us into dismal abyss of tyranny, anarchy, and ideological limbo. This is the appropriate time for all of us to pause and reflect seriously on the nature, and causes of the all pervasive crisis which has gripped our nation.

The passage of the Lahore Resolution on March 23, 1940 at the annual session of the All India Muslim League under the chairmanship of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad

Ali Jinnah, was a historic event in more than one sense. In demanding a separate state for the Indian Muslims, it epitomized the culmination of a long cherished desire of the Muslim masses to preserve their Islamic identity in the predominantly Hindu India; on the otherhand, it also represented the deep-rooted urge of the Indian Muslim community to forge ahead solid bonds of unity with other Muslim peoples for creating a Muslim Commonwealth of Nations.

The credit must be given to Iqbal for having perceived the undercurrents of the logic of history, and for articulating the demand for a separate state for Muslims in 1930 about a decade earlier than the actual passage of the Lahore Resolution. Iqbal demanded a separate Muslim state because he knew perfectly well that it would be impossible to bring about the Islamic Renaissance in a pre-dominantly Hindu India. For implementing the Islamic ideology, and its basic tenets of *self*, *community*, democracy, economy, and universalism grounded in the doctrine of *Tawhid* (Monotheism), nothing short of an independent Muslim state was needed, as in Islam religion could not be divorced from politics. During his Madras lectures, once Iqbal had succinctly observed in response to a question from some newsman:

The fact is that I, as an Indian, give precedence to religion over Swarajya (political independence). I shall have nothing to do with a Swarajya divorced from religion.

Iqbal's contribution to Muslim Renaissance in the Indian sub-continent may rightly be ascribed to his intellectual endeavour for reconstructing "the religious thought of Islam" in the light of the twentieth century requirements. In order to break through the age-long stagnation of thought in Islam, Iqbal re-emphasized the basic principles of *ijtihad* (individual opinion), and *ijma* (consensus) and their application to the ever-changing social situations of the Muslim community. Iqbal's concept of the Self in substance, is a philosophical exposition of the Qur'anic view of the Perfect Man—the *mumin*. The Islamic individual, in the ultimate end, turns out neither to be like Hobbesian Leviathan, nor like Neitzcheian super-man, but he finds himself as a truly free man growing within the framework of a God-centered community—Islamic Millat. Thus for Iqbal the ultimate goal of Islamic Renaissance in the Indian sub-continent was to reactivate the potentialities of Indian Muslims as truly free believers (*mumunun*) and regenerate the Islamic Millat in a separate Muslim state. In a nutshell, Iqbal had interwoven together his concepts of *khudi* (Self) and *millat* (community) with his Two-Nations Theory as the ideological foundation of Pakistan. Therefore, once again let us ask ourselves a question: have we been successful in restructuring the Pakistani society in accordance with the political ideology which was defined by Iqbal? This is high time that we should identify all those elements in our society who have always obstructed the process of transformation of our society into a truly Islamic Order, and insure that they are never again allowed to deceive our innocent people with slogans borrowed from alien ideologies.

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Since as noted above, the concepts of universal community—*millat*, and the Two-Nations Theory constitute the crux of the political ideology of Pakistan as defined for us by Iqbal, a crucial question arises: as to how can we reconcile the obviously inherent contradictions between Iqbal's Islamic universalism and his subsequent enunciation of territorial nationalism as a basis for Pakistan? A lack of precise understanding of Iqbal's political ideals, and his tactical advocacy of territorial nationalism in the context of Indian politics has generally confused many of Iqbal's observers. Unless the inherent dichotomy is resolved, the political ideology of Pakistan would remain vague, and confusing and would fail to bring about the much desired integration of its diverse elements, namely, regions, classes, and other primary groups. Therefore, we have chosen this theme for an extensive analysis in this special issue of our Journal. Several outstanding Pakistani scholars have sharply focussed on this very theme.

We are also reproducing in this issue an erudite article by Mr. A. K. Brohi, an internationally reputed jurist-philosopher, and presently Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs highlighting the Quranic inspiration of Iqbal's philosophy. The article is based on his scholarly address delivered on the occasion of the Centennial Birthday Anniversary of Dr. Iqbal held on December 10, 1977 at Columbia University in the City of New York under the auspices of Pakistan Centre. We have also included a very perceptive though brief article by His Excellency W. S. Karunaratne, philosopher-ambassador of Sri Lanka in the U.S.A. with a sharp focus on the political philosophy of Iqbal. These articles are followed by a set of three scholarly papers by recognized Pakistani scholars dealing with the very question that we have raised earlier. Professor Shariful Mujahid examines in depth Iqbal's Synthesis of *Pan-Islamism and Nationalism*; Professor A. H. Dani deals with Iqbal's views on *Nation and Millat*; and Professor Manzooruddin Ahmed analyses in details Iqbal's Islamic universalism with reference to the Two-Nations Theory later elaborated by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Dr. Lini May, a recognized American scholar of Iqbal, has scanned through Iqbal's political career in the arena of Indian politics, but with particular reference to the politics of the Punjab—the heartland of Pakistan. Dr. Muhammad Yusuf Abbasi examines Andalusian themes in the poetical works of Iqbal. Dr. M. Khalid Masud, Senior Research Fellow at the Islamic Research Institute investigates thoroughly the background of Iqbal's famous lecture on *ijtihad*, a cardinal principle of Islamic jurisprudence. At the end, Dr. Hanif Fauq Qureshi, Professor of Pakistan Studies at the University of Ankara in Turkey critically evaluates Iqbal's assessment of Western thought.

The Journal of Pakistan Studies will be published twice a year, and during the period of intermission, a newsletter, The Survey will be issued from New York. The first issue of the Survey has already been published. The basic purpose of the Journal is to provide an academic forum for exchange of ideas among Pakistani and foreign

scholars concerning different aspects of Pakistani life. We shall endeavour to devote each issue of the Journal to a single theme for an indepth study.

We do not claim perfection as we are by nature imperfect. However, all our efforts shall be directed to do the best we can. The journal will be printed in Pakistan and published simultaneously from New York, and Islamabad.

We invite scholars of Pakistan Studies in Pakistan and abroad to submit their research articles to us for consideration of publication. We also invite Directors and Heads of Centres of Pakistan Studies, and other university departments, and research institutes to provide us with information regarding their ongoing and completed research works, and publications for inclusion in our *Survey*, and the Journal's section on *Notes and Communications*.

We also look forward to all the authors and publishers of books dealing with Pakistan Studies, South Asian Studies, Islamic Studies and Middle Eastern Studies to submit their publications for scholarly review by our panel of most respected authorities. For inclusion in our Review Section, authors and publishers should submit at least two volumes of each publication.

At the end we like to express our gratitude to all our members of the Advisory Board who have kindly agreed to cooperate with us in our academic venture. We also take this opportunity to express our thanks to our colleagues who have agreed to serve on our Editorial Staff in various capacities, However, we owe a special debt to Professor A. H. Dani of the Department of History of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, our Resident Editor in Pakistan without whose active cooperation the Journal could not see the light of the day.

We also feel obliged to express our deepest sense of gratitude for the patronage that has been accorded to us by General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, the President of Pakistan, Mr. Mohammed Ali, the Minister of Education and Culture, and Dr. M. A. Kazi, the Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan for a recurring annual grant and generous support to all our academic activities at Pakistan Centre.

January 22, 1979

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IQBAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO PHILOSOPHY*

A. K. Brohi

I have been asked to speak to you tonight on Iqbal's contribution to modern philosophy. The choice of the subject has been made by the sponsors of this evening's meeting. I hope it should be possible for us, on an occasion like this, to share an idea or two, because, no more than that is possible in the short-time that we have at our disposal. Whatever I may have to say may not fall precisely within the precincts of the subject as announced and with this constraint in mind I hope you will be generous enough to view my performance with tolerance.

The history of philosophy has one unique and distinctive feature as a subject of study as contra-distinguished from the study of any other systematised branch of human learning—say, for instance, study of science. In history of science too we study certain ideas that men have entertained touching and concerning the province of their study—Physics or Chemistry or Biology or as a matter of fact any other science. In strictly scientific fields the *newer* ideas or the *later* ideas, have the tendency in them to devalue if not totally supplant the operational value or the functional utility and significance of previous ideas. For example, if I was to lecture on history of astronomy in a University forum, I could go on talking about the conception of the universe that Copernicus had or Gallilio had or Newton had or Einstein had but then, as contra-distinguished from a lecture on philosophy, the later ideas would tend to displace the relevance and the pragmatic importance of the previous ideas that they have supplanted; the earlier ideas may have an academic interest but their *relevance* is not after all

* This is the tape-recorded version of the speech delivered at the Columbia University by Mr. A.K. Brohi, eminent Lawyer, Philosopher and scholar of Pakistan at the Iqbal Centenary Celebrations.

so great. Of course, all knowledge is provisional. No man that liveth can finally say what is the truth of things like. But mankind on its onward march in the direction of search for light has made tremendous strivings and hopefully he tends to believe that the later ideas in point of time reflect a truer conception of Reality. But this is not so in the history of philosophy. In history of philosophy the ancient ideas are not necessarily less important than later ideas that have received attention and elaboration at the instance of the thinkers who have formed them, reflected upon them, or elaborated them. This is so because when you deal with the ultimate questions, as contrasted from your dealings with partial aspect of human experience such as is appropriated by subject like Physics, Chemistry, Biology, etc., you are less sure of your ground. Empirical sciences, inductive sciences or sociological sciences are really built on, comparatively speaking, solid data, but this is not the case when you deal with the ultimate questions. When you are in the terrain of the ultimate—and what else is philosophy if not a concourse or communion with the ultimate—and strive to see life steadily and to see it as a whole, the attitude is different. In that view of things human situation being what it is, our perception of the ultimate has a certain degree of vagueness about it which is not easily capable of being supplanted and therefore there is really nothing new or original which is capable of being trotted out when we begin to deal with the history of that province of human study which we call its philosophy. If you study ancient Greek Philosophy for example, you come across certain intuitions and insights and fruits of metaphysical meditations of the ancient sages, which never seem to lose their freshness. Such is the sublimity of their expression, the grandeur and loftiness of their thought that they cannot easily be allowed to be passed over merely because later thinkers, whether in the middle ages or in more recent times or in a contemporary setting have tended either to criticise them or, in some sense, come to replace them with radically New ideas. A Plato or an Aristotle cannot be made out of date by any modern philosopher. No matter how omniscient be the mind that may be born in our own time and no matter how very radical or original be the approach with which modern mind might wish to answer the ultimate question it cannot eclipse completely the philosophical ideas of ancient philosophers. It was A.N. Whitehead who used to say that whole of European philosophy is to be regarded as a series of footnotes to what he had to say about the ultimate question in his time. And in that sense even on behalf of Iqbal, great as he is, it cannot possibly be claimed that he has made any *original* contribution—a contribution as to which it could be said that this had never been said before. At least in the two thousand years of recorded history of reflective thought each one of these thinkers in some sense is an heir-apparent to the thoughts that have been voiced forth before. But in another sense every succeeding thinker is also himself a progenitor of a certain way of thinking which has resulted in making a decisive contribution towards the coherence of thought. We associate great ideas with great system-making philosophers of the classical times and pay them our homage that they are the pioneers of perennial philosophy. But when all is said and done, no philosopher that I know of is available to whom you could say convincingly

that what he said is a unique and the distinctive contribution to the domain of philosophy—No he too, upon close examination, would be seen as writing a kind of footnote to what has been said before. He may elaborate it, and even offer a more comprehensive survey of a particular idea. He may show that he possesses such a powerful mind that it integrates certain elements in human thinking which at one time tended to appear as separate, as something not apparently inter-connected. But then, I dare say, analysis would show that in some sense he is resting his thought-system on what has gone before him. In an absolute sense, therefore, it is not possible to say about any philosopher, no matter how seemingly original he be that he could be described as having contributed something radically new to the domain of philosophy. It is true for instance when Newton was asked whether he felt he was wiser than Aristotle as he had subverted the theory of celestial mechanics as formulated by Aristotle, he said "Yes, I am wiser than Aristotle if only because I can take my stand on his shoulder". What in effect Newton was saying was that what he had felt and found is his legacy but mankind having lived in the intervening period of several centuries during the course of which the life of humanity had evolved he had been able to make the thrust of Aristotle in certain directions much more keen and pointed than it was before. For these reasons then we will not claim for Iqbal that his contribution to modern philosophy on the plane of absolute originality is available to us. This is true about other arts; the greatest painter that may be living today cannot produce a form of expression on the canvas as to which he could say that his style is something so novel that it has had no link with the history of painting. Here as elsewhere, despite that apparent concurrence of changes that have taken place, Form remains and Function never dies. It is impossible to draw the outline of a plant or an animal which in your reckoning is so original that it has nothing in common with the flora and fauna of our planet. Your sketches in some particulars may differ, combinations may differ, nuances may differ—but the primary elements that constitute the picture stay even as the Alphabet remain the same, although our compositions that use them do not remain the same. The alphabet of philosophic thought has an architypal reference and no one that liveth can conceivably claim that what he is saying is absolutely original. Having said that, in order to avoid any misunderstanding I should add that there are certain aspects of the philosophy of certain individuals which tend to highlight if not throw into bold relief, certain dimensions of the changing patterns of human thought and on that account they acquire a renewed historical significance. They acquire a new meaning in the context of the times in which a given thinker has had lived. That is why those who read their works are inspired and feel stimulated by them.

Speaking for myself my study of Iqbal shows that there are three co-ordinates of thought which go to define his position in the philosophic cosmos. His position in the 'philosophic cosmos' can be determined with reference to certain co-ordinates and I think you require at least three-co-ordinates in order to locate the specific station of wisdom attained by Iqbal to be able to decipher the uniqueness of Iqbal as a philo-

sopher in the philosophic cosmos. Just you have a physical cosmos, you also have the human cosmos; there is also the cosmos of the ideas, a cosmos in respect of which philosophy attempts to say something.

I think the first and the foremost co-ordinate which goes to determine the philosophic position of Iqbal is that it is *rooted in the soil of that way of belief, and practice which we associate with the religion of Islam*. He is essentially and fundamentally a *Muslim* philosopher; the trust behind his philosophy is that of the grand Muslim religious tradition. I would like this to be understood meaningfully : because he is a Muslim thinker, his thought, regarded from strictly a philosophic point of view, is up against a certain limitation. I will state the nature of this limitation first and then I will talk about a certain aspect of his thought which by reason of that very limitation has an expansiveness about it. And both of these points of view, I submit, are absolutely necessary to keep in mind if we wish to have, what might be called, a *stereoscopic view* of that many-splendoured mansion of thought which we associate with his name. The limitation on Iqbal is that the outer frontiers and the boundaries within which he moves and where he feels at home are determined by the *revealed word of God*. This is important: there is certain limit on the free play of his thought which is inviolable for Iqbal, and he cannot and dare not go beyond that; per contra, he must consciously stay within the circle of what the revealed word has ordained. Of course, the revealed word as used here has a larger meaning than what is conventionally associated with it within the framework of Islamic teaching. This is so because Islam takes religion to be founded on *revelation* but that revelation is a long process in the sense that it has continued from the dawn of time and came to its end when it received its stamp of maturity in the final message that came through the Prophet of Islam. And what is more, this process is coterminous with the history of mankind. There was no time when prophets of God did not visit the planet, there was no age, no clime, no region when the prophets did not come. They brought revelations from God. Islam says that this process of revelation is a permanent dimension of human history and has received final expression at the time when Islam came. This idea is suggested by the use of those words in the Quran "*Al-yoma acmaltu lacum deenakum*", which means "Today we have perfected your religion". So, not only the Scriptures of Abraham, of Jesus and of Moses, not only of the prophets that have been mentioned in the Holy Book that is the Quran, but practically all over the globe and in all times and in all places messengers of God have revealed to their people the truth in the light of which to live their lives. And that truth is a bed rock upon which whole edifice of the human civilization and culture as even aesthetic expression of the poets and the vision of men of God, is built. Beyond that truth we dare not and we cannot go. But in Godless times such as the present one when there is a rejection of the revealed word of God, for the Muslims, at any rate, this is a primary limitation that has been. And Iqbal is *stricto sensu* a poet whose fancy must roam within the framework of the revealed word of God and that in some sense tends to be his limitation. This is not the time to go into the larger question

whether mankind can afford to do without revelation? My own philosophic position is that it cannot. It will take too much of your time and my time if we were to embark upon disentangling the dialectical argument on the premises of which this contention can be comprehended. But for the revelation brought by the prophets of universal religion mankind would not have made any significant progress at all. We cannot deny that mere cerebral activity of man is not capable of conceiving anything which so much touches the fringes of that higher truth that man has to have for successfully conducting his enterprise of life. Unassisted by divine revelation that has reached us through the prophets of universal religion, mankind could not have possibly registered any fundamental progress. He would still perhaps be living in the caves and not even knowing how to wash his face. Thanks to the prophets of universal Religion, intimations have come to us in terms of which our outlook has widened. Our motivations and incentives for moral action have had a certain metaphysical or transphysical orientation. Next to the prophets—and this is my main point—in order of priority as redeemers of mankind, come what Carlyle used to call, “priests of humanity”. Who are these priests? They are the poets, they are the philosophers, they are the sages, they are the saints, they are the diligent crusaders in the cause of the higher truth—so that if the demand should come to defend these truths they would not hesitate to surrender their own life. Such people are the salt of earth, the martyrs of the human race. These and such other sons and daughters of the human race are the priests of humanity and their historical function is that within the framework of the revealed truth of God, having regard to the space-time contingencies and limitations within which they are called upon to vindicate the cause of Higher Truth they make available to us, in our own time, what universal truth would have us to do or avoid doing. All higher poetry even as all philosophy that is worthy of its name, is in the nature of sermon delivered by those Priests of Humanity. So second in order of priority and importance come priests of humanity. They are the *Mohiuddins*, the vivifier of the religious tradition. It is their office to serve as a kind of a cable cord for the light of the original word of God is made to pass to us and it is made to illuminate the dark recesses of our own earthly existence. It is to them that we owe such modicum of sweetness and light that we still have to live by; it is to these mentors that we owe the healing touch which has transformed life of humanity. It is to them that we owe such progress as we have made so far in civilization and culture. It is to them that we owe the very possibility of a worthwhile order emerging from what after all has been so often threatened by violence and forces of chaos. Iqbal too is a priest of humanity: in that role you do not understand him adequately unless you put him as a genuine spokesman of Moslem tradition. His greatness for us lies in the fact that he too sings about that universal truth which it has been the privilege of the prophets of the universal religion to bring to mankind. But he has presented that truth *in the vernacular of our age to help us to understand better our historical predicament*. All the mentors and guides of the human race and Iqbal in particular, in some sense, are the children of the age in which they live. Iqbal too lived in the age in which Indian Musalman was demora-

lised, politically he has subjugated. Some practices in the name of religion had gained ascendancy in the Indian Moslem Society which had nothing to do with religion of Islam rightly understood. It was necessary that these false accretions be eradicated; they had to be rubbed away as though they were false letters on the blackboard of history. People had become apathetic, they had lost incentives to heroic, noble, and decisive action. Thus there emerged in their midst a man who called their attention not to anything which was new. He was reminding them of their centuries old heritage. Indeed one of the charges against the Holy Prophet of God in his own Day was that he was all the time fond of recounting to the believers 'ancient tales'. The prophet said "But the truth is as old as God and God is "Abadi", He is beginningless and He is endless, what new truth can I bring". So Iqbal too did not bring anything new but he vitalized, activated and thus imparted a vital impulse to those truths which although they may have been there had lost their total relevance to life. After all truth, in the end, must serve life. There is no other test by which the truth of truth can be tested. There is no such thing as pursuing truth for the sake of truth if only because the truth in the persons stays undefined all the same. But you can pursue truth for the sake of life. Iqbal does not claim to say anything new but when he says that which we knew before he says it so attractively and presents it so charmingly that for first time the truth begins to dawn on us, as though we have never witnessed it before. That is the miracle that I assign to Iqbal. He is a past-master in quickening old truths to life.

Iqbal is a poet-philosopher; as a poet he is endowed with a delicate sensibility, he throws out a delicate filament out from himself that vibrates to the touch of the great cosmic forces—the internal mystery of mind or inner moral consciousness and the outer mystery of stars in the heavens and many other mysteries with which we are surrounded. The whole life is miraculous; our growth is miraculous. I open my eyes and I see the universe; I close them universe disappears. I wish to raise my hand up and it goes up, I want to bring it down, it comes down. No philosopher, no scientist has been so far able to explain how this miracle takes place. No student of modern philosophy and psychology has been able to explain this simple phenomenon. I have not come across anyone who has been able to offer a convincing explanation as to how when I want to raise my hand, my hand goes up. All they say is that this is a case of *ideo-motor activity*—as if a pompous and fussy word can explain anything. Ideomotor (idea becoming mobile) is all that they say. What is the explanation of the remarkable miraculous things that happen in our life, in our own growth in itself, our life of feeling, our experience of love, our wonder and one hundred and one other intimations that we more or less experience in the depth of our own souls? All these, I submit, stay as question marks and we have to strive to the best of our ability in the feeble lights of our powers of reasoning to resolve these problems. Therefore Iqbal being endowed with a delicate sensibility is able to plumb the depth of those mysteries—note the word "delicate" which is important word in this statement. Actually "aesthetics" which is ordinarily defined as science of beauty is a word which we use often enough but very few

of us know that it also means sensibility. You know what we mean by anaesthesia, for example—when a man is administered anaesthesia he is desensitised, i.e. his sensitivity is taken away from him. No wonder Chesterton used to say ‘sensitivity is a very definition of life’. What is the distinction between *living* and *dead* except that the alive one is sensitive the dead one is not. And he who is more sensitive is more alive, he is more Aesthetic. Aesthetic, that is perception of beauty, has something to do with our sensitivity. I wish I could run into oriental poetry and give you one hundred and one analyses in order to highlight this point but I have not much time and you do not have much inclination and patience,. As I have many other things to tell you, therefore, I cut that out also and I would like to focus your attention on that fact that because Iqbal was endowed with delicate sensibility his capacity to vibrate to the touch of mystery is great. In the absence of sensitivity a man would be completely wooden. I see many people who are completely wooden; nothing touches them—no matter how beautiful be the song, or wonderful, the painting, they stay as would a corpse. Now Iqbal is most alive, and my definition of aliveness is no other than he has tremendous capacity to vibrate to the mystery of the universe. But unlike other poets, and this my next point, his encounter is not with the concrete objects but with ideas. Milton would ask us to believe that all great poets are those who deal with the concrete, the tangible and elemental things. Here it is the dawn and its beauty, the sunset, the rainbow the procession of the seasons, the majesty and the grandeur of the stars, the diamond-studded sky, the face of beloved and so on. So it is with concrete things that the poet seems to fall in love with them and with the marriage that takes place children are begotten which we describe as their songs, their poems. The poet essentially is one who in his encounter with beauty becomes productive and the off springs of his productivity of his creativity take the form of a song or a poem. But Iqbal is not a poet in that category. I am generalising here, when I say: by and large, he is not that kind of poet. He is one of those unusual poets who falls not in love not with the concrete objects so much as he *falls in love with an idea*, and falling in love with the idea he proceeds to recreate it. In recreating it he so presents his beloved idea to us that it begins to attract us. The charm, the mystery of the world of thought is heightened by its interaction of the grandeur, the loftiness of his spirit. Unlike Most philosophers who are cold, detached in what they pretentiously claim to present as “objective truth”, Iqbal has the gift of presenting the ideas that have inspired him in such a way that they move us. Iqbal is essentially a poet of the idea; he is a philosophical poet *par excellence*. The nearest analogue to his poetry would be found in Dante, in Jallaluddin Rumi, even in Nietzsche—even though he was a materialistic poet—and in George Santayana—a Spanish poet-philosopher who taught in Harvard. I could give some other illustrations also.

But as I have not much time let me come to the last co-ordinate of Iqbal’s thought that I have still to talk about. And that has reference to the *universality of his appeal*. He is poet of Humanity, neither of the east nor of the west. I deny the fact that you

can look at Iqbal as an eastern or oriental poet or a western philosopher. One of the greatest curse of our own time is the geographical imagination which has destroyed us; somebody must belong to east then he is considered to be very very wise and somebody who belongs to the west must be treated as being a materialist or secularist etc. It is true that Iqbal was born in the east and his early education is in the east. It is equally true that he came here to the west, sat at the feet of great Hegelian masters who influenced him considerably and from where he drew lot of nourishment and to whom he showed great deal of gratitude including savants like Fredrick Neitzche and Hegel and Schoepenhaier. Indeed he was influenced by all the nineteenth century German Ontologists. Having pointed that out I would like to add the nearest one in German thought that comes close to Iqbal is Max Stirner. His well-known concept of "Khuddi" and of "self", has something to do with the views of Max Stirner. Iqbal had no hesitation in listening to the voices from the West. He regarded Germany as his spiritual home. And according to me, it was there that he exposed himself to great ideas. And so the whole earth was his prayer carpet. Was it not? One of the greatest things which we associate with prophet of Islam, the last Prophet of God, is this *universal outlook*. When he was asked to say what was distinctive feature of his historical role as a Prophet he enumerated six distinctive attributes but the outstanding of these according to him was that whereas in other religions there are defined areas where worship can be articulated, the churches and the Synagogues and the Temples, but in Islam the whole earth has become a prayer carpet and you can serve God wherever you like. As the Quran says "Indeed, my earth is very wide and you can serve me where you like, till conviction come upon you that I am worthy of your worship". Therefore to a believer like Iqbal who believes in one God—who is both God of east and of west, who is the First and the Last, the Hidden and the Manifest, there are no partition walls between east and west. Iqbal is a transcendent figure in that he reaches a point which has beyond the world of the east and of the west. He is a poet of Humanity and his universality lies in this. Although he is nurtured in the tradition of Islam, because Islam itself is universal, his expansiveness is co-terminous with the expansiveness of Islam. That I began by saying is an important feature to note his limitation is that he is bounded by the revealed word of God. He cannot go beyond that which is admissible to him but then even this admissible margin is fairly wide. It is on that account that Iqbal can be read in East or in Germany as much as he can be enjoyed and read in the United States. It is difficult for us to enjoy Chinese music and if you want to cultivate acquaintance with Chinese music you will have to put up hard work. Of course, in the end you will be able to enjoy the Chinese music. This is so because China man is also human and whatever is human is my heritage if only because I am myself a man. To that extent I too have the possibility of gaining excess to Chinese music. But the barriers that beset the way of those who mean to have access to the world of Chinaman are practically insurmountable for the non-Chinese and therefore the efforts have to be much greater. In the case of understanding Iqbal that much of labour is not necessary. Anyone who belongs to this age is apt to call

him the poet of tomorrow. His thought was ahead of his time, for all of us Iqbal has a message. In one sense it is not Iqbal's message as it is God's message that came to mankind on the authority of the prophet of Islam. But as that message had to be made available to modern man Iqbal presented it in the language which modern man could understand. He applied his sensitivity to the readers to understand that message. He applied his power of persuasion as a philosopher to highlight the argument inherent in the message. He succeeded in presenting universal principles of Islam in a form which is acceptable to us in our age.

There are three types of men in this world. First type is that of a spider; some people are always like spiders, such is their mental make-up that they take out filaments from within themselves; they have imagination, generally false imagination, they build castles in the air, and are engaged in day-dreaming all the time. There is the other type, the encyclopaedists we call the ants; you know, they collect grain from here and there and hoard the same, this gives them the satisfaction that they are the *creators*. But the third one which is the superior-most type is the honey bee. And what is the virtue of a honey bee? It goes to flowers, bitter flowers as also sweet flowers, fragrant blossoms as also pungent odoured ones and they suck nectar out of those flowers and somehow get it transformed in their being and they vomit it out as honey and what they take out is not what they take in, and in that as Quran says "there is the cure of the people". The status of the honey bee according to the Quran is that what it produces after going to flowers and plants of all kinds and hues, it nevertheless manages to suck nectar out of them. At least in the old Arab Pharmacopeia there was no disease that an Arab could not cure with honey. It is an antiseptic of high potency. All the great poets are also like the honey bees: they go to all sorts of aesthetic sources and as they are endowed with a delicate sensibility, they are able to recreate their impression as emotional response, And it is this that is able to have emotional impact upon us. They are in a way the physicians of the human soul. There was a man who had a large library. He advertised that he would give big reward to any one who could inform him how best to call his library; ultimately his choice was that he called the library by a very alluring and attractive appellation and that was "healing place of the soul". All great poets, all great philosophers even as our saints and sages and mentors of the human race and the warriors of the human spirit provide for the human soul, what Watson once described as "gift of rest". Watson in paying tribute to Wordsworth uses those memorable words "Thou hath had for the weary feet gift of rest". Iqbal is a heroic, salutary and a noble figure and undoubtedly is what Carlyle called "priest of humanity". I think he is a star of first magnitude in the firmament of twentieth century's philosophers and poets.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MOHAMMAD IQBAL

by

W. S. Karunaratne

The humanism of Iqbal is best reflected in his political philosophy which has a refreshing relevance to the solution of some of the major problems of our time. This philosophy is informed and inspired by his understanding of Islam which offers a corpus of positive social and political thought with a capacity to make a total claim on the life of the individual and society. Iqbal affirms the Islamic concepts of the unity of humanity and the oneness of mankind which form the basis of the equality and brotherhood of man in society. Islamic congregational worship emphasises the need for social and political cohesion on the basis of shared beliefs and ideals. This effectively ensures the distinctive identity of Muslims wherever they live and work. In history Muslims have been able to realise their religious, social and political objectives only within organisations consistent with their own ideology exemplified, in its ideal form, by the caliphate in early Islam.

The modern nation-states based on nationalism are considerably removed from the universalism that inspired the classical caliphate. But Islamic 'nationalism' is qualitatively different from all forms of contemporary secular nationalism. Those who consider secularism and nationalism to be numerically identical appear to claim that a 'secular' ideology is superior to a religious ideology as the basis for the creation of a nation-state. The claim is flippant and is indicative of a supercilious attitude to

spiritual values and ideals. The claim is particularly belied by the Islamic ideology which accepts no rigid dichotomy or compartmentalisation between the secular and the religious. Religion is so intimately woven into the warp and the woof of the social, economic and political fabric of the Muslim people that it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish between the secular and the religious. The life and the labour of the Muslim and Muslima are determined and directed and influenced and moulded and judged and appreciated by the beliefs and practices of the religion of Islam. It is a totally integrated way of life and the history of Islam testifies to the fact that the creative genius of the Muslim peoples had been fulfilled largely under social and political conditions consistent with the framework of Islam.

The genius of Iqbal discerned in Islam an instrument of national unification of his own people once they were delivered from the bondage of colonialism. We can see no evidence of obscurantism in the way Iqbal defined Islamic nationalism in extra-territorial terms. He called upon his co-religionists to re-discover the meaning and relevance of Islam in order that they might fulfil themselves through it. In this sense he inspired the State of Pakistan which was brought into historic reality within a decade of his passing on.

The political philosophy of Iqbal is avowedly a reconstruction of the thought and practice of Islam consistent with the need of his time. In the midst of the dehumanising bustle of his day he found permanent refuge in the enduring principles of Islam which, in view of its universalistic appeal, continues to become relevant to each succeeding age. Iqbal combines, in harmonious integration, the egalitarian teachings of Islam and the enlightened principles of parliamentary democracy inherited by the modern world. He holds that the universality of Islam is consistent with the idea of the Islamic nation-state. In the strict Islamic sense, the basis of society is the *Umma* or community of Muslims irrespective of caste, class, race or nationality. This *Umma* is a universal concept and does not describe any particular community in the historic sense. With the abandonment of the *caliphate* in 1924, the Muslims were free to accommodate themselves to the historical necessity to accept and recognize 'nationality' as the basis of a number of Muslim states within which to realise the objectives of their Islamic ideals. Iqbal used this freedom born of historical necessity as well as the independence born of his genius to define in general outline the basic features of an Islamic polity. The rights of the individual and the civil liberties of society are duly enshrined within this polity. There shall be amity and concord, cordiality and fraternity and mutual confidence and respect between the Muslim and the non-Muslim. The orthodox *Ulema* is not allowed to dictate terms as this whim and fancy to the people of the State superceding their inalienable democratic rights. He views with positive disdain the obscurantism of those who seek, in the name of Islam, to foist on free peoples an unrealistic and untenable fundamentalist outlook and policy in the governance of state and society. He is an erudite philosopher conditioned by that which is

highest and best in the philosophical and humanist traditions of both the East and the West. He is a stranger nowhere, hence welcome everywhere. He welcomes free criticism and is not afraid of innovation. He is informed and inspired by the truly humanist spirit that seeks to bring about the regeneration of the individual and the reinvigoration of society consistent with principles acceptable to cultivated men the world over.

این جہاں چیست؟ صنم خانہ پندار من است
جلوہ او گرو دیدہ بیدار من است

ہمہ آفاق کہ گرم بنگا ہے او را
حلقہ هست کہ از گردش پرکار من است

IQBAL'S VIEWS ON NATION AND MILLAT

Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani

The year 1977 marked the birth centenary of Allama Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, the Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan,¹ who, in his poetry, gave a new interpretation of Islam in order to awaken the Muslims from slumber and inactivity to a new consciousness of *Millat-i-Islamia*. This *millat* (see below for its meaning) spirit soared high in his imagination and absorbed within it his earlier concept of nationalism that arose in his younger days out of his realisation of the bond of slavery under which his country was subject to British imperialism. His exhortation to activity was not just for liberation² movement but for higher absorption into the noble spirit of Islamic virtues and ideology. The stress on ideological exposition kept him busy for greater portion of his life and as he derived his inspiration from Islam, his writings had great appeal to the Muslims in general and to the Muslims of South Asia in particular. However, his appeal had no partisanship bias. His poetry has been popular equally among the Hindus and the Muslims, in the East and the West, because it is replete with universal love and humanism, yet Iqbal was a poet of the East, and his message had a special significance to those who believed, like him, in the renaissance of Islam. He began with the idea of breaking the bonds of slavery and singing the freedom of the country but that freedom was to resuscitate the old glory—the glory for him was associated with the undying civilisation of “Hindustan”—the civilisation that had become saturated with the lessons of Islamic history. It is this aspect of nationalism that shines in his early verses. Later Iqbal's deep study of the philosophy and religion of Islam turned him more and more towards an idealistic approach to life. And it is here that his *Qaumiyat* (nationalism) became identified with the concept of *Millat*. But this identification did not leave him unconcerned with the fate of the Muslims of South Asia.

His attitude to national liberation struggle stood steadfast with him and in his limited sphere he worked for the liberation of the *Millat* in South Asia that had fallen a prey not only to British imperialism but also to Western civilisation. He gave an expression to a new vision of an ideological state in which alone the *Millat* could fulfil its objectives. That state, no doubt, was to be earthly and in that sense it was national but that nation was not an end in itself. It was a means to the realisation of a new Islamic international order.

How these ideas crystallised in him and what were the stages through which Iqbal passed in his life are analysed below mainly on the basis of his Urdu poetry.³ But before we build up the evolutionary stages of his thought process, it is relevant to quote from his theoretical approach to the themes of Islam and nationalism which he developed in his maturer years and expressed in reply to a statement of Maulana Hus-sain Ahmed and published in *Ehsan* on March 9, 1938.

"I have used the word 'millat' in the sense of 'Qaum' (nation). No doubt, the word 'millat' has been used to mean law and religion in Arabic, and especially in the Holy Quran, but there exists in modern Arabic, Iranian and Turkish languages considerable evidence to show that the word 'millat' is also used in the sense of nation. In my writings I have generally used the word in the latter sense. . . . From remote past nations have been associated with countries and countries with nations. We are all Indians and are so called because we live in that part of the world which is known by the name of India. So with the Chinese, the Arabs, the Japanese, the Iranians etc. the word 'country' used in this statement is merely a geographical term and as such, does not clash with Islam. . . . Love of one's native land is a natural instinct and requires no impressions to nourish it. In the present day political literature, however, the idea of 'nation' is not merely geographical, it is rather a principle of human society and as such, the word 'country', when used as a political concept, comes into conflict with Islam . . . It was Islam and Islam alone which, for the first time, gave the message to mankind that religion was neither national and racial, nor individual and private, but purely human and that its purpose was to unite and organise mankind, despite all its natural distinctions. . . . *Qaum* means a party of men, and this party can come into being in a thousand places and in a thousand forms upon the basis of tribe, race, colour, language, land and ethical code. *Millat*, on the contrary, will carve out of the different parties a new and common party. In other words, *millat* or *Ummat* embraces nations but cannot be merged in them."⁴

These extracts will reveal that *millat*, in Iqbal's view, was a far higher concept than that of nation (*Qaum*). Nation in the geographical sense is acceptable to him but nation in the sense of the law of human society is abhorrent to him as it militated against the law of Islam. *Qaum* is also a narrow term while *millat* is extensive. When the term *millat* is used synonymous with *Qaum* it means to Iqbal only nation. In other

words, nation, as an object of worship, as is implied in the western sense, is unacceptable to Iqbal.

In this background it is not difficult to grasp the evolution of Iqbal's ideas on *millat* and *Qaum*. In fact, his ideas were formed according to the varying experiences that he gained in life.

First Stage

In this phase of poetic activity Iqbal contributed a good deal to show his great love for the country in which he was born and brought up. As the various aspects of this contribution have not been fully analysed, it is usually said that this phase of Iqbal's thought was "ephemeral."⁵ This is particularly so as the centre of the theme is the country of "Hindustan", where he regards himself as "Hindi" and exhorts the people to compose their differences. He is made an "ardent nationalist" probably in contrast to his later life when he devotes himself completely to Islam. Actually there is no reason to make such a contrast. Iqbal's poetry emerges from his innermost emotion and feeling for the geographical country and people among whom he grew.

For a Kashmiri poet the great Himalaya must have an attraction and in his poem *Himala* Iqbal speaks of the natural beauty of the majestic mountain. When he addresses it as *Fasil-i-Kishwar-i-Hindustan* or *Diwar-i-Hindustan*, he is astonished at its great height which by the way serves as a fortress wall for the defence of Hindustan. Only in the following lines he entreats the mountain to tell him of the simple life of old which was free from sophistication.

اے ہمالہ! داستان اس وقت کی کوئی سنا - مسکن آباؤں انسان جب بنا دامن تیرا .
کچھ بتا اس سیدھی سادی زندگی کا ماجرا - داغ جس پر غازہ رنگ تکلف کا نہ تھا .

This attraction for the greatest symbol of the land is a spontaneous reaction on the part of the poet but for the origins of his feeling of nationalism one has to turn to his another poem *Shama'* which arouses in him a consciousness of being not free as his country was subject to British imperialism—a necessary process to a realisation of national liberation spirit. He compares his days of freedom with the present enslavement which leads to impoverishment.

"Those days are gone when I had no knowledge of prison nor did I have my home under a mountain tree. But now I am a prisoner and I take prison to be a garden and so do I look upon the land of poverty as my country."

In the same poem he poignantly points out the cause of slavery when he compares his own differing attitude in different places of worship with the glow of light which shines equally whether it is in *Ka'ba* or in a temple:

یک بین تری نظر صفت عاشقان راز۔ میری نگاہ مایہ آشوب امتیاز۔
کعبہ میں، بتکدے میں ہے یکساں تری ضیا۔ میں امتیاز دیر و حرم میں پہنسا ہوا۔

This *maya-i-ashub-i-imtiyaz* (enormity of the mess of differences) is the real cause of disunity which has led to enslavement. This sense of the loss of freedom because of discord was a common sentiment that was occupying the mind of the educated people in the country. Iqbal had given an expression to this feeling. The sensitivity of the poet is so strong that he seeks freedom—freedom from the prejudices of race and colour. He seeks freedom in the unity of mankind and aspires to make the whole world his own country. Here for the first time the poet rises to the height of universalism, as can be seen in the following lines of *Aftab-i-Subh*:

“Courage for freedom may not end in the world,

Though whole of life may be chained in prison;

You have one eye for low and high,

So should I have similar power of the eye;

My eyes may be engrossed in the sorrows of others,

My heart may be free from distinction of lawful and customary;

My tongue may not be caught in racial differences,

The whole humanity be my nation and whole world my country.”

Again and again Iqbal urges to do away with the distinction between divine law and customary practice because the difference leads to the downfall of nations:

In *Taswir-i-Dard* he says;

اجاڑا ہے تمیز ملت و آئین نے قوموں کو

In *Khuftagan-i-Khak se Istafsar* he says:

واں بھی انساناں اپنی اصلیت سے بیگانہ ہیں کیا - امتیاز ملت آئیں کے دیوانے ہیں کیا ؟

Here significantly Iqbal is urging upon his people to understand the meaning of *millat*. Only when it is accepted in practical life, the nation can survive. Iqbal also refers to disunity and its cause. In *Sada' Dard* he is very emotional:

"I am burning and have no consolation of the heart,

Oh waves of the Ganges! drown me;

This land is full of discord,

How can there be unity in separated hearts ?

Its flowers have never got the scent of brotherhood,

Nor this garden ever heard the sweet melody of unity."

The cause of disunity is *firqa-bandi* (group factionalism) and hence in *Saiyyid Ki Loh Turbat* he warns people of its evil effects and asks them not to open their mouth for it. On the other hand one should write for unity and see that others are not hurt by one's utterance:

وانہ کرنا فرقہ بندی کے لئے اپنی زباں - چھپ کے ہے بیٹھا ہوا ہنگامہ محشر یہاں .
وصل کے اسباب پیدا ہوں تری تحریر سے - دیکھ! کوئی دل نہ دکھ جائے تری تقریر سے .

In *Taswir-i-Dard* the poet fitfully says:

شجر ہے فرقہ آرائی - تعصب ہے ثمر اس کا .

Communal animosity is the tree and prejudice its fruit.

In the following verses how beautifully he defines freedom and slavery and emphasises on love for humanity:

"If you understand, freedom is concealed in love,

And slavery is in differentiating between you and me;

Your good lies in not to be neglectful of your near ones

If you desire to live peacefully in the world.

Love of humanity is the wine that nourishes the heart,

From it have I learnt to be intoxicated without drink;

Love alone cures sick nations

And unveils concealed fortune of awakened nations.”

Again he urges on giving up prejudice:

تعصب چھوڑ ناداں ! دھر کے آئینہ خانے میں

He pinpoints the evil of one-sided view and deplors the god of false pride:

زمین کیا آسان بھی تیری کیج بیٹی پہ روتا ہے

غضب ہے سطر قرآن کو چلیپا کر دیا تو نے

زبان سے گر کیا توحید کا دعویٰ تو کیا حاصل

بنایا ہے بت پندار کو اپنا خدا تو نے

And so he makes up his mind to gather together the scattered beads and string them in one rosary:

پرونا ایک ہی تسبیح میں ان بکھرے دانوں کو

جو مشکل ہے تو اس مشکل کو آسان کر کے چھوڑوں گا

All these ideas come to him when he looks at the pitiable scene of Hindostan and he begins to cry. This is the most sorrowful line. ;

رلاتا ہے ترا نظارہ اے ہندوستان! مجھ کو

کہ عبرت خیز ہے تیرا افسانہ سب فسانوں میں۔

In the following stirring lines he forewarns his countrymen and exhorts them to think of the country and give up pride in ancient glory, live and work in the present. Or the

result will be complete effacement from the earth:

وطن کی فکر کر ناداں ! مصیبت آنے والی ہے
تیری بربادیوں کے مشورے ہیں آسمانوں میں
ذرا دیکھ اسکو جو کچھ ہو رہا ہے ہونے والا ہے
دھرا کیا ہے بھلا عہد کہن کی داستانوں میں
یہ خاموشی کہاں تک ؟ لذت فریاد پیدا کر
زمین پر تو ہے اور فریاد تری آسمانوں میں
نہ سمجھو گے تو مٹ جاؤ گے اے ہندوستان والو
تمہاری داستان تک بھی نہ ہوگی داستانوں میں

This is a highwater mark of Iqbal's early emotions expressed in poetic form and shows the undercurrent that moved him, worried him and urged him on to forewarn his countrymen from the impending doom. It is a positive form of nationalism arising from the conditions that prevailed in the country. The situation was unbearable and the environment intolerable. Hence one must build a New *Sivala* (Temple). It is addressed to the Brahmins—the learned elite of the country—a priestly caste, whose duty was not only to preserve the culture but also to preach a new idealism to the people. Was Iqbal chiding his own Brahmin ancestry? The gods of the Brahmins in their temples, who had preached enmity among people, had become old. Iqbal was bored of their quarrelous attitude and so he left all of them. He does not see god in the stone images but for him every dust of the land was sacred. Such concepts of gods which breed hatred and enmity have no value. It was time to rise higher than the worldly holy places and seek solace high in heaven. It was time to build a new temple of love, in which alone lie peace, progress and salvation of the country.

In his *National Song for Hindostani Children* Iqbal is recounting the salient points of history to remind them of the type of the country to which they belong—a country characterised by different patterns of history: first of all, the teaching of the message of God by the Chishti saints and singing about the unity of God by Nanak; secondly, the country where settled the Tartars and the Hejazis; thirdly, the country which astonished the Greeks and spread knowledge and skill in the whole world; fourthly, the country so rich in fertile soil that it filled the treasure of Turks with diamonds; fifthly, the country which brightened the star fallen from Iran; sixthly, the country where the song of the unity of God was heard by the whole world; and lastly, the country having long traditions associated with three great Prophets. Two things

are uppermost—the glory and the wealth of the country, enhanced by the concept of *Wahdat* (Unity of God). Here the feeling of nationalism is heightened by the ideology of *Wahdat*. Iqbal wishes the children to understand clearly these two aspects of the country.

On the other hand in *Tarana-i-Hindi* it is love of the country that comes up so spontaneously. Everything of the country was lovable and hence Hindostan is the best country in the whole world. Only two historical events are recollected—first, the advent of Islam, and second, the survival of this country although civilisations of Greece and Rome were dead. The greatest lesson that he imparts is that religion does not preach enmity among men. He is proud to call himself Hindi, a concept which he continues to use even later in geographical sense. But the last couplet of this poem is very significant:

اقبال کوئی مجرم اپنا نہیں جہاں میں
معلوم کیا کسی کو درد نہاں ہمارا

In the first line he reminds that there is no intimate friend in the world and in the second line he refers to the sorrow concealed within his heart. What is this sorrow? This could be understood only in the background of his poem *Taswir-i-Dard*, in which he has shown his concern over the prevailing condition of slavery and poverty in the country and urged the people to give up prejudice, think of the country and have faith in the love of humanity that alone cures the sick nations. Thus this *Tarana* plays a significant stage in the evolution of Iqbal's thought. Although this is regarded as a nationalist poem, yet his nationalism does not become an object of worship. His nationalism is surcharged with other human and divine values which are more important for Iqbal, as can be seen in other verses of this period. It would therefore be completely wrong to say that this phase of national spirit was "ephemeral". It is one kind of experience that the great poet gathered to express his emotions of the time. But his belief in humanism, his faith in the unity of God and his search for love were undaunted. His nationalist feelings arose from his love of the native land where he was born but they were subservient to the higher values of life. It is to these higher values that he turned in the second and following stages of his life.

Second Stage

This stage of Iqbal's thought can be built up from the ideas contained in the poems included in the second part of *Bang-i-Dara*—the poems which were composed between 1905 and 1908—the period of Iqbal's stay in Europe. In most of his poems love of humanity, eternal search for love and his final realisation of *Kamal-i-Wahdat* are the running theme. This realisation is powerfully expressed in his poem *March 1909*, by

which time Iqbal had fully understood the hollowness of Western Civilisation and found his deep faith in the eternal message of God, which, he believed, will again enlighten the world.

The hollowness of the West is delineated in the following oft-repeated lines:

دیوار مغرب کے رہنے والو خدا کی بستی دکان نہیں ہے
 کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رہے ہو وہ اب زرکم عیار ہو گا
 تمہاری تہذیب اپنے خنجر سے آپ ہی خود کشی کریگی
 جو شاخ نازک پہ آشیانہ بنے گا، نا پائیدار ہو گا

The same poem also shows his firm determination to lead his fatigued people in the darkness of the night, where his breath will shower burning fire and his cry will raise a chorus of rebellion. The West taught him only the vanity of its civilisation and his search for the truth in Europe was in vain while he had a glimpse of it in Hindostan:

Iqbal gives an idea of this glimpse in one of his *ghazl* of this period:⁶

In another *ghazl* he goes a step forward and reveals his total disenchantment with the West and its ideas of territorial nationalism:

“On heart! this is a strange country. How can you have companions of similar thought? Here you ask for a thing which has never been sold but which has been shaped differently by the Prophet of Arabia and which alone is the foundation of our *millat*. But alas! there is no unity in the country. It is a fraud to take pride in different places. Truth is in every thing.”

In the historical poem on the *Island of Sicily* Iqbal talks of the same lesson of Islamic Culture and perhaps for the first time uses the word *Qaum* in the sense of Muslim Nation.

تو کبھی اس قوم کی تہذیب کا گہوارہ تھا
 حسن عالم سوز جس کا آتش نظارہ تھا

This consciousness of Islamic Culture became an abiding tendency in Iqbal. Sicily was just an example—a stage. But the culture is universal. Iqbal is himself moving around it. He aspires to be coloured in its ancient hue so that his heart is aglow with the spirit of the glorious past. This present of the Islamic Culture he wants to carry

with him to Hindostan so that the people over there may weep over its present fate as he himself is crying now: 7

The meaning of this culture is beautifully expressed in his poem *Payam-i-Ishq*, where Iqbal explains the place of individual in the society and identified his *Qaum* with *millat*. Individual for him should merge in the *millat*. Significantly he refers to the communal rivalry in India, the root of which lay in the worship of the gods. He desires to save himself from the gods of communal animosity and become a dust in the path of Hejaz. This very meaning is repeated in a long poem on *Shama'* composed in his third phase:

آبرو باقی تیری ملت کی جمعیت سے تھی
 جب یہ جمعیت گئی - دنیا میں رسوا تو ہوا
 فرد قائم ربط ملت سے ہے تنہا کچھ بھی نہیں -
 موج ہے دریا میں اور بیرون دریا کچھ نہیں -

“Your respect is conserved in the institution of *millat*,

When this institution was lost, you lost yourself in the world,

Individual himself is nothing, he exists in *millat*,

Waves are in the ocean, outside they are nothing.”

Third Stage

This stage which starts from Iqbal's return from Europe in 1908 made him absorbed completely in *Gham-i-Millat*, as is expressed in his poem *Goristan-i-Shahi*. His visit abroad had opened his eyes to a vaster world and he could now sing in the tune of *Bilad-i-Islamia*, in which he talks of *millat-i-Islam* and *Qaumiyat-i-Islam*. Significantly he writes:

ہے اگر قومیت اسلام پابند مقام ہند ہی بنیاد ہے اس کی فارس نہ شام

It is in this period and under the same strain that he could compose *Tarana-i-Milli*, which may be compared with his earlier composition *Tarana-i-Hindi*. In the present poem he again talks of *watan* but this *watan* embraces the whole world, as opposed to just Hindostan, which was the best country in the earlier poem. In the present poem he is overwhelmed with the concept of *Tauhid* (Unity of God), on the

basis of which Muslims spread east and west, made sacrifices to keep alive the message of God and this faith alone drives the caravan of the Muslims onward to their goal. In the earlier poem Iqbal's horizon is limited to the geography of Hindostan, the majesty of its natural mountains and rivers, and its problems of disunity.

In the following *Qita'* he laments over those Muslims of Egypt and Hindostan, who, having fallen a victim to the influence of Western Civilisation, are destroying the foundation of the *millat*. These self-centred Muslims fondly take the West as their friends and would not listen to the old theme of Iqbal:

کل ایک شوریدہ خواب گاہ نبی پہ رو رو کے کہہ رہا تھا
 کہ مصر و ہندوستان کے مسلم بنائے ملت مٹا رہے ہیں
 یہ زائرانِ حریمِ مغرب ہزار رہبر بنے ہمارے
 ہمیں بھلا ان سے واسطہ کیا جو تجھ سے نا آشنا رہے ہیں
 غضب ہے یہ مرشدانِ خود بین خدا تیری قوم کو بچائے
 بگاڑ کر تیرے مسلموں کو پہ اپنی عزت بنا رہے ہیں
 سنے گا اقبال کون انکو یہ انجمن ہی بدل گئی ہے
 نئے زمانے میں آپ ہم کو پرانی باتیں سنا رہے ہیں

Iqbal desires his fellow Muslims to desist from following the West because the western concept of civilisation was different from that of Islam. His long stay in Europe had given him enough experience to understand the meaning of *wataniyat* (nationalism) in its political form and it is this form, in which nations are at dagger's drawn, that Iqbal vehemently opposed. And therefore Iqbal reminds the Muslims again and again: this idol of *watan*, which is shaped out of modern civilisation, is an undoer of the house of Prophet's *Din*. The arms of the Muslims are strong with the strength of *Tauhid* (Unity of God). His country is Islam and he is Mustafvi. Hence Iqbal advises the Muslims to be free from bondage to a land as it leads to destruction. To be free from servitude to a land is to be in an ocean like a fish:

ہو قید مقاسی تو نتیجہ ہے تباہی - رہ بحر میں آزاد وطن صورت ماہی

Iqbal is opposed to the idea of political nations because in them God's humanity gets divided and it cuts the root of *Qaumiyyat-i-Islam*:

اقوام میں مخلوق خدا بٹتی ہے اس سے
 قومیت اسلام کی جڑ کٹتی ہے اس سے

This opposition to this concept of *watan* does not mean that Iqbal repudiated his being *Hindi*, which he always used in geographical sense. The concluding couplet of his famous poem *Shikwa* gives the correct version:

عجمی خم ہے تو کیا - مے تو مجازی ہے میری
نعمہ ہندی ہے تو کیا - لے تو مجازی ہے میری

In several other poems as in *Masjid-i-Qartaba* he accepts that he is Hindi:

کافر ہندی ہوں میں دیکھ میرا ذوق و شوق

But this realisation was not to limit a Momin to a place. In *Bal-i-Gibrael* he says:

جہاں تہاں ہے میراث مرد مومن کا

And he further remarks that *Mard-i-Afaqi* (universal man), who is neither Chinese, nor Arab, nor Rumi nor Syrian, could not be accommodated in the two worlds.

In one of the poems written in London he urges the free man to liberate himself from the servitude to land—Egypt, or Hejaz, or Syria or Iran:

تو ابھی رہگذر میں ہے قید مقام سے گذر
مصر و حجاز سے گذر پارس و شام سے گذر

In *Tulu' Islam* he points out how greed has divided humanity: this is Hindi, Khurasani, Afghani or Turani. Man should inculcate brotherhood and love of man:

Thus Iqbal leads man to a battleground where *Din* and *Watan* are arrayed against each other—a battle of ideas of far greater importance than that of Khaibar:

بڑھ کے خیبر سے آگے یہ معرکہ دین و وطن

Iqbal's stress on *Din* is beyond comprehension of modern man. In his opinion, whether it is monarchy or democracy, when separated from *Din*, turns into *Changezi* (barbarity). In a verse in *Jawab-i-Shikwa* Iqbal defines *Qaum* on the basis of religion which gives unity of laws. In its absence the universe of stars cannot exist. In another poem on *Madhhab* he compares *Millat-i-Islamia* with European nations. The latter society depends on country and the counting of people in a country while the first society is based on the strength of religion. If *Din* is lost, social cohesion is gone, and

in its absence there cannot be *millat*. In another poem on *Bazm-i-Anjum* he again stresses on the feeling of universal law, in which alone lies the spirit of cohesiveness. Hence he exhorts man to have the spirit of brotherhood and love of man, to break the idols of race and colour and merge himself in *millat* so that there does not remain differences of Turani, Irani or Afghani: In *Dunya-i-Islam* he again sings of the unity of the Muslim world for the defence of the holy land, advises the Muslims to close their ranks from Nile to Kashghar, to give up the false notion of colour and race, whether Turks or Arabs. If race takes precedence over religion, Muslims will be blown away like dust from this earth. Hence he talks of refounding the institution of Khilafat for the unity of the Muslim world.

Fourth Stage

This aspect covers Iqbal's experience in the practical politics of the country. The stage may be introduced from a poem that appears under the caption of *Zarifana*, in which he forewarns the people of the East, who are enamoured with the West. He asks to have faith in their own tradition and culture and finally addresses the Shaikhs and the Brahmins of his own country to recall how time has thrown these nations from the glory of their heights to the lowest ebb because in the olden days there were unions of mutual love in which rules of fellow-feeling were duly observed. But today there is dispute of Urdu-Hindi or dispute over *Qurbani* and *Jhatka*.

This was not a new realisation on the part of Iqbal. In the very first stage when he wrote his poem on *Tarana-i-Hindi* he poignantly points out that religion does not teach enmity and in his *Naya Shivala* he vehemently exhorts the Brahmins to beware of the false gods who divide humanity. But now Iqbal has become mature. He has realised the fruitlessness of his vain hope of unity and marched ahead into the idealism of Islam which could alone strengthen the *millat*. This was a step forward to a new vision of life for the solidarity of the Muslims, and not "a change that had taken place in him", as is reflected in Iqbal's letter, written in 1909:

"I have myself been of the view that religious differences should disappear from this country (India), and even now act on this principle in my private life. But now I think that the preservation of their separate national entities is desirable for both the Hindus and the Muslims. The vision of a common nationhood for India is a beautiful ideal, and has a poetic appeal, but looking to the present condition and the unconscious trends of the two communities, appears incapable of fulfilment."⁸

Here Iqbal is talking of the solidarity of the Muslim rank, as is reflected in his poems of this period. He is definitely not talking in the sense of consolidating the

Muslims of South Asia in any one region or area, as is surmised by some.⁹ He is seeing the *Millat* in its practical shape in South Asia. But the form of the *Millat* is not yet perfected. In *Jawabi-i-Shikwa* he observes the presence of factionalism and caste distinctions and notes the glib talk on this subject.

During and after the First World War the issues that arose over the question of Khilafat moved Iqbal terribly and this emotion is graphically expressed in his poem on *Hilal-i-'Id*:

“Muslims are caught in the chains of factionalism,
Look at your freedom and their enslavement,
Lo! The Shaikh in mosque with his rosary of beads broken,
And the Brahmins in temple with their strong (ritual) cord,
Look at the Muslim laws of Kafirs,
And what a lamentation of a Muslim for a Muslim!
The ignorant Turks have demolished the structure of Khilafat,
How simple are the Muslims and how cunningly naked are others”!

In this period Iqbal wrote several poems to express his sentiments over the deplorable state of affairs of the Muslims in different parts of the world. The effect of European imperialism on the Muslim countries after First World War was terrible and Iqbal could not remain unmoved by these events. The pitiable condition of the Muslims spurred him to a new determination in his faith in Islam and he strove to give a new place to Islam in the modern world. For this he turned to new development in the Muslim world. Although Iqbal deplored the Turkish abolition of the Khilafat in the above-quoted poem, yet he was not opposed to a new movement in Islam. In his sixth lecture¹⁰ on “The Principles of Movement in the Structure of Islam” he fully discusses the new trends in Turkey, takes lesson from the Turks and tries to resolve their views and bring them in line with his own thought currents.¹¹ It appears that in practical politics Iqbal was willing to accept the lead of the Turks in making for a national solidarity. Commenting on the Turkish view of Khilafat Iqbal writes:

“To my mind these arguments, if rightly appreciated, indicate the birth of an international idea which, though forming the very essence of Islam, has been

hitherto overshadowed or rather displaced by Arabian imperialism of the earlier centuries of Islam."¹² Taking a lesson from the circumstance of the break-up of the Empire of Islam and existence of several Muslim states he says:

"For the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics. A true and living unity, according to the nationalist thinkers, is not so easy as to be achieved by a merely symbolical overlordship. It is truly manifested in a multiplicity of free independent units whose racial rivalries are adjusted and harmonised by the unifying bond of common spiritual inspiration. . . . Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a League of Nations which recognises artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members."¹³

Armed with this new national approach to existing conditions that faced the Muslim world Iqbal entered the politics of the country by accepting to stand for membership of the Panjab Legislative Assembly in 1926. In the election campaign he speaks of rendering *Amali Khidmat* (practical service) to the Muslims over and above the *Zahni Khidmat* (intellectual Service) that he has been doing so far and he assures to work for *aghras-i-Milli* (good of the Millat).¹⁴ In another speech delivered on 19 October he urges upon the Muslims to take deep interest in Indian politics and exhorts them to give up narrow-mindedness and have concord among them.¹⁵ Within the Assembly among many activities the most remarkable is his difference of opinion with the Unionist Party on the issue of rural versus urban tussle. He could not make any distinction between them as for Iqbal all Muslims belonged to one *Millat*.¹⁶ Outside the Assembly Iqbal participated wholeheartedly in the deliberations of the All India Muslim League and gave his full support to the Muslim demands. Nay his deep involvement with Sir Muhammad Shafi and Sir Fazli Husain brought him nearer to their views as is clear from his attitude towards Simon Commission and his finally joining the Shafi group of the Muslim League. Commenting on a resolution of the Panjab Provincial Muslim League regarding the Commission Iqbal said:

"The Panjab Provincial Muslim League examined the pros and cons of the whole issue and passed a resolution that the boycott of the Commission will be harmful to the interests of the country in general and to those of the Muslims in particular. In my opinion this resolution mirrors the sentiments of the Panjabi Muslims."¹⁷

This stress on the sentiments of the Panjabi Muslims does not originate from any Panjabi bias but from the fact that Panjab has been one of the Muslim majority provinces in the country but under the existing system the Muslims of Panjab could

not get their legitimate rights. In another statement issued in the name of five Muslim leaders on 8 December 1927 Iqbal said:

“These Muslims who have signed on the declaration of Mr. Jinnah mostly belong to those provinces where Muslims are in extreme minority. Their attitude cannot change or affect the policy of the Muslims of Panjab and Bengal.”¹⁸

This statement clearly brings out the conflict of interests in the Muslim ranks and although this is nowhere stated in the deliberations of the All India Muslim League yet it appears to have been one of the causes that led to the split of the League at this time. This conflict of interests is also seen in another statement¹⁹ issued by Iqbal on 4 September 1928, in which he commented on the decisions of the All Party Conference held in Lucknow. Significantly he says:

“The voice of Ali Imam may be true in tune with the mood and nature of the Muslims of his province (Bihar) but this argument does not hold good in the affairs of Panjab.”²⁰

In spite of the realisation of the special situation of the Muslims in the majority provinces Iqbal never forgot his mission for the goal of the Muslim *Millat*. The cause of all the Muslims was always in his mind. In his speech on 19 December 1929 he made the following remarks:

“If you do not pity on your own condition, for God’s sake do something to protect the rights of the coming generations of the Muslims. Burn all the (factional) stages and build one united stage. Before you go to the Round Table Conference, have one Conference. . . . First the Muslims should forge unity among themselves and then there will be unity among the Hindus and the Muslims.”²¹

These political considerations clearly bring out three factors: first, the realisation that the Muslims in the different countries of the world should first concentrate on their own national independence. Second, the Muslims of South Asia should unite for their future destiny, and third, this destiny was linked with the interests of the Muslims in the majority provinces. This last point is clearly brought out in the concept of the Upper India Muslim Conference, including the Muslims of Panjab, Frontier, Sind and Baluchistan. On 23 November, 1930, Iqbal made the following pertinent remark while presiding over a meeting:

“On the basis of the present situation the Muslims of Upper India, which should include representatives from Frontier, Baluchistan, Panjab and Sind, should meet in a Conference. The Muslims of these provinces should devise ways and

means to strengthen their hands and increase their activity for achieving the Islamic rights of the Muslims.”²²

The final goal was set in an appeal made by Iqbal and eleven other Muslim leaders on 19 December 1930 in the context of Upper India Muslim Conference:

“The Muslims of India, who are in such a great majority in these provinces, who were brought together here by the All-Intelligent, All-Knowable and All-Understable God, not without any reason, but for such a mission, which is becoming clearer day by day to the far sighted and intelligent persons. And it is necessary to exhort the Muslims for re-energising their efforts for the preservation of Islam and Muslims in India.”²³

Fifth Stage

The fourth stage has brought the realisation of the concept of a unitary area in the North West, which was destined to play a special role for the future of the Muslims in South Asia. This was a common realisation by the people of this area as a result of the political struggle that was then going on in the country. Dr. I. H. Qureshi²⁴ has traced the history of “the rise of separatism” in India from the time of Saiyyid Jamaluddin Afghani and also refers to Choudhry Rahmat Ali’s claim as early as 1915 in an address to Bazmi Shibli. But they appear to be mere ideas floated in a general frame of India. On the other hand at this time, because of impending constitutional search on the part of the British, an attempt was made to propose a scheme in a specific manner so that it could pave the way for a new constitutional order in the country. Such a constitutional proposal was first made as early as December 30, 1921, by Maulana Hasrat Mohani, in his presidential address to the fourteenth session of the All-India Muslim League, wherein he talked of “An Indian Republic” or “A United States of India”. He said:

“While the Musalmans, as a whole, are in a minority in India, yet nature has provided a compensation in the fact that the Musalmans are not in a minority in all the provinces. In some provinces, such as Kashmir, the Panjab, Sind, Bengal and Assam, the Musalmans are more numerous than the Hindus. This Muslim majority will be an assurance that in the United States of India, the Hindu majority. will not be allowed to overstep the limits of moderation against the Muslamans.”²⁵

This suggestion of Hasrat Mohani remained almost unheard until the present situation in late twenties created a new demand for constitutional solution of the problem. It is therefore no wonder that the same group of the Muslims in Panjab who

clamoured for Upper India Muslim Conference should go ahead in their scheme. The proposal was first presented in a concrete form with all the arguments in his welcome address²⁶ to the All-India Khilafat Conference by Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan on 31 December 1929. He said:

“India’s freedom and progress depends on the fact that Muslims should be given such an area in northern India which should consist of two or three provinces or be made one province. In this (province) Muslims should not be less than 80 per cent (of the population). In the same way, in eastern India, Bengal should be divided in such a manner that Muslims should form 80 per cent (of the population). Muslims themselves should, instead of rights, demand a (separate) country and a homeland.”

Exactly one year later on 29 December 1930 Iqbal presented this scheme in his famous presidential address to the twentyfirst session of the All-India Muslim League held in Allahabad. There may be difference of opinion in the interpretation of the main demand.²⁷ Such a difference of opinion can be seen even in the detail of this session as published by Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada,²⁸ wherein heated debates took place at the time of the presentation of the resolutions and some amendments moved by Dr. Jung. There was no resolution on this scheme. The difference rose to such a high pitch that Iqbal left the meeting. The scheme remained only in the address of Iqbal:

“The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a “Muslim India” within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is, to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole. . . . Personally, I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State, appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India. The proposal was put forward before the Nehru Committee. They rejected it.”²⁹

Three things are clear from this extract:

- (i) Iqbal speaks of the resolution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference for a “Muslim India”;
- (ii) As an alternative to that Iqbal proposed the idea of a Muslim State in the North West;

(iii) such a proposal was also placed before the Nehru Committee. In the preceding paragraphs the earlier presentation of similar proposal has been given and the causes that led to this situation has also been narrated.

Two issues remain to be answered. The first is how to reconcile this demand for a Muslim territorial state in North-West India with the idealistic concept of Islamic Millat. Both S.M. Ikram³⁰ and Dr. Waheed-uz-Zaman have explained in their own ways and tried to reconcile them. Dr. Waheed-uz-Zaman also quotes the passage from the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (see ante p. 29) and states that 'the creation of a separate Muslim state was envisaged as a temporary measure.' This conclusion is not necessary because the Turkish situation has led Iqbal to visualise a new kind of Islamic International order in which nations would play a definitive role. Under this order national state would not be a temporary measure but would be a part and parcel of a wider Islamic system. In any case this shows the source wherefrom the concept of a national state was borrowed.

The last issue in connection with this Muslim state is the observation of Mr. E. Thompson³¹ which has led some to conclude "that Iqbal later disowned what he had said at Allahabad." Dr. Waheed-uz-Zaman has refuted this charge on the basis of a letter which Iqbal wrote to the Times on October 3, 1931:

"... I am for a redistribution of India into provinces with effective Majorities or another on lines advocated both by the Nehru and Simon Reports. Indeed my suggestion regarding Muslim provinces merely carries forward this idea."

But the best answer is available in a letter by Iqbal to the Director of "Hamdam" before he went to attend the Third Round Table Conference. It was published in *Inqilab*, 26 October 1932. He writes:

جدا گانہ انتخابات کو غیر مشروط طور پر رکھ کر حکومت نے مسلمانوں کو موقع دیا ہے کہ وہ اپنا مستقبل آپ مستقل کر لیں۔ چاہیں تو اکثریت میں جذب ہو جائیں اور چاہیں تو کم از کم بعض حصص ملک اپنی جدا گانہ ہستی کو برقرار رکھ کر اپنے پاؤں پر کھڑے ہو جائیں۔ (۳۲)

"The (British) Government, by accepting unconditionally separate electorate, have given the Muslims a chance to decide for their own future: if they like, they can integrate into the majority community or at least in some areas of the country they could keep intact their separate existence and stand on their own legs."

The wording of this letter clearly shows that Iqbal kept up his Allahabad proposal in his mind and did not give it up. He was convinced of the separate Muslim

nationhood. As late as 19 September 1933 Iqbal, while making a statement on "pan-Islamism", remarked:

مسلمانوں کو اس بات کا اعلان کر دینے میں ہرگز پس و پیش نہیں ہے کہ وہ اپنے آپ کو منجملہ دیگر ہندوستانی اقوام کے ایک علیحدہ قوم خیال کرتے ہیں اور ایسا رہنے کے خواہشمند ہیں۔ وہ اپنے آپ کو ایک علیحدہ معاشرتی جماعت کی حیثیت سے قائم رکھنا چاہتے ہیں۔ (۳۳)

"Muslims should unequivocally declare that they regard themselves a nation separate from other nations in India and they like to live as such. They desire to exist as a separate cultural entity".

This final development of Iqbal's ideas is quite in keeping with his philosophy of Islamic Millat.

NOTES

1. This is actually the title of a book edited by Dr. Hafeez Malik, Columbia University Press, 1971.
2. *Ibid*, see L.R. Gordon-Polanskaya's article on Ideology of Muslim Nationalism, Pp. 108-115.
3. All references are to *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal*, published by Shaikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, Lahore 1977. Free translation of the urdu verses have been given by author himself.
4. Quoted in A.R. Tariq: *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, Lahore, 1973, pp. 229-246.
5. Parveen Feroze Hassan: *The Political Philosophy of Iqbal*, Lahore. 1970, p. 196.
- 6.

کمال ا وحدت عیاں ہے ایسا کہ نوک نشتر سے تو جو اچھیڑے
یقین ہے مجھ کو گر رگ گل ہے قطرہ انسان کے لہو کا
گیا ہے تقلید کا زمانہ، مجاز رخت سفر آٹھائے
ہوتی حقیقت ہے جب نایاں تو کس کو یارا ہے گفتگو کا
جو گھر سے اقبال دور ہوں میں تو ہوں نہ محزون عزیز میرے
مثال گوہر وطن کی فرقت کمال ہے میری آرزو کا

7.

درد اپنا مجھ سے کہہ میں بھی سراپا درد ہوں
جس کی تو منزل تھا میں اس کارواں کی گرد ہوں
رنگ تصویر کہن میں بھر کے دکھلا دے مجھے
قصہ ایام سلف کا کہہ کے تڑپا دے مجھے
میں ترا تحفہ سوئے ہندوستان لے جاؤنگا
خود یہاں روتا ہوں اوروں کو وہاں رلاؤنگا

8. Javid Iqbal, *Stray Reflections*, Lahore, 1961, Introduction, xxi.
9. See James B. Prior, 'Iqbal's View of "Islamic Nationalism"' in Javid Namah, in M. Saeed Shaikh, *Studies in Iqbal's Thought and Art*, Lahore, 1972, p. 383.
10. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore, 1977, pp. 146-80.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-62.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
14. M. Rafiq Afzal: *Guftar-i-Iqbal*, (Urdu) Lahore, 1969, pp. 16-17.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
16. Parveen Feroze Hassan, *Op. Cit.*, p. 344.
17. Rafiq Afzal, *Op. Cit.*, p. 52.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-72.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
24. *The Struggle for Pakistan*, Karachi, 1965, pp. 117-125.
25. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada: *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. I, Karachi, 1969, p. 559.
26. M. Rafiq Afzal, 'Origin of the Idea for a Separate Muslim State' in *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, Vol. III, 1966, pp. 177-82. This address is not included in K.K. Aziz, *The Indian Khilafat Movement (1915-1933), A Documentary Record*, Karachi, 1972. I had the pleasure of consulting the English rendering of the whole Urdu text by Dr. Muztar of National Commission On Historical and Cultural Research.
27. See Dr. Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan*, pp. 132-33, where he differs from Dr. I. H. Qureshi, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 121-22.
28. *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 153-76.
29. A.R. Tariq, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 11-12.
30. *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1965, pp. 173-80; Dr. Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 144-45.
31. For discussion see *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35.
32. M. Rafiq Afzal, *Guftar-i-Iqbal*, pp. 163-64.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-79.

1. David Ignatius, *Spies Without Borders*, 1977, Introduction, xxi.

2. See James H. Potter, "Ideals, Values and Ideology in the Islamic Revolution," in M. Saad Shakir, *Islam in the 21st Century*, London, 1977, p. 363.

3. The Revolutionary Front of Bangladesh, *Thoughts on Islam*, Lahore, 1977, pp. 146-80.

4. Ibid., pp. 146-80.

5. Ibid., p. 158.

6. Ibid., p. 159.

7. M. Hafeezullah, *Islamic Revolution in Bangladesh*, Dhaka, 1977, pp. 14-15.

8. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

9. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

10. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

11. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

12. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

13. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

14. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

15. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

16. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

17. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

18. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

19. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

20. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

21. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

22. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

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24. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

25. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

26. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

27. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

28. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

29. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

30. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

31. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

32. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

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34. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

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38. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

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40. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

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52. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

53. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

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56. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

57. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

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59. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

60. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

61. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

62. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

63. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

64. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

65. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

66. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

67. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

68. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

69. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

70. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

71. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

72. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

73. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

74. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

75. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

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78. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

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80. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

81. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

82. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

83. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

84. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

85. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

86. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

87. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

88. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

89. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

90. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

91. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

92. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

93. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

94. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

95. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

96. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

97. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

98. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

99. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

100. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

چین و عرب ہمارا ، ہندوستان ہمارا مسلم ہیں ہم ، وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا
توحید کی امانت سینوں میں ہے ہمارے آسان نہیں مٹانا نام و نشان ہمارا
دنیا کے بتکدوں میں پہلا وہ گھر خدا کا ہم اسکے پاسباں ہیں وہ پاسباں ہمارا
تیغوں کے سائے میں ہم پل کر جوان ہوئے ہیں خنجر ہلال کا ہے قومی نشان ہمارا

MUSLIM NATIONALISM: IQBAL'S SYNTHESIS OF PAN-ISLAMISM AND NATIONALISM

Prof. Sharif al Mujahid

Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) was a man of great many ideas—sublime and serene, dynamic and romantic, provocative and profound for most of the time. He was both a great poet and a serious thinker at the same time; but in poetic works lies enshrined most of his thought. It seems rather platitudinous to say, but it is important to note, that a poet is essentially a man of moods, and enjoys a sort of poetic license which is scrupulously denied to a prose-writer. Since a poet usually gives utterance to his reactions to a given situation, his utterances and ideas need not always be compatible with one another. Such was the case with Iqbal as well.

During his poetic career, spanning some four decades, Iqbal had imbibed, approved, applauded and commended a great many ideas—ideas which occupied various positions along the spectrum on the philosophic, social and political plane. Thus, at one time or another, he commended or denounced nationalism; propagated pan-Islamism and world Muslim unity; criticised the West for its materialism, for its cut-throat competition and for its values while applauding the East, its spiritualism and its concern for the soul; and condemned capitalism while preaching “a kind of vague socialism”.¹ While, on the one hand, he steadfastly stood for “the freedom of *ijtihad* with a view to rebuild the law of *Shari'at* in the light of modern thought and experience”, and even attempted to reformulate the doctrines of Islam in the light of twentieth century requirements *a la* St. Augustine, he, on the other, also defended the

orthodox position and the conservatism of Indian Islam on some counts. Though "inescapably entangled in the net of Sufi thought",³ he yet considered popular mysticism or "the kind of mysticism which blinked actualities, enervated the people and kept them steeped in all kinds of superstitions" as one of the primary causes of Muslim decline and downfall.⁴

It is to this aspect of Iqbal that Professor Hamilton A.R. Gibb was referring when he suggested,

Perhaps the right way to look at Iqbal is to see in him one who reflected and put into vivid words the diverse currents of ideas that were agitating the minds of Indian Muslims. His sensitive poetic temperament mirrored all that impinged upon it—the backward-looking romanticism of the liberals, the socialist leanings of the younger intellectuals, the longing of the militant Muslim Leaguers for a strong leader to restore the political power of Islam. Every Indian Muslim, dissatisfied with the state of things—religious, social, or political—could and did find in Iqbal a sympathizer with his troubles and his aspirations and an adviser who bade him seek the way out by self-expression.⁵

Be that as it may, there was yet one underlying theme in his thought and action throughout the whole span of his active life that held together his thoughts and ideas, diverse though they might be and were—viz., the rehabilitation of Muslims in the contemporary world.⁶ It is not usually recognized that it was this goal that led him to develop the passion for Islam and to work and yearn for an Islamic resurgence in the twentieth century. His arrival at this higher ideal indicated his recognition of the fact that the regeneration of Muslims could not be accomplished but only within an Islamic framework, nor could it be brought about without an Islamic resurgence. Once Iqbal came to recognize this basic fact, he began seeing the travails of, and the calamities suffered by, Muslim peoples in a new perspective, even considering them as the harbinger of a new dawn. For instance, consider his comment on the defeat and desolation of the Ottomans in the First World War:⁷

اگر عثمانیوں پر کوہِ غم ٹوٹا تو کیا غم ہے
کہ خونِ صد ہزار انجم سے ہوتی ہے سحر پیدا

What does it matter—If a thousand calamities befell the Ottomans?
After all—out of the destruction of a hundred thousand stars does the Dawn
emerge!

In any case, it was his devotion to the cause of Muslim regeneration that led him to adopt various political philosophies at various stages in his life. Without

attempting to identify the numerous currents and cross-currents in his political thought, one may still pinpoint three important bench-marks, each representing a distinct phase and philosophy but not merging into the other. For the sake of convenience, these may be termed as the nationalistic, pan-Islamic and Muslim-nationalism phases. The rest of the paper attempts to discuss how Iqbal arrived at the last phase via the earlier ones.

It is common knowledge that Iqbal entered the corridor of Fame as a nationalist poet. In this phase, he was profoundly influenced by the spirit of nationalism abroad, and gave eloquent utterance to feelings of patriotism. He sang of India, its rivers, its mountains, its countryside as well as of its glorious past and its cultural heritage. In the same vein were cast the trilogy—*Tarana-i-Hindi*, *Hindustani Bacchon Ka Oaumi Geet* and *Naya Shiwala*. Not only did Iqbal laud India to the high skies, putting her on a pedestal higher than Greece, Egypt and Rome⁸—the chief citadels of ancient civilization; he also saw divinity “in each speck of the country’s poor dust”.⁹ Alongside, while his constant refrain was that religion did not preach “enmity” (*دشمنی*)¹⁰, he even accused “our God” of setting “his preachers to scold and to revile”.¹¹

This phase came to an abrupt end after Iqbal’s visit to Europe, 1905-8. Before his European sojourn, Iqbal had opted for nationalism because he felt that the regeneration of Indian Muslims lay in their marching together with other communities towards a nationalist dispensation—in the raising of “a new altar” (*Naya Shiwala*), without reference to religion. But, now, as events from the Bengal partition (1905) days indicated even his fellow Muslims in India were having and exhibiting serious mental reservations about the sort of nationalism preached and propagated from the predominantly Hindu Congress platform. True to his grain as a poet mirroring his people’s hopes and fears, ambitions and aspirations, Iqbal was also inextricably caught up in this wave of Muslim skepticism about Indian nationalism.

Besides, his grounding in Western philosophy, his initiation into modern Western thought and his close contact with Western life seemed to have acted as a catalyst, enabling him to perceive things in a wider perspective and in clearer terms. From the vantage point of an European base, Iqbal could easily see that the onward march of nationalism had bred racialism in several Muslim countries. Under the impact of nationalism and in order to build up their own separate nationalistic altars, the Turks, the Egyptians, the Iranians and the Arabs had tended to emphasize their particular racial origins and their racial separation from each other, thereby rivening the Islamic concept of *ummah*, enfeebling the Muslim world and, in consequence, laying it all the more open to Western designs, aggression, and exploitation.

What, then, was the remedy? It lay in Muslims holding together—in pan-Islam. An answer to this question had been attempted by Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-

Afghani (1839-96) a few decades earlier, and despite the march of events in the previous two or three decades, the Afghani legacy still dominated the Muslim mind to the point of becoming its magnificent obsession.¹² This was particularly true of Indian Islam—as evidenced by their reaction to the unprovoked Italian raid on Tripoli (1911), the Balkan War (1912-14) and the still later Khilafat question (1918-24).¹³ Despite the dizzy heights that Iqbal had often times reached in the realm of philosophy, religion and poetry, he was essentially a product of Indian Islam. Not only could he not shed the Afghani legacy; he was also a great admirer of Afghani—as several of his later poems indicate.¹⁴

Little surprising, then, that like Afghani, Iqbal came to the pan-Islamic ideal in response to a desperate situation confronting the Muslim world. The credo of the Young Turks, the revolt of Sharif Husain of Makkah (1916), the Sykes-Picot Pact (1916) stipulating the division of conquered Ottoman territories among the victorious Allied powers, the iniquitous Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917 establishing a “national home” for the Jews in Palestine, and the earlier (1907-9) strangulation of the Persian constitution—all these events portended that not only had the Muslim peoples, now isolated from one another, become a convenient target of Western designs but that mundane Islam itself had also reached its nadir. Hence Iqbal’s chastisement of Muslims for becoming race-conscious and race-oriented, his exhortation for the building up of a single *millat* or *ummah*, and his clarion call to Muslims to unite for the defence of *Baitul Haram* from the banks of the Nile to the frontiers of Kashgar.¹⁵

While commending Islam as the supreme bond between Muslims, Iqbal denounced the concept of *Watniyat*¹⁶ (nationalism) which, he felt, had divided Muslims and riven the Muslim world. Nationalism and pan-Islamism, it may be remembered, are competing ideologies—the one founded on the communality of race, language and territory, and the other on the common legacy of a universal religion, and a cosmopolitan culture. They do not represent the two ends of a continuum, but a dichotomy. Hence Iqbal’s abandonment of nationalism for pan-Islamism represents a radical shift in his position, and not an evolution of his thought.

Although Iqbal held to his pan-Islamic orientation for over two decades, a keen observer of Muslim affairs such as he was, he could not have escaped perceiving the harsh fact that his panacea of pan-Islam in its idealistic and classical form was not propitious or relevant in the Muslim world situation of the ‘twenties. For good or for ill, several Muslim countries had opted for nationalism and for politics based on *asabiyat*—i.e., racial and/or linguistic unity—and were seeking nationalist solutions to their problems. Nationalism was a fact of life in almost all the Muslim countries, with territorial frontiers constituting an integral part of the basis of nationhood in Muslim countries as well in the post-war era. Nothing perhaps dramatized this as the turning away, in 1920, by the Afghan authorities of the Muslim emigrants who

trekked to the Afghan borders in quest of a *Darul-Islam* under the impulse of the *Hijrat* edict of their *ulama* during the Khilafat movement.¹⁷ In any case, each one of the Muslim countries was going its own separate way under the impact of nationalism.

Iqbal could not have possibly ignored all this—and much more. “True statesmanship”, he told his audience at the Allahbad (1930) League session,

cannot ignore facts, however unpleasant they may be. The only practical course is not to assume the existence of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognize facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage.¹⁸

Hence, it seems but logical that deeply concerned as Iqbal was to see the Muslim peoples remain firmly anchored to their pristine Islamic legacy and heritage, he tried to resolve the conflict between nationalism, the fact of life, and pan-Islamism, the ideal towards which he would like to see them strive. Thus, Iqbal, like Afghani, arrived at the concept of “Islamic”—but, more accurately, Muslim—nationalism.¹⁹ While preaching and working for pan-Islam, Afghani, it may be remembered, had also supported local nationalisms wherever he found them to fit in within the broad framework of his ultimate goals.²⁰

Despite his initial distrust of nationalism, Iqbal, it may be argued, could reconcile himself to it, if only because he found that “no non-Muslim group has cut across a Muslim society for a nationalist one”.²¹ To quote Prof. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, a perceptive observer of the Muslim world in recent times,

... Wherever nationalism has been adopted in the Muslim world, and in whatever form, the ‘nation’ concerned has been a Muslim group. No Muslim people has evolved a national feeling that has meant a loyalty to or even concern for a community transcending the bounds of Islam.²²

... Muslim groups differ as to the degree to which the Islamic interplay with nationalism is overt and explicit. They do not differ in the fact that everywhere their nationalisms are enthusiasm for Muslim nations.²³

At another place, Prof. Smith remarks,²⁴

... the driving force of nationalism has become more and more religious the more the movement has penetrated the masses. Even where the leaders and the form and the ideas of the movement have been nationalist on a more or less Western pattern, the followers and the substance and the emotions were signi-

ificantly Islamic. (The Westernizing leaders have frequently been surprised to discover the degree to which they have let loose an Islamic upsurge.)

An enthusiast for Islam as Iqbal was, he could take comfort from these positive aspects of nationalist developments in various Muslim countries. He could particularly feel satisfied with the developments nearer home since the early 'twenties. For, the striking test of Muslims giving allegiance to a predominantly non-Islamic nationalism was India. Here, for a while, the Muslims generally "gave themselves with zeal" to a composite Hindu-Muslim, Indian nationalism,²⁵ but are long the general Muslim group turned against it, and "Indian nationalism...presently collapsed in shreds so far as the general Muslim group was concerned".²⁶ This development underlined, among others, one basic fact of Muslims vis-a-vis nationalism: "A non-Islamic nationalism could not, for Muslims, stand against them."²⁷ The Indian experiment also showed that "the appeal to the Muslim group for loyalty to a society other than its own religious one"²⁸ was bound to fail sooner or later.²⁹

Heartening as these developments were from an Islamic viewpoint, it was also found that nationalist movements in various Muslim countries—in Turkey, in Iran, in Egypt, and elsewhere—provided at that time the only means for getting rid of foreign domination or for successfully withstanding Western designs, as well as for rehabilitating mundane Islam in these countries. It was this realization that led Iqbal, it may be argued, to applaud the new (nationalist) experiments in various Muslim countries, notably in Turkey. While in 1924, Iqbal had bemoaned the abolition of caliphate with the verse, Lo!, the unthinking Turks have torn asunder the mantle of Khilafat"³⁰ five years later, he defended Mustapha Kemal Ataturk's (1880-1938) precipitate and extremely controversial decision.³¹ More important, he even went to the extent of considering "perfectly sound" Turkey's *ijtihad* in vesting caliphate or *imamat* "in a body of persons, or an elected Assembly".³² If the one represented the anguished cry of a pan-Islamist, the other represented the enthusiastic defence of a nationalist venture by the leader, however much accredited, of a single Muslim country in a matter intrinsically Islamic, without consulting—in fact in complete disregard of the consensus of—the rest of the Muslim world.³³ This indicated how far afield had Iqbal travelled from his pristine pan-Islamic stance and orientation.

It is also significant that this shift was not confined merely to an isolated but crucial incident in the post-war Muslim world; it was also reflected in the new political framework Iqbal proffered to the Muslim world, torn as it was between the imperative need to find nationalist solutions to their desperate problems and the longing passion for pan-Islamism. Following Zia Gokalp (1875/76-1924), the chief theoretician of

Turkish nationalism, Iqbal advocated multi-nationalism—with a view, of course, to energizing Muslims and rehabilitating Islam.

For the present [he advocated in 1928/29], every Muslim nation must sink into her deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics. A true and living unity, according to the nationalist thinkers, is not so easy as to be achieved by a merely symbolical overlordship. It is truly manifested in a multiplicity of free independent units whose racial rivalries are adjusted and harmonized by the unifying bond of a common spiritual aspiration. It seems to me that Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and *not for restricting the social horizon of its members*.³⁴

In advocating multi-nationalism in Islam, Iqbal seemed to have taken the cue from Mustafa Kemal. Imbued with a tremendous sense of realism as he was, Kemal, instead of attempting to resuscitate as it were the ghost of an universal Islamic empire, envisaged separate, sovereign national states for the various Muslim peoples. In a message to the Central Khilafat Committee, dated 10 March 1922, the would-be *desmanteller* of Khilafat had said:³⁵

The dream of the centuries, cherished by Muslims, that the Caliphate should be an Islamic government including them all, has never proved realisable. It has rather been a cause of dissensions, of anarchy, of the war between the believers. Better apprehended, the interests of all have made clear this truth: that the duty of the Muslims is to arrange distinct governments for themselves. The true bond between them is the conviction that "all believers are brethren".

Though similar, Kemal's and Iqbal's ideas yet differed in one fundamental respect: Whereas Kemal was for *restricting* the social horizon of the Turks to Turkey alone, Iqbal was *against* "restricting the social horizon" of the members of a Muslim nation. This crucial difference made Kemal's multi-nationalism concept essentially nationalistic while making Iqbal's basically pan-Islamic.

Even so, this new stance represents a radical shift in Iqbal's previous position: from the high pedestal of a universal Islamic state he comes down to the more prosaic and pragmatic plane of separate but "strong and powerful" (i.e., independent) Muslim states. It is interesting that he even cites Ibn Khaldun's (1332-1406) views in regard to the "three distinct views of the idea of Universal Caliphate in Islam" as well as of Qazi Abu Bakr Baqilani in respect of "the condition of Qarshiyat" to buttress his line of argument which, of course, is informed by a high degree of eclecticism. After all, why great

“ruptures in Islam for the sake of a mere symbol of power which [had] departed long ago”?³⁶

Even so, an Islamicist that he was, Iqbal was anxious to make sure that instead of replacing Islam, nationalism serves the ends of mundane Islam. Hence while he could not, in view of post-war developments in the Muslim world, shy away from recognizing artificial boundaries and racial distinctions, he very much wanted to make sure that they should not be allowed to restrict the social horizon of Muslims. And as long as this horizon was based on Islam, there was every hope that nationalism would turn into an enthusiasm for Islam, that the ethos would remain essentially Islamic, and that the door for cooperation between various Muslim countries would remain wide open.

(It may be argued that in composing a good many of his works in Persian, instead of writing in Urdu only—the lingua franca of his fellow Muslims in India—, Iqbal was seeking to keep intact the social horizon and cultural tradition of Indian Islam. It is significant that while the opting of Turkey and Iran for romanized Turkish and de-Arabicised Iranian (or Persian) under nationalist impulse had broken the Islamic linguistic tradition, Iqbal sought to retain that tradition and wrote in Persian which may be termed as the intermediary language between Arabic and other languages in the Islamic world.)

Thus, Iqbal sought to resolve the sore conflict inherent in the nationalism-pan-Islamism dichotomy through the formulation of a synthetic concept of “Muslim nationalism”.³⁷ A cross between the two competing ideologies, “Muslim nationalism” claims attributes of both, but in varying measure. While the structural appurtenances and format are cast in the nationalist framework, the ethos are inspired by Islam. It is a translation, on the political plane, of Iqbal’s self-perception of his own message:³⁸

عجمی خم ہے تو کیا، مٹے تو حجازی ہے میری
نغمہ ہندی ہے تو کیا، لے تو حجازی ہے میری

What—if my goblet is non-Arab?
Its contents are Hijazi, after all!
What—if my lyric is Indian?
Its rhythm is Hijazi, after all!

Interestingly, it was within the contours of this framework that Iqbal sought “to illuminate . . . the avenues of . . . political action”³⁹ for Muslim India in 1930 and to spell out a destiny for it. Since Indian nationalism was pro-Hindu and predominantly Hindu-oriented, the Muslims should construct a separate “nationalism” of their own.

Since the whole of India could not be won for Islam, if only because of the overwhelming Hindu majority, "the life of Islam as a cultural force" in India must be saved by centralizing it "in a specified territory".⁴⁰ This must be achieved by setting up "a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State", comprising "the most living portion of the Muslims of India".⁴¹

It is also significant that Iqbal demanded "the creation of autonomous States" on the basis of "the unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interests",⁴² and that "in the best interests of [both] India and Islam". Iqbal's elucidation of this last point is important.

For India, it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam, an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its laws, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.⁴³

Thus, while the bases or attributes of nationalism such as language, race, history, identity of economic interests and viable territorial frontiers (and territorial unity) were sought to be incorporated among the bases of (what later came to be known as) the "Pakistan" demand, religion was to be the leavening factor, and the consequences were to be spelled out in essentially Islamic terms. Thus were laid the intellectual foundations of Muslim nationalism in India.

To conclude, then. In adroitly adjusting his position vis-a-vis nationalism and pan-Islamism, in seeking to resolve the conflict between them in the world of Islam by evolving a synthetic concept of Muslim nationalism, in giving it an inherently Islamic direction—in doing all this and much more, Iqbal personified pragmatism, statesmanship, and, above all, creativity of the highest order. Iqbal is often called an idealist, but he was an idealist that tempered his idealism in the dull fire of experience. Hence, he could come up with a viable concept like Muslim nationalism, he could proffer a workable solution to the Indian constitutional problem.

As our discussion above indicates, the popular view that Iqbal was vehemently opposed to nationalism *per se* is somewhat misleading. What he was against was nationalism of a sort—a nationalism that led to cut-throat competition between nations in the West, that led to deify the state at the expense of morality, that became the springboard for the Western exploitation of the East. When a nationalist upsurge was exploited for the regeneration of Muslims in however specified a territory, or for rehabilitating the power and prestige of mundane Islam, he applauded the venture approvingly. One important aspect—though usually ignored or glossed over but no less revealing—of Iqbal's political framework during his "multi-nationalism" phase is that despite

his erstwhile serious reservations, Iqbal does pay his mead of tribute to Nationalism when he includes almost all of its bases among the considerations that would impel the Muslims to strive towards, and the Hindus to agree to, the setting up of "a consolidated Muslim State" in India, and the British to set it up. And he was pragmatic enough, despite his uninhibited flights in the ideational world, to commend the centralization of the cultural life of Islam in a specified territory.

Finally, it is equally interesting to note that Iqbal was as well informed by the principle of eclecticism in the ideas he approved and in those he rejected at various times. After all, Indian Islam had been guided by this principle in choosing or rejecting elements from the Hindu cosmos for harmonizing with and eventual incorporation into its social-heritage framework.⁴⁴ In the modern period, this fundamental approach, which made Indic Islam Indian in certain aspects and Islamic in its more basic aspects, was adopted, perhaps consciously, by both Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1819-98) and Sayyid Amir Ali (1849-1928), and this with the ultimate object of regenerating and rehabilitating Muslims on various planes—religious, cultural, social and political. Thus, it may be argued, in being informed by this principle, Iqbal was responding in the same way as Islam had responded to the impelling need for adjustment in the Indian environment, and carried forward the traditions set by Indian Islam over the centuries, and buttressed powerfully by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Amir Ali in the nineteenth century.

NOTES

1. H.A.R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 60.
2. Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1975) p. 157; (hereafter *Reconstruction*).
3. Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
4. Latif Ahmad Sherwani (ed.), *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 3rd ed., 1977), p. 191; see also *Reconstruction*, p. 188.
5. Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
6. For instance, see his "Saqlia", "Bilad-i-Islamia", "Mahasarah-i-Aderna" in *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu) (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, 3rd ed., 1977), pp. 133-34, 145-46, 216-17; hereafter *Kulliyat* (Urdu). See also "Nala-i-Yatim" in Anwar Haris (ed.), *Rakht-i-Safar* (Karachi: the compiler, 2nd ed., 1977), pp. 42-55.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 268.
- 8.

یونان و مصر و روماسب مٹ گئے جہاں سے
اب تک مگر ہے باقی نام و نشان ہمارا

Greece, Egypt and Rome have lost their place in the world!
But—still intact are our name and place!

Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 83.

9.

پتھر کی مورتوں میں سمجھا کہ تو خدا ہے
خاک وطن کا ہر ذرہ مجھ کو دیوتا ہے

That God dwells in stone-idols, you fancied!

But in each speck of my country's dust, I see a deity.

Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 88.

10.

مذہب نہیں سکھاتا آپس میں بیز رکھنا
ہندی ہیں ہم، وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا

To be hostile to one another, Religion teaches not!

Indians are we all, and Hindustan our country.

Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 83.

11.

اپنوں سے بیز رکھنا تو نے بتوں سے سیکھا
جنگ و جدل سکھایا واعظ کو بھی خدا نے

Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 88

From these idols you (O'Brahman) have learned hatred of even those close to you,

To his preachers likewise, Allah has taught squabble and strife.

12. See Lothrop Stoddard, *The New World of Islam* (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1921), ch. II.

13. See Sharif al Mujahid, "Pan-Islamism" in *A History of Freedom Movement* (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1961), pp. 88-117.

14. For instance, see the three poems on Afghani in *Jawid Nama: Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian) (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, 2nd ed., 1975), pp. 647-49, 650-51, 665-70.

15.

ایک ہوں مسلم حرم کی پاسبانی کے لئے
نیل کے ساحل سے لے کر تابخاک کا شغرا

From the banks of the Nile

to the soil of Kashghar

The Muslims should be united

For the protection of their sanctuary.

Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 265. Trans. by Tariq and Aziz, *The Guide: Iqbal's "Khizr-e-Raah"* (Lahore: Pan-Islamic Publications, 1954), p. 32.

16. For instance, see his poem on Husain Ahmad, *Kulliyat* (Urdu) p. 691; "Wataniyat", *ibid.*, pp. 160-61. See also his statement on Islam and Nationalism in reply to Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani's statement, published in *Ehsan* (Lahore), 9 March 1938; cited in Sherwani, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-63.
17. Arnold J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs*, 1925, volume I, *The Islamic World since the Peace Settlement* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), p. 555; F.S. Briggs, "The Indian Hijrat of 1920", *The Moslem World*, xx:2, April 1930, pp. 164-68; Rushbrook Williams, *India in 1920* (Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1921), pp. 51-53; P.C. Bamford, *Histories of the Non-Co-operation and Khilafat Movements* (Delhi: Government of India, 1925); Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (London: Victor Gollanz, 1946), p. 202-3.
18. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada (ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan* (Karachi: National Publishing House Limited, 1970), II: 157; (hereafter *Foundations of Pakistan*).
19. Toynbee (*op. cit.*, p. 7) describes "the new-born Islamic Nationalism" as "a middle term between the 'Herodian' and the 'Zealot' reaction to the West", that had "discarded the most individual features of both" and refers to "defiance of the victorious Allies by the defeated Turks within less than a year after the Armistice of 30th October, 1918" as "the classic example" of the new Islamic Nationalism manifesting itself "in acts of courage and even heroism" (p. 9). For extended discussion, see Stoddard, *op. cit.*, ch. V.
20. See Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Islam in Modern History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 48. See also Sharif al Mujahid, "Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani", unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1954, chapter III.
21. Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, p. 80.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 75; see also pp. 74, 76.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.
29. The reason for this was that in predominantly non-Muslim countries such as India, Russia and China, however, the Muslims, as minorities, "had little to gain and much to lose by the spread of nationalism into the countries where they lived". Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 39; see also pp. 46-47.

30. چاک کردی ترک نادان نے خلافت کی عبا

See Also:

تا خلافت کی بنا دنیا میں ہو پھر استوار
لا کہیں سے ڈھونڈ کر اسلاف کا قلب و جگر

Go! search somewhere
And bring the Heart and the Soul
Of thy great Ancestors:
So that ye may once again,
In this world, raise the Foundation
Of the long-forgotten Caliphate

Kulliyat (Urdu) p. 265. Trans. Tariq and Aziz, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

31. *Reconstruction*, p. 157. Iqbal seems to have written (but not published) the lecture on "Ijtihad" by 1924-25 since Murray T. Titus includes quotes from the unpublished essay in his "The Reaction of Moslem India to Western Islam" in John R. Mott (ed.), *The Moslem World of To-Day* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1925), pp. 98-104.
32. *Reconstruction*, p. 157.
33. For instance, the Indian Muslims were completely aghast at this precipitate Turkish decision; see Sharif al Mujahid, "The Khilafat Movement", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. XXVII: part IV (October 1978), pp. 307-10; Mott, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-98.
34. *Reconstruction*, p. 159.
35. Cited in Zaki Ali, *The World of Islam* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1947), p. 92; and M. Ahmad, *Pakistan and the Middle East* (Karachi: Kitabi Markaz, 1948), p. 157. The version in Ahmad, though similar in substance, is somewhat differently worded.
36. *Reconstruction*, p. 158.
37. See above, note 19.
38. *Kulliyat* (Urdu) p. 170.
39. *Foundations of Pakistan*, p. 156.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
43. *Ibid.*
44. For an extended discussion on this point, see the present author's article, "Ideology of Pakistan", in Sharif al Mujahid (ed.), *Ideological Orientation of Pakistan* (Islamabad: National Committee for Birth Centenary Celebrations of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 1976), pp. 143-44.

IQBAL AND JINNAH ON TWO-NATIONS THEORY

by

Prof. Manzooruddin Ahmed

On August 14, 1947, the Indian sub-continent was divided into two sovereign independent states of India and Pakistan. The division of the sub-continent was, in fact, a recognition of the two-nations theory. In substance, the idea of a separate Muslim state was expounded by Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, the poet-philosopher, in his famous presidential address at the Allahabad Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League in the month of December, 1930.¹ A decade after, on March 23, 1940 at the Lahore Annual Session, the All-India Muslim League unanimously adopted the famous Resolution, popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution, demanding the creation of 'Independent States' in the North-western and North-eastern Zones of India which constituted predominantly Muslim majority areas.² The demand for a separate Muslim state was based on the assertion that the Hindus and the Muslims in the Indian subcontinent were two different nations, and therefore, they could not be treated merely as two religious communities in evolving a final settlement of the Indian problem. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, advocating the Muslim demand for Pakistan, observed in the course of his presidential address:³

The problem in India is not of an *intercommunal* character, but manifestly of an *international* one, and it be treated as such. . . . If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the *major nations* separate homelands by dividing India into "autonomous national states."

Henceforth, the Quaid's life mission was to explain to the people, the British Government, and the Congress leaders, the concept of Two-Nations. In asserting that the Hindus and the Muslims in India constituted two distinct nationalities, the Quaid had to demolish the popular myth of a United Indian Nation, and also to establish the positive elements of a separate Muslim nationality. Therefore, it is proposed to examine in this paper the emergence of Indian nationalism in general, and analyse in particular the factors and forces which had thwarted the growth of a United Indian national movement. In this background, we shall see how Iqbal and Jinnah had expounded the Two-Nations Theory in defence of the Muslim right of self-determination for carving out a separate Muslim state in the Indian subcontinent.

I

Nationality, Nationalism and National State

Before we examine in detail different aspects of the Two-Nations Theory, it is essential to comprehend the concepts of nationality, nationalism, and national state as terms of western political science, and determine as to how these terms have been used and applied by the political elites of the developing countries.

In the terminology of western political science, the expression *nationality* is referred to a group of people living in a geographically defined territory bound together by common bonds of race, language, culture, history, religion, and economy. In this sense, nationality is essentially a physical reality. The common bonds produce cohesion and unity among the people and this physical unity shapes the people into a nationality. However, nationality in its inchoate condition remains formless and without an identity. No sooner the consciousness of nationality is activated among a people for political self-realization, nationality is transformed into nationalism. The ultimate goal of nationalism is to transform nationality into a nation-state.

The continual struggle for supremacy between the Emperor and the Pope had completely shaken the very foundations of the Universal Holy Empire during the course of the Middle Ages in Europe. This occasioned its final demise and the consequent emergence of national monarchies. In this manner, medieval universalism gave way to nationalism as a new principle of territorial integration. In a nut-shell, the Renaissance coupled with the Reformation, and subsequently, the Industrial Revolution gave birth to the modern *territorial, sovereign, secular, national* and *democratic* state. These European nations, motivated by considerations of economic nationalism, entered into a new phase of imperialism and colonialism; as a consequence, they were able to subjugate the entire Afro-Asian world, and they built for themselves huge colonial empires. The sole objective of imperialism and colonialism had always been ruthless exploitation of the subject peoples and their resources.

Thus, European imperialism and colonialism posed a challenge to the colonial people. What was their response? Their response was nationalism. The western educated political elites learnt the lessons of nationalism, democracy and secularism from the study of European history and its political philosophy. Easton, in his *The Twilight of European Colonialism*, has succinctly observed:⁴

Arnold Toynbee in one of his more suggestive passages in his magnum opus draws attention to the fact that "barbarians", forced to submit to more powerful civilizations, tend to adopt by mimesis certain elements from the culture of their masters which they then proceed to develop for themselves, frequently turning their new-found abilities against the dominant power itself. There can be no more apt illustration of this thesis than the manner in which countries under the former or present domination of European powers have adopted for themselves the ruling passion of Western countries—nationalism.

Therefore, it may not be wrong to say that nationalism remains an artificial product in most of the world outside Europe, its place of origin.⁵ A Jewish writer, Baron, in his work entitled *Modern Nationalism and Religion*, strongly confirms this view when he observes:⁶

Unfortunately the prevailing brand of Afro-Asian nationalism is but part of the process of Westernization of these new countries. It has been imported from the West at a time when it was degenerating there.

The point of artificiality of nationalism is most relevant to the understanding of the nature of Indian nationalism and particularly its ultimate failure to preserve the myth of the political unity of the Indian subcontinent.

The nature of nationalism may vary depending upon what aspect of it is being consciously emphasized. One may talk about a dichotomy between cultural and political nationalism. Cultural nationalism springs from the deep-rooted attachment of most men to the language, literature, and mores of their forefathers. On the other hand, political nationalism sharply focusses on statehood, and its territorial foundations. In this sense, political nationalism is identical with patriotism. However, in countries like India, the USSR and Canada with their continental expanses, cultural nationalism may be at variance with political nationalism. In the case of the USSR, the Communist Party, and the Communist ideology keeps the two levels of nationalism in harmony, and the latent conflict is diffused within the authoritarian frame of the Soviet state. On the other hand, the artificiality of the Canadian political nationality remains at cross-purposes with the prevailing biculturalism of French Quebec, and English Canada. Consequently, we notice the gradual thrust of the French cultural nationalism of the Parti Quebecois seeking a separate and independent political nation-

ality. In this sense, the upsurge of nationalism in the Indian sub-continent had also utterly failed to reconcile the political nationalism of the All-India National Congress with the cultural nationalism of the All-India Muslim League. As a result of this failure, the Muslim League felt constrained to articulate their political demand for a separate state for the Muslims wherein they could develop their own distinctive culture and religion.

There is another variety of nationalism called religious nationalism which is more akin to cultural than to political nationalism. The deeper links between the two can be traced back to the ancient tribes, and their religious priests. Similarly every ancient religion was a state religion. However, religious basis of nationalism is not generally recognized due to its divisive impact upon the people, perhaps the only exception is Jewish nationalism. In the Indian sub-continent, the religio-political organizations such as the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Muslim League were contemptuously described as *communal* rather than *national* associations. The All-India National Congress had always regarded itself as a truly national organization, and therefore, it always claimed to be the sole representative of the Indian nation. The expression *communalism* was referred to the political activities of the Hindu Mahasabha, the All India Muslim League and the Akali Dal of the Sikhs, and the Federation of the Scheduled Castes because these parties were organized solely for the defense of the exclusiv-rights of the respective communities. Following such a sequence of logic, the Congress advocates of Indian nationalism argued that the Sikhs, the Muslims, the Hindus, and the Christians were merely communities based on religion, and as such none of them was entitled to claim for itself the status of a separate nationality. In other words, they had rejected outright the theory of religious nationalism. For them all these communities, despite their religious differences, were politically bound together under common subjection to foreign rule in a common country, that is, India. But many leaders among the Hindus as well as the Muslims in India did not agree with the Congress view; and they put forward their counter-thesis, i.e., in India both Hindus and Muslims were not merely religious communities in a narrow sense, but they were distinctively two separate nationalities in the broadest sense. In this manner, the emergence of Indian nationalism had always been at cross-purposes with the simultaneous growth of religious nationalism. This brings us to the question as to what constitutes proper basis of nationalism.

The western authorities on nationalism clearly distinguish between *objective* and *subjective* criteria of nationality.⁷ The philosophers of the traditional schools look upon nationality as the product of biological elements such as climate and territory. Contemporary legal philosophers and political scientists frequently confuse between the terms *nation* and *state*. They prefer a uni-national state, and in case of a multi-national state, they are prone to condemn the national minority to assimilation and fusion with the ruling majority. More liberal political theorists would be inclined

to concede the right of cultural autonomy to national groups which do not have a state of their own but have not yet lost their territory and their language. In a multi-national state like the Soviet Union, all nationalities have been provided with cultural autonomy and theoretically even the constitutional right of secession from the Union. In Canada, there have been provided constitutional guarantees for the French minority. In the case of India, although the Congress advocates of political nationalism believed strongly in the concept of a uni-national state, they were willing, with a view to meet with the rising pressures of demands of the minorities, to provide for sufficient constitutional safeguards. Perhaps, for the same reason, they were willing to concede the demand for an All-India federation in which the predominantly Muslim provinces would enjoy certain limited autonomy, but they were not prepared to have a weak centre. The crux of the Muslim demand during 1924-35 had been towards creating a highly peripheralized federal structure.

However, the view is gaining ground that a nation may be defined as a historical-cultural group which is conscious of itself as a nation. Therefore, of late, there has been a growing tendency among theoretical sociologists and political scientists to attach greatest importance to subjective and spiritual factors in the development of the national type.⁸ Fichte, Renan, Fouille, and Springer, all of them have defined the concept of nation with reference to subjective criteria.⁹ It is interesting to point out that both Iqbal and Jinnah, in expounding the Two-Nations Theory, were greatly influenced by this school of thought; and under their impact, both had defined Muslim Nation on the basis of subjective rather than objective criteria.

II

Nationalism in the Indian Sub-continent

The concepts of nationality, nationalism, and national state as discussed above had been completely non-existent in the Indian sub-continent before the advent of the British rule. The native languages of India do not contain equivalents of these terms. The peoples of India were familiar only with the concepts of kingship and empire, which were the normal forms of political organization during those ages. However, it does not mean that the political organization of monarchy was the only form which bound the people as subjects with the ruler. There were other bonds as well which integrated them together into distinct communities. The two most important factors which had always been at work in organizing them into distinct social groups were: (1) religion, and (2) regionalism.

India has been rightly described as a continent of religions in the sense that since times immemorial the people have been grouped together into distinct religious

groups—Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, and later in history, through conversion, Muslim, Sikh, and Christian. The emergence of Muslim, and Christian communities in the Indian sub-continent had been a significant development fundamentally in two ways: (1) both Islam and Christianity appeared in the Indian sub-continent along with alien rulers, and therefore, enjoyed official patronage; conversion of the Indian people to Islam provided the nexus of a new social group which was strongly attached with the ruling elites; and in the case of Christianity, the official encouragement of the missionaries made it possible for them to attract people from the lower castes for conversion to Christianity. However, in the case of the latter, the indigenous Christians remained a distinctively Indian group insofar as they were not integrated with the Anglo-Indians or the Europeans; (2) the other important factor was the fact that both Islam and Christianity rooted in the Semitic doctrines, are fundamentally different from native Hinduism which is characteristically Aryan both in form and substance. The interaction between Islam and Hinduism in the course of history did not permit assimilation of the two communities; however, it did produce synthesis in the form of new religious movements like Sikhism and *Bhakti*

The all-pervasive influence of religion, in every walk of life of the peoples of the sub-continent, had generated in the course of history, among the religious communities a strong consciousness of communalism; however, still there was no trace of *nationalism* among the peoples of South Asia until it became an integral part of the British Empire. Consequently, we may assert that there had been in existence only religious communities, but there were as yet no nationalities in the sense in which nationality has been defined in the earlier section.

Apart from religion, the other important force which had greatly shaped and conditioned life styles of the peoples of South Asia was *regionalism*. Regionalism has always been inherent in the very physiographic foundations of the Indian subcontinent. It has been frequently asserted by the advocates of a United Indian nationalism that India had always been a *country* with its definite geographic unity. However, this view has been controverted by others who regard India as a *continent* with its distinctive regional characteristics. Of course, political geographers and statesmen might have discovered the existence of too many regions in South Asia, however, if we base our view on the reality that Indian sub-continent has been naturally a vast land with its expansive river valleys, one may discover at least four distinctive regions: (i) the Indus River Valley in the North-west; (ii) the Gangetic Plains in the North; (iii) the Brahmaputra River valley in the North-east; and (iv) the Deccan Plateau bounded on the north by Vindhya and Satpura hills, and Narmada, Tapi, and Mahanadi rivers and eastern and western coasts with rivers Krishna, Godavari, and Caveri in the South. These broad geographical regions have created in the course of past centuries certain fundamental regional uniformities which distinguished one region from the other. However, numerous sub-cultures have flourished within the broader regional framework.

In molding the life styles of peoples, the sub-cultural units, and larger regional uniformities have played a vital role as they have been grouped together into cultural communities. Thus, the Indus river valley in the North-west provides a broader regional character within which flourish the subcultural units of the Sindhis, the Punjabis, the Kashmiris, the Pathans, and the Baluchis. In the North-east region of the Brahmaputra River valley there lives a culturally cohesive people of the Bengalis. In the Northern India which is truly speaking the ancient *Aryavarta* live the predominantly Hindi speaking peoples. In the South, there flourish the peoples of the Dravidian stock who speak variants of the Dravidian dialects—Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Kannada.

In nutshell we do observe that before the advent of the British rule in the sub-continent, the Indian peoples were divided into either religious, regional or sub-cultural communities. Consequently, twin forces of communalism and regionalism were most active in the process of community building.

However, with the appearance of Islam, communalism became a more potent factor since it created an aggressive community of a ruling minority. Hence, Muslim communalism based on uncompromising monotheism, with its millennial concepts of the Divine Law, and Society had become the mainstay of the Muslim Rule in India. In contrast, Hindu communalism remained grounded in the psychological complexes of the subject people, and therefore, always had been on the defensive. Hinduism could not assimilate Muslim community within its fold due to its inherent differences in the world view of the two religions.

The conflict pattern inherent in the historic continuum of Hindu-Muslim interaction had such a salutary impact that the all-pervasive force of communalism was able to cut through the regional boundaries, and the cultural ramparts. Therefore, there could not emerge any pattern of conformity between the two circles, i.e. regional and communal. For this reason, we discover that the regional communities alongwith their sub-cultures were closely divided into distinctive Hindu or Muslim groups throughout the length and breadth of South Asia.

However, the demographic distribution of the Hindus and the Muslims presented a strange amalgam. In the North-west, the Muslim population constituted a majority as it did in the North-east, and the Hindus were a relative minority. In the remaining regions, the Hindus were a majority community.

Before the advent of the British rule, the economic life of the people of the sub-continent was greatly conditioned by its traditional agricultural structure, distribution of land among the land-owning proprietors, and the tenants, *jagirdari*, tribalism, casteism, and guilds. The prevailing economic structure produced a static model of social stratification—the royal family, the courtiers, the rajas, landlords, tribal chiefs,

clergymen, religious priests and teeming millions of rural peasantry, and different classes of artisans, craftsmen, traders, and shopkeepers. The most conspicuous feature was the absence of an urban-based middle class.

The imposition of the British colonial rule in the sub-continent was the most significant development in many ways. First, it was quite significant that the Indian sub-continent came into contact with the western world and brought in its wake western techniques of administration, political ideas and institutions, laws and constitution, and culture. Secondly, the British rule had replaced the Mughul empire; and consequently, the Muslim community was no longer attached with the Mughal ruling dynasty, and therefore, was reduced to the status of a helpless minority. For the majority community of the Hindus, it was merely a change of masters from whom they could learn a lot. Thirdly, the British colonial policy was one of non-intervention with the local communities in respect of their religion, customs and cultures. Consequently, cultural profile, communal life, and regional characteristics, and pre-dominant economic features had remained more or less unchanged. Fourthly, the British rule had introduced reforms and initiated a process of modernization in the economic, educational and administrative and legal spheres. The most significant development as a result of colonial reforms was the growth of industry and the emergence of educated classes in the newly growing urban centres.

The responses of the Indian peoples as represented by their respective educated classes had not been uniform. One may perceive three distinct patterns of responses: (i) the Indian nationalists' response; (ii) the Hindu elite response; and (iii) the Muslim elite response.

The members of the upper strata of the Hindu community adopted a policy of association with the British government, and greatly benefited from the British policy of reforms. Consequently, there appeared a new class of western educated Hindus. It was this class which became the vanguard of Indian nationalism. Their political goal was to unify all the communal groups, regional communities, classes and castes on the basis that India was the common *homeland* of all. Thus Indian nationalism in its earlier phase was focussed on the concept of native land which in the case of India had already achieved a high degree of centralized administration and consequent political unity under the British rule. They were the exponents of the *territorial—political* type of Indian nationality.

On the other hand, the traditional Hindu response to the British rule took on a different character. The goal of the tradition-oriented Hindu elite was to resurrect Hindu communalism through a process of revivalism of the ancient religion of the Vedas so that it may provide substance and meaning to Indian nationalism. Thus we see that they had aimed at transforming Hindu communalism into modern nationalism.

In order to achieve this goal, they had interwoven cultural, political and religious nationalisms together with their emphasis on the ancient traditions of Hindu culture, a return to the Vedas for regenerating Hinduism, and the idea of *Aryavarta* or *Bharat-varsh* as the Motherland. Hence, the revivalist Hindu nationalism had little scope for other cultural and religious minorities to survive as distinctive communal groups.¹⁰

The response of the Muslim community to the British colonial rule was in the beginning a negative one.¹¹ Psychologically they were most unwilling to accept the reality of the British power, and hence they had withdrawn themselves passively into the narrow shell of their own community. Therefore, the Muslim community remained backward in all spheres of life. Their community was confronted with their new Christian masters, and also had to face a militant Hindu majority. The Muslim leaders adopted two different and mutually opposing courses of action—the reformists like Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his associates pleaded for a policy of close cooperation with the British government and at the same time advised the Muslims to keep themselves aloof from the activities of the Indian nationalists who had already organized themselves into the All-India National Congress. On the other hand, a section of the traditional Muslim clergymen strongly advocated a policy of cooperation with the Indian nationalists to wage a war of national independence from the British colonial rule; and in the sphere of religion, they advocated a return to the purity of the Quranic Islam. However, the emergent Muslim educated classes followed Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's advice, and ignored the revivalist traditional clergymen. They were most acutely conscious of their status as a numerical minority, and therefore, they looked upon the Indian nationalism as a movement dominated by the Hindu majority. They were also fully aware of the intellectual connections between the movements of Hindu reforms—such as Brahma Samaj, and Arya Samaj, and the so-called Indian nationalism. However, it is true that so long as the leadership of the Indian National Congress had remained with the early generation of moderates like Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, Banerjee, and others, enlightened Muslims like Badruddin Tyabjee, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah genuinely believed in the political goals of the Congress, and continued their association with it. But no sooner the Indian National Congress came under the grip of the Hindu extremists like Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh, basically Hindu nationalists in their orientation, the Muslim leaders were scared and they left it.¹² At this stage, it may be relevant to observe that there had been close connection between the upsurge of nationalism and the movement of religious reform. Among the Hindus the first generation of the moderates were deeply influenced by the Brahma Samaj and Prarthana Samaj which were reformists and progressive. Similarly later generations of Congress leaders had come under the spell of revivalist movements—the Arya Samaj. Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh had successfully wedded the growing Hindu communalism with the political nationalism of the Indian National Congress. They had introduced religious symbolism and Hindu vocabulary into the political language of modern

Indian nationalism. Later, Gandhi successfully combined the two currents of Indian political nationalism and Hindu cultural nationalism within the framework of his carefully cultivated religious eclecticism.

Among the Muslims also one can observe a similar development insofar as the emergence of Muslim nationalism was also closely linked with the religious movements. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's movement of Muslim renaissance was very much founded in his intellectual endeavour to reform and reconstruct Islamic religious beliefs. On the other hand, there were launched revivalist and fundamentalist religious movements which found themselves at cross-purposes with the emerging patterns of exclusive Muslim nationalism. Later, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, like Gandhi, tried to synchronize religious reform with the mainstream of Muslim nationalism.

To sum up, it may be observed that the Indian leaders both Hindu as well as Muslim had borrowed the concepts of nationality, nationalism and national state from the Western political culture. Indian political nationalism was no more than a myth cultivated by Indian leaders for achieving political unity of all groups—communal and regional. However, political nationalism had miserably failed to contain the emerging thrust of communalism and regionalism. In the course of political struggle for independence, rampant communalism had outgrown the undercurrents of nascent regionalism; but nationalism could not transcend communalism, both Hindu and Muslim. Consequently, communalism divided the upsurge of nationalism into separate channels, and streams—Hindu nationalism and Muslim nationalism.

III

Iqbal's Theory of Muslim Community and Islamic Universalism

Like many other western educated Muslims, Iqbal also had started his intellectual career as an ardent Indian nationalist. The collections of his earlier poems such as *Bang-e-dara*, and *Bal-e-Jibreel* clearly reflect his love for the country. His poems, *Himalaya*, *Naya Shiwal* and many others are expressive of his patriotism. During this formative phase his political nationalism was primarily focussed on India as the territorial homeland of the Indian nation.¹³ During this period, he sincerely believed in the concept of Hindu-Muslim unity. For him religion was not a barrier between the two communities. He ardently aspired for independence of India. Iqbal's dedication to the gospel of Indian nationalism was primarily, perhaps, due to the fact that the liberals and moderates like Dadabhai and Gokhale were still the vanguards of the Indian nationalist movement in India.

However, this phase of Iqbal's political thought was a milestone rather than the destination. His trip to Europe for higher education in Philosophy provided him

deeper insights into the currents of philosophical thought of Europe. He came under the spell of European philosophy. This period of exposure to Western culture and thought turned him into a severe critic of westernism and therefore, he turned to the study of oriental thought and philosophy particularly Muslim philosophy. While he could clearly perceive the inner contradictions of western civilization, he was equally perturbed by the existing stagnation of Muslim thought. His long poem, captioned *Shikwah* (Complaint) was a complaint of the sensitive poet to God Almighty. His critical knowledge of the German philosopher, Nietzsche, and his study of Rumi enabled him to come forth with his prescription for the malaise of the Muslims. He expounded his theory of *Self* and *Millat*. Thus he totally rejected the western ideas of nationality, nationalism and nation-state. At this stage, Iqbal refutes the idea of *fatherland* as the basis of modern political nationalism. He gives expression to his criticism of the fatherland in the following verses in his famous *The Mysteries of Selflessness*:

Our essence is not bound to any place
 The vigor of our wine is not contained
 In any bowl; Chinese and Indian
 Alike the shard that constitutes our jar
 Turkish and Syrian alike the clay
 Forming our body; neither is our heart
 of India, or Syria, or Rum,
 Nor any Fatherland do we profess
 Except Islam.

In this poem Iqbal categorically rejects the territorial foundations of modern nationalism; and instead asserts that Islam is the only genuine principle of communal integration of mankind. He refutes the idea of the *country* since it divides humanity into warring nations and it replaces worldwide fellowship of Islam:

Now brotherhood has been so cut to shreds
 That in the stead of community
 The country has been given pride of place
 In men's allegiance and constructive work
 The country is the darling of their hearts,
 And wide humanity is whittled down
 Into dismembered tribes....
 Vanished is humankind; there abide
 The disunited nations. Politics
 Dethroned religion.

After rejecting modern theories of nationalism, Iqbal reconstructs his own theory of Islamic nationalism. For him the Islamic community (*Millat*) founded in the faith of

the Oneness of God Almighty ought to be the only legitimate principle of integration among the Muslims.' In expounding his idea of Millat, Iqbal says:

... When the burning brands
Of times great revolution ring out our mead
Then Spring returns. The mighty power of Rome,
Conqueror and ruler of the world entire,
Sank into small account; the golden glass
of the Sassanians was drowned in blood;
Broken the brilliant genius of Greece;
Egypt too failed in the great test of time,
Her bones lie buried neath pyramids.
Yet still the voice of the Muezzin rings
Throughout the earth, still the Community
Of the World-Islam maintains its ancient forms.
Love is the universal law of life,
Mingling the fragmentary elements
of a disordered world.
Through our hearts' glow
Love lives, irradiated by the spark
There is no god but God.

For Iqbal the faith of Islam provides an abiding spiritual bond which holds together peoples of different colors, races, languages and other eternal manifestations of culture, and transforms all of them into a universal community. It seems that Iqbal was greatly influenced by the writings of Fichte, Renan, Fouille and Springer as mentioned earlier who had emphasized spiritual factors as the basis of nationalism. Iqbal's Islamic universalism is a complete negation of any other principles of national integration, such as race and common ancestry:

The bond of Turk and Arab is not ours,
The link that binds us is no fetters chain
Of ancient lineage; our hearts are bound
To the beloved Prophet of Hejaz,
And to each other are we joined through him.
Our common thread is simply loyalty
To him alone; the rapture of his wine
Alone our eyes entrances; from what time
This glad intoxication with his love
Raced in our blood, the old is set ablaze
In new creation. As the blood that flows
Within a people's veins, so his love

Sole substance of our solidarity.
 Love dwells within the spirit, lineage
 The flesh inhabits; stronger far than race
 And common ancestry is love's firm cord.
 True loverhood must overleap the bounds
 Of lineage, transcends Arabia
 And Persia. Love's community is like
 The light of God; whatever being we
 Possess, from its existence is derived.
 "None seeketh when or where God's light was born;
 What need of warp and woof, God's robe to spin?"
 Who suffereth his foot to wear chains
 Of clime and ancestry is unaware
 How He begat not, neither was He begat.

Iqbal also believed in the role of history in shaping the destiny of the *Millat* and in creating what he calls "his new-won consciousness" in the following verses:

Like to a child is a community
 Newborn, an infant in its mother's arms;
 All unaware of Self. . . .
 But when with energy it falls upon
 The world's great labors, stable then becomes
This new-won consciousness; it raises up
 A thousand images, and casts them down;
 So it createth its own history. . . .
 The record of the past illuminates
 The conscience of the people; memory
 Of past achievements makes it Self-aware;
 But if the memory fades, and is forgot,
 The folk is again lost in nothingness. . . .
 What thing is history, O! Self-unaware?
 A fable? Or a legendary tale?
 Nay 'tis the thing that maketh thee aware
 Of thy true Self, alert unto the task,
 A seasoned traveller; this is the source
 Of the soul's ardor, this nerves that knit
 The body of the whole community.
 This whets thee like a dagger on its sheath.
 To dash thee in the face of all the world. . . .
 If thou desirest everlasting life.

Therefore, Iqbal conveyed the message to the Muslims around the world that it is only through a process of integration of the Self with the Community we can regenerate the body politic of Islam to play its destined role in the history of mankind.

Iqbal's political philosophy has no room for either secularism or democracy of the West. In this manner Iqbal demolished the basic principles of modern nationalism; and pleaded for the restoration of the majesty of the universal community of Islam. In condemning both nationalism and socialism, Iqbal dilated in his Lectures entitled: *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*.

The technique of medieval mysticism by which religious life in its higher manifestations, developed itself both in the East and in the West has now practically failed. And in the Muslim East it has, perhaps, done far greater havoc than anywhere else. Far from reintegrating the forces of average man's inner life, it has taught him a false renunciation and made him perfectly contented with his ignorance and spiritual thralldom. No wonder then that the modern Muslim in Turkey, Egypt, and Persia is led to seek fresh sources of energy in the creation of new loyalties such as patriotism and nationalism which Nietzsche described as "sickness and unreason" and "the strongest force against culture" . . . Both nationalism and atheistic socialism, must draw upon the psychological forces of hate, suspicion, and resentment which tend to impoverish the soul of man and close up his hidden sources of spiritual energy. Neither the technique of medieval mysticism nor atheistic socialism can cure the ills of a despairing humanity.

Allama Iqbal had entered, for a brief span of time, into the arena of Indian politics when he was elected a member of the Punjab Provincial Assembly. Later he attended the Round Table Conference in London in 1931 as a Muslim delegate. In 1930 Iqbal presented his mature political opinion concerning the future course that the Indian Muslims ought to take in his famous presidential address at the Allahabad Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League. In outlining a course of political action for the Indian Muslims, Iqbal mooted the idea of a separate single state in the North-western region of the sub-continent.

I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a *single state*. Self-government within the British empire or without the British empire the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India.

Here was Iqbal's prophetic vision of Pakistan as we find it at present. This passage from his presidential address should be read in the perspective of the political events

of the thirties and also in the context of the whole address itself. In substance, his address can be treated as a discourse on the future of Islam, and the Muslim community in the Indian sub-continent.

Reflecting upon the formation of the Muslim community in the sub-continent Iqbal had observed:

It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity—by which expression I mean a social structure regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal—has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of the Muslims of India. It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups and finally transform them into a well-defined people. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country where *Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best.*

Islam as the sole principle of communal integration, naturally implies categorical rejection of any other bases of group cohesion such as culture, language, territory or region. In the opinion of Iqbal, the crux of the Indian problem was that the Hindu-Muslim conflict was a much deeper ideological cleavage—Islam versus nationalism. “Therefore, the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is unthinkable to a Muslim.”

Iqbal offered a solution for the existing conflict between Islamic solidarity and national unity:

Experience, however, shows that various caste-units and religious-units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. The formation of the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan’s sense demands price which the peoples of India are not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought not in the negation but in the mutual harmony and cooperation of the many ... And it is on the discovery of Indian unity in this direction that the fate of India as well as Asia really depends. India is Asia in miniature. Part of her people have cultural affinities with nations in the east, and part with nations in the middle and west of Asia. If an effective principle of cooperation is discovered in India, it will bring peace and mutual good-will to this land ... And it will at the same time solve the entire problem of Asia.

The Indian Muslims, by virtue of a common faith and history are closely bound together with the rest of the Islamic Millat living in West Asia, and they are not willing

to disassociate themselves from it. Therefore, in order to preserve national unity in the Indian context, it is essential to recognize the existence of separate communal groups in India, and forge national unity among them through cooperation and harmony.

It is obvious that Iqbal did not consider that communalism and nationalism were mutually exclusive concepts. However, most of the Hindu champions of Indian nationalism were not willing to concede anything more than a minority status to the Muslim community. This would have ultimately undermined the unique character of the Indian Muslims as a community in two ways—firstly, it would imply a complete break from the universal *ummah*; and secondly, it would reduce the Indian Muslims to a religious minority. In defending Muslim communalism, Iqbal remarked:

And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. There are communalisms and communalisms. ...I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religions and social institutions of other communities ... Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and behavior and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture and thereby recreating its whole past as a living factor in my present consciousness.

In the view of Iqbal, “communalism in its higher aspects then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India.” Iqbal had built the whole edifice of his theory of Muslim communalism in support of the political demands of the Indian Muslims which were aggregated in the form of the All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi, and which were later summed up in the form of Jinnah’s Fourteen Points. The immediate background of his address was the Nehru Report which was adopted after amendments by the All-Parties National Convention, during December 22, 1928 to January 1, 1929. This Report had rejected the Muslim demand for separate electorates, and had merely accepted the principle of reservation of seats for minorities only for a period of 10 years. In a nutshell Muslims had demanded the creation of a federal system in which the Centre would be invested with minimum powers, and all residuary powers would vest with the provinces. Sind was to be separated from the province of Bombay and constituted as a separate province; and North-Western Frontier and Baluchistan were also to be brought at par with other provinces.

A closer and a more careful analysis of the text of his presidential address clearly brings out Iqbal's concern for a compromise between his ideal theory of a Consolidated Muslim State in the North-West zone of India and "the type of unitary government contemplated by the nationalist Hindu politician with a view to secure permanent communal domination in the whole of India". It appears that he was willing to forego his demand for the proposed Consolidated Muslim State "within the British empire or without the British empire", if the Congress leaders would accept in substance the Muslim demand for the creation of a "Muslim India" as contained in the All-Parties Muslim Conference. According to the Resolution, "the Muslims demand federation because it is pre-eminently a solution of India's most difficult problem, i.e. the communal problem." It would be possible to achieve "cooperation and harmony" between major communities of India only within a loose federal system. Therefore, Iqbal rejected in a forthright manner both the Simon Report and the Nehru Report as these did not visualize a genuine federal solution of the communal problem. Commenting on these Reports, Iqbal had observed:

Thus it is clear that, insofar as real federation is concerned the Simon Report virtually negatives the principles of federation in its true significance. The Nehru Report realizing Hindu majority in the Central Assembly, reaches a unitary form of government because such an institution secures Hindu dominance throughout India; the Simon Report retains the British dominance behind the thin veneer of an unreal federation ... To my mind a unitary form of government is simply unthinkable in a self-governing India. What is called "residuary powers" must be left entirely to self-governing states, the Central Federal State exercising only those powers which are vested in it by the *free consent of federal states*. I would never advise the Muslims of India to agree to a system, whether of British or of Indian origin, which virtually negatives the principle of true federation, or fails to recognize them (Muslims) as a distinct political unity.

Iqbal was equally critical of including the Indian Native States in the proposed nominal federation under the Simon Commission scheme. Reflecting on this aspect, Iqbal had observed:

The truth is that the participation of the Indian Princes—among whom only a few are Muslims—in a federation scheme serves double purpose. On the one hand, it serves as an all important factor in maintaining the British power in India practically as it is, on the other hand it gives overwhelming majority to the Hindus in an All-India Federal Assembly.

After rejecting both the Simon Report and the Nehru Report, Iqbal concluded with a note of pessimism:

A federal scheme born of an unholy alliance between democracy and despotism cannot but keep British India in the same vicious circle of a unitary Central

Government. Such a unitary form may be of the greatest advantage to the British, to the majority in British India (Hindus) and to the Indian Princes; it can be of no advantage to the Muslims *unless they get majority rights in five out of eleven Indian provinces with full residuary powers, and one-third share of seats in total house of the Federal Assembly.*

Obviously, here in the above passage, Iqbal was reaffirming the fundamental principles which were already outlined in the Muslim proposals contained in the Resolution of the Muslim Conference, and was not referring to his own proposal of a consolidated Muslim State.

In the course of his presidential address Iqbal also referred to the serious mistakes which were committed by the Muslim leaders during the past years. He observed:

There were two pitfalls into which Muslim political leaders fell. The first was the repudiated Lucknow Pact which originated in a false view of Indian nationalism, and deprived the Muslims of India from chances of acquiring political power in India. The second is the narrow-visioned sacrifice of Islamic solidarity in the interests of what may be called "Punjab Ruralism" resulting in a proposal which reduces the Punjab Muslims to a position of minority. It is the duty of the League to condemn both the Pact and the proposal.

The above passage is, by far, the most revealing insofar as it purports to reject categorically the League policies of the past and aims at providing it a new direction. What did Iqbal mean by a "false view of Indian nationalism"? The Lucknow Pact, while resolving Hindu-Muslim differences, had recognized the Indian Muslims merely as a community of religious minority; and therefore, sought to provide essential constitutional safeguards for their cultural and religious rights. However, at the same time, it established beyond any doubt, the principle of a united Indian nation. According to Iqbal this was basically a mistaken view, because according to his assessment the problem of India "is *international* and not *national*" as he asserted:

We are seventy millions and far more homogeneous than any other people in India. Indeed, the Muslims of India are the only people who can fitly be described as a *nation* in the *modern sense of the word*. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation, and which *Islam* has given you as a free gift. No doubt they are anxious to become a nation but the process of becoming a nation is a kind of travail, and in the case of Hindu India, involves a complete overhauling of her social structure.

In the above passage, Iqbal, in enunciating the theory that Indian Muslims were truly speaking a nation in the modern sense, did not discard his original theory of Muslim

Millat, but he had simply given it a new name—Muslim nation in the political context of India. In so doing he in fact had transformed the idea of Muslim community into the vocabulary of modern political science as the true basis of Muslim nationalism.

After demolishing the erroneous assumptions of Indian nationalism underlying the Lucknow Pact, Iqbal had to face squarely the dangers which were inherent in the existing political situation in the predominantly Muslim majority province of the Punjab. In the Punjab, the Sikhs and the Hindus had constituted politically aggressive minorities; and therefore, they could assert themselves effectively in the provincial politics. Sir Fazl-e-Husain, and subsequently, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, and his successor Sir Khizr Hayat Khan were the architects and mainstay of the Unionist Party which was based on the fundamental concept of essential unity and cooperation of the three important Punjabi communities, viz., the Muslims, the Sikhs and the Hindus. In respect of its socio-economic background, it was an alliance of Muslim landlords, Hindu entrepreneurs, and Sikh tradesmen. In its political orientation, it was obviously pro-British, and had been opposed to both the Congress as well as the Muslim League. In respect of an overall Indian political situation, it could at best be described as a purely provincial party. Iqbal could realize the grave dangers which were inherent in the Unionist dominated political scene of the Punjab. He thought that the only possible way in which the Punjabi Muslims could be saved from the clutches of the trinitarian Unionist Party, was to break the unholy alliance, dissect the province so that the political thrust of the Sikhs and the Hindus was permanently diffused, and finally to reintegrate the solidly Muslim majority areas of the province with the neighboring Muslim majority provinces of Sind, Baluchistan, and the NWFP. Perhaps, his proposal was based on the assumption that the idea of a Muslim Nation in the North-West of India could never be reconciled with the basically false notions of a single Indian nationhood, and narrow prejudices of provincialism. Therefore, by mooted the proposal of creating a Consolidated Muslim State, he could demolish both the myth of a United Indian Nation, and the phantom of regionalism which he preferred to describe as "Punjab Ruralism". In his opinion once the Indian segment of the Muslim *Millat* could secure for itself a territorial consolidation in the North-West region of the sub-continent, it would always be possible for it to forge ahead further bonds of unity with the neighboring Muslim states of Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, and other Arab countries. Therefore, for Iqbal the establishment of a Muslim state in India was not an end by itself but it was a means to achieve a higher goal—consolidation of the World-*Ummah*. Therefore, we do notice that the contradiction between Iqbal's theory of the Islamic *Millat* and his proposal for the establishment of a Consolidated Muslim State in the North-West Indian region was, in fact, more apparent than real. Question has been frequently raised: how could Iqbal reconcile Islamic universalism inherent in his theory of *Millat* with the concept of territorial nationalism for the Indian Muslims? In lending support to the Two-Nations Theory, Iqbal was chiefly concerned with the consolidation of the Muslim *Ummah* in the North-West of India where they were in a pre-

dominant majority. It seems that he had used the Two-Nations Theory only in order to counteract the viewpoint of the Indian nationalists who had persistently maintained that the Indian people were a single nation despite differences in religion and castes. Therefore, according to Iqbal, after achieving independence from colonialism, the Muslims would naturally move towards achieving higher goals of political consolidation of the World-*Ummah*.

Therefore, what we may conclude from the foregoing discussion is that Iqbal had demanded the creation of a separate North-West Indian Muslim state on the basis of his theory of Muslim communalism. The other important point to note is that the exposition of the idea of a separate Muslim state was mooted by Iqbal as a political alternative if the leaders of the Indian National Congress would not concede Muslims' demands as contained in the aforesaid All-Parties Muslim Conference which was still seeking a federal solution of the Hindu-Muslim conflict, as he himself talked about it at the end of the address:

I am not hopeless of an intercommunal understanding but I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of action to cope with the present crisis.

Allama Iqbal left it to Muhammad Ali Jinnah to elaborate the Two-Nations Theory in all its details in order to assert the right of national self-determination for the Muslim community, and similarly set all Muslim leaders' minds to think and further elaborate his idea of a separate Muslim state.

IV

Jinnah on Two-Nations Theory

In the early 'thirties, Iqbal's suggestion of a separate Consolidated Muslim State in the North-West of India was not taken seriously by the Muslim leaders. However, he was successful in sharpening Muslim consciousness. The subsequent political developments of the mid and late thirties once again brought into sharp focus his earlier proposal of an Indian Muslim State.

It was, perhaps, at first during the Round Table Conference in London that Iqbal and Jinnah had several occasions to discuss about the future dispensation of the Indian Muslims.³² Jinnah, until then, had not given up hope of a permanent political settlement of the Hindu-Muslim conflict within the framework of a United Indian federal structure. Jinnah's faith in the ultimate national solution of the Hindu-Muslim conflict was completely shaken only after a short period of the Congress rule in the

Hindu majority provinces. Now Jinnah was able to realize the force of arguments which were advanced earlier by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and later by Dr. Muhammad Iqbal against the dangers which were inherent in the functioning of the Westminster brand of representative government. The publication of the Pirpur Report, and other such inquiries brought to light the tragic misdeeds of the Congress ministries against the Muslim minorities. The other factor which might have convinced Jinnah about the futility of pursuing the ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity was the persistence of the Indian National Congress to foist upon India a highly unitary constitution. In addition, the Congress leaders' claim that the Indian National Congress was the sole representative of the Indian nation, and the All-India Muslim League at best represented the Muslim minority and therefore, could not be treated at par with the Congress, was the most irritating factor for Jinnah. Consequently Jinnah decided to heed Iqbal's suggestion. Iqbal had already mooted (i) the idea of a separate state as a permanent solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem; and (ii) had expounded his theory of Muslim nationalism as its theoretical justification. Now it was for Jinnah to present both these concepts in the terminology of contemporary politics. Therefore, Jinnah propounded his thesis that India was not a *country* but a *continent*; and it was inhabited by many peoples among them chief ones were the Hindus and the Muslims who constituted two distinct nations according to the prevalent standards. Therefore, the Muslim nation in India was entitled to enjoy its right of self-determination. In expounding the Two-Nations theory Jinnah had, in fact, transformed Iqbal's theory of Muslim communalism into what may be called Muslim nationalism; and similarly Iqbal's idea of communal autonomy was re-enunciated as the right of self-determination or national sovereignty.

In the course of his presidential address at the Lahore Session of 1940, Jinnah asserted emphatically, "The Mussalmans are not a minority. The British and particularly the Congress proceed on the basis, 'well, you are a minority after all, what do you want' . . . But surely Mussalmans are not a minority. We find that even according to the British map of India we occupy large parts of this country where the Mussalmans are in a majority—such as Bengal, Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan".³³

In explaining the idea of two nations Jinnah was obviously influenced by Iqbal as it becomes evident from the following passage from his speech:³⁴

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise notions in time. Hindus and Muslims belong to two different

religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither intermarry, nor interdine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects of life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such *nations* under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be built up for the government of such a state ... *Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state.*

The Iqbal-Jinnah correspondence during 1936-37 clearly brings out the kind of ideological feedback that Iqbal had been constantly providing to Jinnah impelling him to strike an independent course of political action for the All-India Muslim League. A few quotations from his letters may not be out of place here in order to judge the overall impact of Iqbal in re-shaping Jinnah's political orientation regarding the future of the Indian Muslims. In his letter of May 28, 1937 Iqbal wrote to Jinnah emphasizing the need for a programme of social and economic upliftment of the Muslim masses:³⁵

After a long and careful study of Islamic law, I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country *without a free Muslim state or states*. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India ... But as I have said above, in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems, it is necessary *to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities*. Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived?

Again in his letter of June 21, 1937, Iqbal wrote to Jinnah:³⁶

In these circumstances it is obvious that only way to a peaceful India is *a redistribution of the country* on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities ... To my mind the new Constitution with its idea of a single Indian federation is completely hopeless. *A separate federation of Muslim provinces*, reformed on the lines I have suggested above, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as

nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?

These letters containing reaffirmation of Iqbal's earlier idea of a Consolidated Muslim State in a much broader sense of *a separate federation of Muslim provinces* provide the essential ideological linkages between Iqbal and Jinnah. Therefore, it may be far from truth to assert that the Lahore Resolution of March 23, 1940 as adopted by the All-India Muslim League under the leadership of Jinnah, had, in fact, finally transformed the political vision of Iqbal into a popular demand of the Indian Muslims for Pakistan.

Even earlier in 1938, the idea of the two-nations was asserted at the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference at Karachi in its Resolution which read as follows:³⁷

This Conference considers it absolutely essential in the interest of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interest of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment, and *political self-determination of the two nations known as Hindus and Muslims*, to recommend to All-India Muslim League to review and revise the entire question of what should be the suitable constitution for India which will secure honourable and legitimate status due to them, and that this Conference, therefore, recommends to the All-India Muslim League to devise a scheme of Constitution under which Muslims may attain *full independence*.

It was in pursuance of such a course of policy that finally the famous Lahore Resolution was adopted at the Twenty-Seventh Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore on March 24, 1940. In rejecting categorically the Government of India Act of 1935, the Resolution demanded emphatically, "Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is considered *de novo* and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent."³⁸ In the following paragraph, the Resolution put forward its political demand which read:³⁹

Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that *geographically contiguous* units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Inde-

pendent States" in which the constituent units should be autonomous and sovereign.

In substance, the above Resolution proposed that (i) geographically contiguous units, i.e. North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan in the North-West and Bengal and Assam in the North-East are demarcated into regions; (ii) these two regions are to be reconstituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that areas in which the Muslims are numerically in majority should be grouped, implying partition of Kashmir, the Punjab in the North—West, and Bengal and Assam in the North-East; and (iii) these "Independent States" in which the constituent units should be autonomous and sovereign, i.e. following the principles of true federation. In nutshell, the plan had visualized division of India, partition of the provinces, and creation of two independent and sovereign states of Muslims in the North-West and North-East based on the principles of genuine federalism. All these basic principles were already spelt out by Iqbal as we have reviewed earlier. However, the Resolution was a very vaguely worded document; and therefore, still many lacunae were left in the text. The gaps in the text of the Resolution were filled in subsequently at the Legislators' Convention in 1946 in Delhi.⁴⁰

Jinnah, in advocating the Two-Nations theory, even went further at the Madras Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League in 1941 when he asserted that in the Indian sub-continent, there were not only two nations "but indeed more than two different nations". Here he was referring to the people of the Tamilnadu when he observed:⁴¹

In this land of yours (meaning the Madras Province) there is another nation, the Dravidians. This land is really Dravidistan. Imagine that three percent of the Brahmin high caste, by skillful manoeuvring and by skillful methods of electioneering which they have studied, should secure the majority. Is this democracy or is it farce? Therefore, I give my fullest sympathy and support to the Non-Brahmins. I say to them: The only way for you to come into your own, live your own life according to your own culture and according to your language—thank God that Hindi did not go very far here—and your own history is to go ahead with your ideal. I have every sympathy for you, and I shall do all I can to support you to establish Dravidistan. The seven percent of Muslims will stretch their hand of friendship to you and live with you on lines of equality, justice and fair play.

Jinnah was equally sympathetic towards the Sikh claim for a *Sikh state* based on Sikh nationalism. However, it seems that the Sikhs had preferred partition of the Punjab province as a solution to their own problem. Whether their problem has been solved by the subsequent creation of the Punjab state within the Indian Union is still open to question.

It was in the course of his meetings with Gandhi that Jinnah endeavoured hard to convince him regarding the Muslim demand for Pakistan based on the Two-Nations theory. The Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence throws light on the subject.⁴² Gandhi in his letter addressed to Jinnah dated September 15, 1944 raised a number of vital questions concerning the text of the Lahore Resolution. Regarding the Two-Nations theory which is not referred to in the actual text of the Resolution, Gandhi had argued:⁴³

I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendents claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children.

Therefore, we do observe that Gandhi had argued that the Muslim claim of a separate nationality based on "conversion had introduced a new test of nationhood"; and for him the only legitimate test of nationhood could be "nothing else except *common political subjection*".⁴⁴ This had been the crux of the united Indian political nationalism. Jinnah, in countering Gandhi's argument against the Two-Nations theory, wrote the following passage in a detailed letter:⁴⁵

For the moment I would refer you to two publications, although there are many more. Dr. Ambedkar's book and M.R.T.'s *Nationalism in Conflict in India*. We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law we are a nation.

In the above passage, Jinnah used both objective and subjective tests in order to prove the truth of the Two-Nations theory. Further in support of his thesis he referred to Ambedkar's treatise entitled: *Pakistan or Partition of India*. Dr. Ambedkar himself leader of the Scheduled Castes had observed:⁴⁶

The political and religious antagonisms that divide the Hindus and the Muslims far more deeply than the so-called common things are able to bind them together.

In fact, according to Ambedkar, the Hindus and the Muslims did not have any common historical antecedents "to share as matters of pride or as matters of sorrow".⁴⁷ As a matter of fact, different perceptions of the past, still haunted their minds. Emphasizing the element of forgetfulness as pointed out by Renan, Ambedkar observed: "The

pity of it is that the two communities can never forget or obliterate their past. Their past is embedded in their religion and for each to give up its past is to give up its religion. To hope for this is to hope in vain.”⁴⁸

Finally, the crux of the argument in support of the Two-Nations theory has been very well summed up by Ambedkar, and it truly represented Jinnah’s line of argument as well:⁴⁹

For nationality to flame into nationalism two conditions must exist. First, there must arise the “will to live as a nation”. Nationalism is the dynamic expression of that desire. Secondly, there must be territory which nationalism could occupy and make it a state, as well as a cultural home of the nation. . . . The Muslims have developed a “will to live as a nation”. For them nature has found a territory which they can occupy and make it a state as well as a cultural home for the new born Muslim nation.

Further examination of the Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence clearly brings out their basic differences over the question of two-nations; however, they proceeded to discuss the Muslim right of self-determination. Gandhi wrote to Jinnah, “Can we not agree to differ on the questions of “two-nations” and yet solve the problem of the basis of Self-determination? It is this basis that had brought me to you. If the regions holding Muslim majorities have to be separated according to the Lahore Resolution, the grave step of separation should be specifically placed before and approved by the people in that area”⁵⁰ Here we do notice that Gandhi had rejected the idea of two-nations categorically, still he was willing to solve the problem on the basis of plebiscite in the Muslim majority areas.⁵¹ In answer to this, Jinnah maintained:⁵²

We claim the right of self-determination as a *nation* and not as a *territorial unit*, and that we are entitled to exercise our inherent right as a Muslim nation, which is our birth-right? Whereas you are labouring under the wrong idea that “self-determination” means only that of a “territorial unit” which by the way is neither demarcated nor defined, and there is no Union or Federal constitution of India in being, functioning as a sovereign central government. Ours is a case of division and carving out two independent sovereign states by way of settlement between two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, and not of severance or secession from any existing Union which is non-existent in India. The right of self-determination which we claim postulates that we are a nation, and as such it would be the self-determination of the Mussalmans, and they alone are entitled to exercise that right.

Thus it becomes quite obvious that both Gandhi and Jinnah had fundamental, conceptual differences concerning Two-Nations Theory and right of Self-Determination. The League’s demand for Pakistan as contained in the Lahore Resolution was based on their

claim that Muslims in India constituted a distinct nation, and as such they were entitled to their inherent right of self-determination. On the other hand, Gandhi had propounded the thesis that Hindus and Muslims were members of a single family, and in order to resolve their differences, he had agreed that Muslims might separate or secede from India in such areas where they were in majority on the basis of a plebiscite in those areas. It appears that Gandhi had deliberately ignored the Rajaji formula⁵³ as the basis of discussion with a view to confuse the issues; and in this process he was anxious to demolish both the Two-Nations theory and the Lahore Resolution. Therefore, these negotiations failed to achieve any consensus.

It was in such a background that the Muslim Legislators' Convention was held in Delhi on April 9, 1946; and a comprehensive Resolution was adopted stating clearly the position of the Indian Muslims.⁵⁴ This Resolution, in fact, is an elaboration of the Lahore Resolution of 1940, and therefore, the two documents are to be read in conjunction with each other. The Lahore Resolution had not made any specific mention of the Two-Nations theory which was its very foundation, and therefore, the Resolution of the Legislators' Convention elaborates specifically the idea that the Muslims of India constituted a distinct nation.⁵⁵

Whereas different historical backgrounds, traditions, cultures, social and economic orders of the Hindus and the Muslims made impossible the evolution of a single nation inspired by common aspirations and ideas and whereas after centuries they still remain two distinct major nations.

There was also left another lacunae in the Lahore Resolution insofar as it had visualized the creation of "Independent States" in the North-Western and North-Eastern regions, and did not envision creation of a single State, and also the name of the State as Pakistan was not mentioned. Therefore, with a view to fill in the gaps, the Resolution revised the Lahore Resolution in the light of the political developments which had taken place during 1940-46 in India. The Resolution states:⁵⁶

That the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the north-east and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the north-west of India, namely Pakistan zones, where Muslims are a dominant majority, be constituted into a *sovereign independent* State and that an unequivocal understanding be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay.

V

CONCLUSIONS

In tracing the development of Muslim politics in India, one may clearly discover three distinct stages: (I) 1906-1920 during which the All-India Muslim League had been endeavouring to secure constitutional safeguards for the Indian Muslims as a religious

minority—separate electorate; (2) 1921-1939 during this period the League's approach had been to secure regional consolidation of the Muslim majorities within the framework of a loose federal constitution; and (3) lastly, 1940-47, in this final phase, the League demanded the creation of an independent state of Pakistan. In these three phases of evolution of Muslim politics, the Indian Muslims' status was differently defined, i.e., as a minority, as a majority in provinces, and as a distinct nation in the final stage. However, it appears that in the final phase, Jinnah had always kept open his options of federal as well as national solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem. This view gets support from the fact that in 1946 Jinnah had accepted in substance the Cabinet Mission Plan in which he could find the potentiality of Pakistan as an independent state insofar as it had provided for grouping of Muslim provinces, and the right of secession of the groups from the Indian Union after ten years. The Cabinet Mission plan was a compromise between the two extremes—the unitary government idea of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim demand for an independent Pakistan. However, the plan was later rejected by both the Congress as well as the Muslim League. Thus ultimately, Mountbatten Plan recognized the Muslim claim of an independent state of Pakistan, and consequently, the Independence Act divided the sub-continent into India and Pakistan. In the end, we may conclude that Jinnah was able to transform the poet's vision into a political reality.

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It's our garden, and we are its nightingales.
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DR. MUHAMMAD IQBAL AND PUNJAB POLITICS

(1877-1948)

L. S. May

“We are adrift in a sea with no shore.”

(*Payam-i-Mashriq*)

Introduction

Dr. Muhammad Iqbal was born in Sialkot, Punjab, later studied and, upon his graduation in 1899, taught at his Alma Mater, Lahore's Oriental College and then at Government College. He left for England in 1901 to obtain a Law Degree at Cambridge's Trinity College, and later took a Doctorate in Philosophy at the University of Munich.¹ He later wrote in his Diary² begun in 1910: “Philosophy is a set of abstractions shivering in the cold night of human reason. The poet comes and warms them up into objectivity.” The barrister sailed home in August 1908. Making Lahore his permanent home, he taught philosophy for two and a half years at Government College, earning a good salary (Rs. 500 monthly). He then resigned because he “could not freely express his ideas while in Government employment.”³ His statement implies that he preferred personal independence in order to criticize freely the British colonialist Government. He now faced financial difficulties for his law practice was not very profitable. He henceforth devoted himself to lecturing part-time,⁴ continuing his philosophical studies, writing and (later on) participating in political activities. His magnificent Urdu and Persian works, his speeches, correspondence—partly written

in English—all aimed at uplifting and politicizing the mostly rural Indian-Muslim masses. They mirror the discontent of his age. For he lived at a time when the demand for *svrajya* (“self-rule”) was growing amidst fierce British restrictions. It became a complicated issue for two chief reasons; namely, (1) the status of the approximately seventy million Muslims (1920 figure⁵)—later numbering eighty millions—who formed “numerically one-fifth of the other community”⁶ and feared the Hindu majority; and (2) the true nature of *svrajya*. The *first* problem is best typified by this political statement: “India belongs to the Hindus; the Muslims are only guests and should learn to behave like guests.”⁷ Its implications are that they (a) have no citizenship rights because of their distinct faith (monotheism *versus* Hindu polytheism) and customs; and (b) could be forced out of Hind at its majority’s pleasure. It ignored the fact that many Indians were converted to Islam⁸ and millions of Muslims were (and are) born in India.⁹ Dr. Iqbal wrote:

“We both are exiles in this land,
Both longing for our dear home’s sight.”¹⁰

The definition that “Islam is religion”, as is Hinduism, “and religion is politics’, so that “religion and politics cannot be separated”,¹¹ undermined any Hindu-Muslim efforts to reach an *entente*. This ideological approach to Indian politics hardened the communal arteries and made of unity an impossibility. Again, Dr. Iqbal wrote:

“If union be the end of love, beware.”¹²

Reflecting the Indian Mussalmans’ fear of losing their identity in a united India, he actually stated in his March 20, 1937 Letter addressed to the future *Quaid-i-Azam*, Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948):¹³ “I would further make it clear to the Hindus that no political device, however, subtle, can make the Indian Muslim lose sight of his cultural entity.”¹⁴ It furthermore mirrors his staunch Muslim nationalism. Sayyid Abul ala Maududi referred to it as follows: “‘In a major portion of his life . . . Iqbal had primarily a tinge of ‘Muslim’ nationalism about him which perhaps he would not shed throughout his life.’”¹⁵ In his December 29, 1930 Allahabad speech before the All-India Muslim League¹⁶ over which Iqbal then presided, he asked:

“Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national politics, in which religious attitude is not permitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India where the Muslims happen to be in a minority.”¹⁷

The reference is to religious nationalism. In the same speech, he asserted:

“It is, however, painful to observe that our attempts to discover such a principle of internal harmony have so far failed. Why have they failed? Perhaps we suspect each other’s intentions and inwardly aim at dominating each other. Perhaps in the higher interests of mutual co-operation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly stimulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or a tribe. Perhaps, we are unwilling to recognise that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the causes of our failure, I still feel hopeful... And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring *that if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India.* . . .”¹⁸

This portion of his speech (a) refers to the impossibility of secular nationalism due to the afore-mentioned equation: religion *is* politics, and therefore politics *is* religion; and (b) Indo-Islamic patriotism. This ideological orientation heavily bore upon the *second* aspect; namely, the nature of *svarajya*. The general consensus was that it meant self-government. But the question arose: Does it signify autonomy under the British aegis or Dominion status (such as had by Australia and Canada) guaranteeing non-foreign influence in India’s internal affairs or full severance from Great Britain? Mr. Jinnah advocated Dominion status until 1920; Maulvi Hasrat Mohani (1878-1951) until 1921. Mr C. R. Das in his Faridpur speech held in 1923 stated: “Government should guarantee to us the fullest recognition of our right to the establishment of Swaraj *within the Commonwealth* in the near future, and, in the meantime, until Swaraj comes, a sure and sufficient foundation of such Swaraj should be laid at once . . .”¹⁹ In his 1921 presidential Ahmedabad (annual) Congress speech, he, however, had said: “whether *within the Empire or without it*, India must have freedom so that she may realise her individuality and evolve her destiny without help or hindrance from the British people . . .”²⁰ Dr. M. Iqbal used the same wording in his afore-mentioned 1930 presidential All-India Muslim League address. The movement for full independence at first was led by Srinivasa Iyengar and embraced by the Dominion-lashing Mr. J. Nehru (1889-1964), destined to become India’s first Prime-Minister, who jointly with some of his friends founded for Independence the India League on August, 30 1928. The demand for full independence was regarded as “irresponsible” by some and “inconsistent” by other political leaders. The majority subscribing to “the attainment of Dominion status” held the British to their own promise made by their Governor-General Lord Irwin (1926-1931)-upon his return from England—on October 31, 1929.²¹

Concerning the question how to achieve *svarajya*, Dr. Iqbal, Mr. Jinnah and other Muslim leaders preferred the more peaceful diplomatic method to the Gandhian Non-cooperation and non-violent resistance programs endorsed by Congress. They intensified the bloody (1920-1940)²² Hindu-Muslim riots and British reprisals.

The *second* issue arising from the independence movement concerned the re-organization of the constitutional machinery. It involved specific administrative aspects and the minorities' safeguards. The Muslims were the more anxious about this important subject because they (as said) formed India's largest minority. Even where they were in a numerical majority, in the Punjab as in Bengal and other provinces, they felt the antagonism and attempts to push them in a corner in politics, economics, and education.²³ To overcome this animosity and assure for themselves a legitimate voice in the administration, their leaders demanded and received separate electorates under the 1916 Lucknow Pact,²⁴ which principle was incorporated in the amended 1919 Act and reaffirmed as an integral part of any future Indian Constitution in the 1932 Communal Award granted by the British to the Hindus' consternation. To retain the Pact's unity spirit and soften the majority's stand, Mr. Jinnah drafted the 1926 "Muslim" or "Delhi Proposals",²⁵ accepting mixed or joint electorates in all legislative councils without giving up the one-third minority representation included in the stated Pact. Although the All-India Congress Working Committee approved them, the Punjabi Muslims rejected them for fear of losing their political rights; the Mahasabha opposed them because they wished to preserve Hindu dominance. This fiercely Hindu organization even threatened to boycott the 1928 Nehru Report as amended by Mr. Jinnah so "that residuary powers should be vested in the provincial legislatures, and not at the Centre", should it pass Congress in which some its members also sat. It never took effect. Mr. Jinnah's intensive efforts to come to some agreement to save the Indian Union during the 1930's met with a barrage of letters from Dr. Iqbal between 1936—election year following the 1935 Government of India Act, in which the Muslims were defeated, even losing in their majority provinces—and 1937.²⁶ "I tell you," he wrote to Mr. Jinnah in his June 21, 1937 letter, "that we are actually living in state of civil war which, but for the police, would become universal in no time. During the last few months there has been a series of Hindu-Muslim riots in India ... It is purely political, *i.e.* the desire of the Sikhs and the Hindus to intimidate Muslims even in the Muslim majority provinces. And the new constitution is such that even in the Muslim majority provinces the Muslims are made entirely dependent on non-Muslims..."²⁷ This was the case in the Punjab as much as throughout India. To answer the question whether his participation in its council since 1926 was or was not contradictory to his Muslim nationalism, some reference to that province's internal situation must be made.

The Punjab²⁸

Three main groups settled in this Province: (1) the Hindus who formed a numerical minority; (2) the Muslims who had made it the centre of their rule in Sultanate

times (1021-1526);²⁹ and (3) the Sikhs who originally were a Hindu reform sect.³⁰ The Sikh "core" is formed by the Jat tribe, "a tough peasantry with martial traditions racially akin to the Sikhs...the typical Sikh is a sturdy 'Jat' peasant." While the Jats dwell (ed) "in the southeast toward Delhi", the Sikhs reside(d) in the Punjab's heartland. "In the districts immediately east of Lahore lay the homeland of the Sikhs...the vigorous but violent peasant stock that...were enterprising" so that they "held most of the Punjab's best land. They flourished under the Muslims³¹ whose Mughal Empire (1526-January 1858) they challenged for which purpose they militarized themselves (Singhs or "lions").³² They built their "independent sovereign state" on its ruins—it is "known as the Lahore Sarkar or Lahore Darbar."³³ It weakened with the death of its founder, the Jat Sikh, Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) and was annexed by the British East India Company³⁴ in 1849. They fought against foreign rule for which purpose their guru Ram Singh started the Namdhari or "religio-social-political movement...in April 1857."³⁵ It gained many adherents within the Punjab during the next five years. Of the approximately six million Sikhs, comprising about 2 per cent of the total Indian population, about one third resided in the Punjab. The breakdown of its total population during the earlier twentieth century, at whose start "important sections of the Hindu and Sikh communities have drawn further apart",³⁷ is as follows:³⁷

11,444,321 Muslims
 6,945,927 Hindus forming 31.9% of the Punjabis
 2,294,207 Sikhs
 329,050 Jains,³⁸ Buddhists,³⁹ and Christians,⁴⁰ in that order

Total .. 20,685,025 Punjabis

Despite their numerical minority, the Sikhs played a dominant role in the Punjab's political life. The British favouring them in the Army and branches of the civil administration,⁴¹ undoubtedly encouraged it. The Sikhs nevertheless continued to oppose foreign rule, for which purpose they formed terrorist bands (Kuka Sikhs) in the later nineteenth century and the Akali Dal ("Akali Army"), "a semi-military organization"⁴² in 1920.⁴³ This "Army" mounted an intensive military campaign against the British between 1920 and 1925 in which about 250 Sikhs died. "The Akali movement served to widen the gulf between the Sikhs and Hindus of the Punjab." Its formation furthermore "marked the transfer of political leadership from the landed aristocracy to the Sikh middle classes."⁴⁴ The Sikh-Muslim relationship will be noted later. Other notable *Hindu* political organizations were the afore-mentioned All-India National Congress, set up in 1885 at (New) Delhi and which became the most representative spokesbody for its people; the *Mahasabha*, launched in 1919, some of whose members also sat in the Congress; and the *Arya Samaj* ("Society of the Aryans")

with its slogan "Arya for the Aryans", founded by the Vedic reformer Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883)⁴⁵ at Bombay in 1875⁴⁶ the Arya's attacks upon Sikhism were forcefully countered by the reform Sikh Singh Sabha Movement, founded about the time.⁴⁷

The *All-India Muslim League* became Islamic India's most representative political organization, gaining power particularly after 1936. It apparently was launched first in the Punjab in 1904,⁴⁸ became a central organization in December 1906,⁴⁹ with which the provincial body became affiliated. The latter's desire to retain its autonomy, the former's insistence upon imposing its viewpoint and principles, and the encounters between powerful personalities led to disagreements and an occasional¹³ rupture. In the year 1928, for instance, the Punjab League's rejection of that Delhi Proposal accepting Joint electorates led to its disaffiliation by the All-India Muslim League. The rift was healed after the successful February 1934 Muslim Conference when a Central Parliamentary Board (Majlis) was constituted. Five Muslims out of a total of twenty-five persons sat on this Board.⁵⁰ The provincial League(s) weaknesses nevertheless became clear in the 1936 elections—based upon the 1935 Act—causing a re-organization at the Centre and intensive attempts by Mr. Jinnah to develop it into a truly national mighty body. It henceforth became *the* Indo-Islamic political spokesman. It was possible only after the weakening of the most powerful *Punjabi* Muslim organ: the Rural Bloc or Zamindar Party. It was founded by Mian Fazl-i-Husain (1877-1936) in 1921, in the same year that he became the Punjab's Education Minister (until 1926). He, like Dr. Iqbal, was born in Sialkot where they were primary school classmates, became a Barrister at Cambridge, returned home, began practicing law in 1901, and moved to Lahore in 1905 where he joined the Provincial Congress Committee and the Lahore Indian Association.⁵¹ He decided to enter and was voted into the Punjab Legislative Assembly,⁵² in 1916 despite Hindu attempts to block his election. He resigned from the said Committee in protest against its support of the 1919 Non-Cooperation and Councils' boycott. He nevertheless continued his political career, as his acceptance of the education portfolio in the Punjab Council shows. From 1916 onwards,⁵³ he also assumed 'the control of the Provincial Muslim League'. He changed his own Party's name to the National Unionist—better known as Unionist—Party in 1923. It stood for: (1) greater Punjabi and minority representation in the Legislative Council(s); (2) "separate electorates for Muslims and other communities who claimed them",⁵⁴ including, of course, the Sikhs (clearly rejecting the "Delhi Proposals" joint electoral principle); and (3) its founder supported a resolution during his first legislative council tenure "permitting the use of Urdu instead of English in the Punjab."⁵⁵ It showed at once an anti-foreign and a national Muslim approach. Mr. Husain nevertheless insisted that his Party was non-communal and ardently desired to solve "the communal problem according to local conditions."⁵⁶ Here, Punjabiism showed its strength. He stated that his Party

"should be the determining factor as to who is to be and who is not to be in the Party...In 1932 he defined 'Unionist in the sense the members of all religious and races find their place in it. Its capacity for serving the Province will be considerably reduce if it fails in this important respect.'"⁵⁷

He opposed his friends' and Mr. Jinnah's suggestion to set up a communal Muslim Party, for which Sir Malik Firoz Khan Noon suggested the name :the Muslim Zamindaran ("Landlords") Party. Fazl-i-Husain instead reorganized his Unionist Party between 1935 and 1936 to make it into a mass body by drawing the small peasant proprietors forming the Punjab's main economic group into it. Hitherto the conservative landed gentry sitting in the Legislature had dominated their respective districts, political life. His death on 9 July 1936 intervened. Sir Sikander Hayat Khan (died on December 26, 1942),⁵⁸ pro-British, anti-communalist, and having urban Sikh and Hindu support, then became the Unionist Party leader. It won 96 out of 175 seats in the provincial legislature in the 1937 elections. Congress refusal to cooperate with this Party led to its president's suggestion to reach a compromise with the All-India Muslim League.⁵⁹ Sir Sikander now having to defend himself against the charge that he submitted to Mr. Jinnah, said that a wave of anti-Muslim fanaticism would have swept him away had he not done so. He retained nevertheless the Party leadership until his death in 1942. It had to battle not only with the national League for retaining its provincial superiority, but also with the Sikh organization. "During the 1930's, the Akali Dal strongly opposed not only the Muslim League, which frankly stood for Muslim interests, but also the Unionist Party" which it considered "promoting primarily Muslim interests under the cover of a secular" rural economic program.⁶² While it allowed its members to join Congress between 1937 and 1939, it strongly criticised any Sikhs who joined the Unionist Party and cooperated with it in the Legislature.⁶¹

The Khaksar ("humble") movement,⁶² founded by Allama Inayat Allah Khan Mashriqi in 1931, had its main strength in the Punjab (and in the United Provinces). Although it was led by upper-class intellectuals, it chiefly attracted the petty bourgeoisie and upper labour groups. Its founder stated: "The Khaksar movement does not aim at the exaltation of the favoured classes of people but at lifting up the masses".⁶³ He furthermore asserted: "Our aim is peace, love, equality, and justice for all."⁶⁴ Another Khaksar said: "Hindus and Sikhs must know that we are not against them. If we get power, we will work for them too."⁶⁵ It really was an anti-liberal, "communist", Muslim nationalist and militant movement preaching social service.⁶⁶ It stressed the glorious Muslim past an ideal islamized world under their "military dominion." "Khaksars were encouraged to believe that they were a group devoted to creating a well-ordered, decidedly progressive, economically flourishing society."⁶⁷ Although they lacked any economic program, they nevertheless were ordered "to do and die" their leaders' bidding. Wearing brown uniforms and bearing their movement's symbol, the spade, they nightly met, and drilled for an hour as well as in "three-

day regional camps.” They actually numbered about 30,000⁶⁸ aged between the limits of 16 to 60—verses their 400,000 claim. Mashriqi maintained that religion alone causes a nation’s rise and decline.⁶⁹ He issued bonds bought by landowners and others and collected money as well “from the petty bourgeoisie glad to see the Islamic community developing a fighting force.”⁷⁰ “Our aim is to be once again Kings, Rulers, World Conquerors and Supreme Masters on earth. This is our religion, our Islam, our creed and our faith,”⁷¹ they were militant Muslim nationalists despite some statements otherwise interpretable.

Another small Punjab party was the *Majlis-i-Ahrar* formed by Chaudhri Afzal Haq in 1931. It consisted mostly of Khilafatist remnants,⁷² and some Muslim urbanites. It became extremist in 1934 by favouring Muslim orthodoxy. It cooperated with Mr. Jinnah’s Parliamentary Board opposed by the Unionist Party as it meant imposition. The Ahrar-League combination was “embarrassing to the Unionist Party”,⁷³ which nevertheless stood its ground, until 1937 (that is, a year after Fazl-i-Husain’s death). The Ahrars undoubtedly helped pave the Muslim League road toward the end of the 1930’s (and possibly subsequently).

The *Ittihad-i-Millat*, another extremist Muslim group, like the Unionists under F. Husain’s leadership, opposed Jinnah’s Parliamentary Board. “So he is left with the Ahrars” and some disgruntled politicians.⁷⁴

Last, but not least, may be mentioned the *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* (“Society for the Defence of Islam”), founded at Lahore in 1885. Its formation probably was influenced by the Bharata Dharma Mahamandala started by Pandit Din Dayal Sarma in the Punjab in about 1890 (or shortly thereafter) to counter the Arya Samaj’s attacks on orthodox Hinduism.⁷⁵ The *Anjuman* concentrating on Islam’s propagation, promotion of its culture, social work and education, for which purpose it set up many schools and Islamia College (at Lahore),⁷⁶ the only higher institution of learning for Muslim students in the Punjab, a press, and branches in many of India’s towns, in fact, paralleled the aforementioned Hindu organization. The *Anjuman*, however, founded “Anglo-vernacular schools” for both boys and girls, taught a western curriculum as well as Islamic theology,⁷⁷ and advanced Arabic subjects in its Hamidia school. It also maintained an orphanage where elementary industrial training was given. Its, as the Mahamandala’s, main purposes were to prepare modern-educated preachers, teachers and missionaries able to defend their respective faiths against any attacks—in Islam’s case, by Hinduism and Arya and Sikhism—and prevent further conversion to Christianity particularly of Hindus, but also of Muslim poor and orphaned boys and girls to whose maintenance and education the *Anjuman* particularly was devoted. It furthermore wished to effect “concord” between the diverse Muslim sects,⁷⁸ and convince the Indo-Islamic community of the need to retain loyalty toward the British Government.⁷⁹ It regarded a united (Muslim) front and governmental protection

essential in view of the often uncordial Hindu and Sikh stance. This negative attitude not only was exhibited in general popular behavior, but also in the provincial and central legislatures (or councils).

The Punjab Legislature

Since Dr. Iqbal became one of its elected members in 1926, a brief description is in order. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 allowed for the establishment of a legislative council in the Punjab.⁸⁰ It had nine members⁸¹ by 1897. The 1909 Indian Councils Act,⁸² fixed the number of "additional" or "nominated non-official" and official members—including one Indian appointee—at thirty for this province.⁸³ They were combined in such a way that they "would secure a small majority over the elected members,"⁸⁴ whose proportion in the Punjab Council then totalled 19 percent.⁸⁵ While this council (as its other provincial counterparts) mainly was a law-making and advisory body before 1909, it since that date could discuss the budget—as Dr. Iqbal would do much later—discuss and present resolutions and recommendations to the Executive (*viz.* the provincial Governor). It however, did not accord the separate representation principle⁸⁶ to the Punjabi Muslims,⁸⁷ who nevertheless secured 25 percent of the elected seats. Under the 1916 Lucknow Pact and the 1919 Government of India Act, they were allotted 50 percent thereof, although they totalled 54.8 % of the undivided Punjab's whole population (1921 census) and held 41-42 percent of its voting strength.⁸⁸ "The Hindus, who were a little over 30 percent of" that province's inhabitants and formed 24 percent of its electorate, "received about the same share in the legislature as they had in the population."⁸⁹ The Sikhs, too, now were granted "separate electorates, and representation in the Punjab legislature to the extent of 18-1/2 percent of the total number of seats even though they were only 13 percent of the total population of undivided Punjab."⁹⁰ The Sikhs nevertheless were dissatisfied with their allotment: they wanted 30 percent of the (elected) seats for themselves; 30 percent for the Hindus and 40 percent for the Muslims.⁹¹ "Above all, they were interested in preventing the Muslims from having a majority in the legislature."⁹² They nevertheless assured the latter that they had nothing to fear, but obviously were opposed by the numerically largest group in their demand. The elected membership under the 1919 Act "in each of the provincial councils...was fixed at not less than 70 per cent."⁹³ Special representation furthermore was given to industrial and commercial interests as well as to landholders and universities. The Punjab Council constituted after the November 1920 elections held under the said Act contained a total of 93 (or 94) members, of whom 71 were elected and 22 (or 23) were nominated.⁹⁴ Its elected representatives counted "35 Muslims, 15 Sikhs, and the rest Hindus and others."⁹⁵ Of the 22 nominees 2 were Ministers, 15 were officials, and 7 were non-officials. The 7 non-official members represented the special interest groups as follows: 4, the landholders by 1 Muslim, 1 Hindu, 1 Sikh, and 1 other Muslim for the Tumandars of Dera Ghazi Khan (all being Muslims); 1, "Industry"; 1, "the Chamber of Commerce"; and 1 the University.⁹⁶

32 seats were assigned territorially to Muslims, "12 to Sikhs, and 20 to Hindus; Muhammadans and Sikhs being returned by separate electorates."⁹⁷ There was also a division between rural and urban members. There were altogether 51 rural and 13 urban constituencies. "It will thus appear that out of 64 elected members returned by territorial constituencies, 44 which constitute more than a majority of two-third, or nearly 69 percent, are returned through communal electorates."⁹⁸ This Council was dominated by Fazl-i-Husain and his (1921) Rural Party, then mainly composed of "a few rural Sikhs and Hindus", and the only one in it.⁹⁹ "After the 1923 elections the Rural Party consisted of 30 rural Muslim members, 5 urban Muslim members and 6 Hindu rural members, who were led by Choudhri Lal Chand." The "second Reformed Council, elected in 1923" also "had the Swarajya Party consisting of 12 members; amongst the Muslims there were 3 Khilafatists, and others belonged to Sir Fazli Husain's party." The latter's (since 1923) Unionist Party "consisted of 39 members against the opposition consisting of 32 members..."¹⁰⁰ Between 1923 and 1932—when Dr. Iqbal had participated in the Punjab legislature—there were many attempts summarized under efforts to come to terms between the diverse Indian "communities" on the one hand, and between them and the British Indian Government on the other. On April 16, 1932, the British (Communal Award) formally was announced. It gave the Muslims a statutory majority...in the Punjab legislature. The Sikhs received representation to the extent of 19 percent of the seats in the legislature. However, the Akali Dal, which by this time had become the major force in Sikh politics, was dissatisfied with this arrangement, and it now agitated for a solution that would give the Sikhs an even larger representation and at the same time rescind the Muslim majority in the legislature."¹⁰¹ Its opposition to the Unionist Party and any Sikhs associating with it in the 1937 coalition ministry (after the 1936 elections), its closer alignment with the All-India National Congress (1937-1939) has been noted. Dr. Iqbal as a member of the Punjab legislature had a good chance to see communal politics from the ringside.

Dr. M. Iqbal's Political Views and Activities

Some of his early poetry reflects the hope for a united India. But he was born at a time when (as has been shown) there was a swing toward Hindu extremism and nationalism. While in England, he apparently was a member of a Committee organized by Amir Ali to represent the Indo-Muslim viewpoint and state the subcontinent's conditions so that the (British) Government might make the desired reforms.¹⁰² He also was elected to another committee forming part of the All-India Muslim League branch organized in London in May 1908.¹⁰³ He bemoaned the passing of the Muslim period in Sicily¹⁰⁴ while sailing past it for home. His 1910-1911 well-known poems, the *Shikwa-e-Hind* ("Indian Complaint") and *Jawab* ("Answer") already show his deep concern with the Indian Musalmans' condition.

"They cry in pain,
their ravished souls are thirsty."

“And though Indian the song be, from
Hejaz derives the mode.”¹⁰⁵

Thus he wrote in his *Shikwa-e-Hind*. Castigating them in the *Jawab* for relapsing into “sectarianism class and caste”, he nevertheless asserted their still “hidden” greatness and tried to revitalize them in these words:

“Where is now the time for leisure?
Mighty labours yet await. . . .”¹⁰⁶

They clearly indicate a “communal” concern. He indeed, had written in his 1909 letter explaining his refusal to deliver a lecture at Amritsar’s Minerva Lodge: “The vision of a common nationhood for India is a beautiful ideal, and has a poetic appeal”, but that “the unconscious trends of the two communities” would appear to make it “incapable of fulfillment.”¹⁰⁷

He insisted that Islam never should “cease to be a living factor in the national life.”¹⁰⁸ He undoubtedly was influenced in this statement by the revivalist *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* whose Secretary he was from 1920 to 1929 and President from 1934 to 1937.¹⁰⁹ In 1919 he had been elected as chairman of the Muslim League Public Relations Committee during its (annual) Amritsar-held session. He had continued to support this organization upon his return from abroad. He did not accept this honour because he had arranged “to meet his friend Akbar Allahabadi about this time.”¹¹⁰ Did he prefer to remain formally aloof so that he, a Muslim nationalist, would not be accused publicly of anti-Punjabiism? He nevertheless attended *without* assuming the chairmanship. He also was chosen to the Punjab Khilafat Committee¹¹¹ about that time (or early 1920). He soon after accepting resigned because “the existence of this Committee was in my opinion dangerous to the Muslims.”¹¹² He also rejected the Non-Cooperation Movement explaining his reason for it in his December 3, 1920 letter: “Even if non-cooperation is considered a religious duty the method adopted for carrying it out is in my opinion against the spirit of Islamia shariat.”¹¹³ Three chief reasons account for his opposition: fear of communal bloodshed, of further British reprisals, and his dislike (non-cooperation) of Hindu-led mass movements. During 1910-1920 and actually until 1924 he apparently was not very active politically in Punjab and national affairs. In his July 20, 1923 letter he asserted: “Probably I will not stand for election although people of Lahore are pressing me to do so, and several deputations have come to see me in this connection. But I do not want to compete with Mian Abdul Aziz, who is an old friend of mine.”¹¹⁴ Did he fear losing or that it would conflict with his broader nationalist stance? Or was it because the Punjab Muslim League had weakened? For he never joined the Unionist Party which he later would attack even in the press. While Fazl-i-Husain began reviving the Punjab League in 1924, Dr. Iqbal in that year joined the Lahore National Liberal League,

resigning from it shortly because he found it ineffective; entered "about the same time" Mr. C.Y. Chintaman's National Conference held at Bombay, leaving it when finding out that its main aim was "to oppose the Swarajya Party."¹¹⁵ Not until 1926 did he become a candidate to the Punjab Legislative Council "from Lahore." What caused his change of mind between 1923 and 1926? "From 1924 riots between the Hindus and the Muslims became very common."¹¹⁶

"There were serious communal riots at Multan and other places. Swami Shradhanand started a well-organized and well-financed movement for converting Muslims to Hinduisim" (*vis Shudhi*), and this was naturally resented by the Muslims. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya started his Hindu Sangathan (Hindu Consolidation) Movement which...move increased Muslim apprehensions. In the Punjab, the administration of the High Court under Sir Shadi Lal, whose policy seems to have been to keep out every able and self-respecting Muslim, was another running sore."¹¹⁷

Furthermore, the Arya Samaj whose "chief leader for many years"¹¹⁸ was the Hindu Punjabi Lajpat Rai (1865-1928) became very strong in the province, while the All-India National Congress dominated the (Punjab) legislature.¹¹⁹ Lajpat Rai actually asserted that due to the negative relations with the Muslims, the Mohasabha was the Hindus' best friend.¹²⁰ These developments, including the Sikh opposition, undoubtedly caused Dr. Iqbal to stand for election.¹²¹ He won¹²² and formally became a Punjab Council member on November 23, 1926, that is two years after its League branch revival. While he supported Fazl-i-Hussain in the latter's broader Muslim nationalist views, reiterating his advice that their co-religionists must stand on their "own legs" (in view of the Caliphate's breakdown), he opposed him in his anti-communal policies. His speeches in the Legislature show his continued concern with the Punjabi and Indian Muslims' economic condition. He used his growing reputation to advance their cause particularly in a communal-minded Legislature, and to counter on the one hand Hindu-Sikh and, on the other, broader Punjabi nationalist pressures. When the All-India Muslim League split on the question of cooperation or boycott of the forthcoming Simon (or Statutory) Commission,¹²³ Jinnah and the majority deciding at Calcutta in December 1927 upon the latter way, Dr. Iqbal joined "the Shafi League" declaring that it would take the opposite route at its Lahore December 1927 session. He thereby openly ranged himself with the "Anglo-Indian school of politics." He became the Secretary of a Committee appointed by Sir M. Shafi in 1928, helped draft its report, then resigned noting that during his absence due to sickness, his recommendations had not been included, but rejoined (his resignation was unaccepted) and co-signed its final memorandum for submission to that Commission. He also was amongst the Committee members interviewed by that group.¹²⁴ He advocated full religious liberty, separate electorates, solid (Indo-) Muslim rights politically and economically, and even autonomy. He clearly stated his position in his well-known Decem-

ber 9, 1930 All-India Muslim League presidency speech demanding the amalgamation of "the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan...into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India."¹²⁵ His suggestion created a stir and some Muslims demanded that it be incorporated into their demands during the London 1930-1932 Round Table Conferences the first two of which Dr. Iqbal attended.¹²⁶ It was *not* incorporated into the 1930 League resolution.¹²⁷ He subsequently supported Mr. Jinnah's Parliamentary Board (set up on May 12, 1934), and tried persistently to change this eminent Muslim Leaguer's non-communal efforts to reach a solution on the Hindu-Muslim problem so that progress could be made on completing the new Indian Constitution.¹²⁸ Mr. Jinnah's refusal to endorse the " 'crazy Pakistan scheme' " as late as 1936 caused a flurry of letters written to him by Dr. Iqbal between 1936 and 1937.¹²⁹ Another reason was that the All-India Muslim League had fared badly in the early 1937 elections under the 1935 Government of India Act. Although Congress found itself in a minority position in the Punjab,¹³⁰ the League neither won. The Unionist Party captured 96 out of 175 seats.¹³¹ Dr. Iqbal wrote to Mr. Jinnah on May 23, 1936 in part:

"Thank you so much for your letter which I received a moment ago. I am glad to see that your work is progressing. I do hope that the Punjab parties—specially the Ahrar and the Ittihad Millat—will eventually, after some bickering, join you. A very enthusiastic and active member of the Ittihad told me so a few days ago...we shall soon see how the electorate generally feels about the Ittihad sending their men to the Assembly.

Hoping you are well and looking forward to meeting you,

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) MOHAMMAD IQBAL"

In another letter addressed on May 28, 1937 to Mr. Jinnah, after alluding to the urgent need to improve the Indian Muslims' economic lot according to the *Shariah* and the possibility of "a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots", he added:

"But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve the problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities. Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived? Perhaps this is the best reply you can give to the atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru..."¹³²

He stood by his conviction to the very end of his life. In his June 21, 1937 letter, he once more told Mr. Jinnah:

"To my mind the new constitution with its idea of a single state in an Indian federation is completely hopeless. A separate federation of Muslim provinces on the lines I have suggested...is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are...?"¹³³

He died before Mr. Jinnah proclaimed his historic 1940 Lahore Resolution. By then, Sir Sikander Hayat, anti-communalist and (like Dr. Iqbal) pro-British, having also urban Sikh and Hindu support,¹³⁴ was the Unionist Party chief (since Fazl-i-Hussain's death in July 1936). He and this Party went over "en bloc" to the Muslim League in 1937, laying him open to the charge of submitting to Mr. Jinnah. He refuted it by stating that, had he not done so, a wave of fanaticism would have swept him away. The Akali Dal at that time moved closer toward Congress (as stated) and even embraced its 1942 Quit India campaign. Sir Sikander having been replaced by Sir Khizar Hayat Tiwana—entering politics in 1937 when he took over the Unionist Party chief—faded from the political scene.¹³⁵ Sir Khizar in 1944 expelled Mr. Jinnah from the Muslim League Punjab branch. The Unionist Party members now had to choose between loyalty to the League or Sir Khizar. Advocating the Pakistan platform, they could not resist the increasing mass appeal enjoyed by the League allowing it to triumph in the February provincial 1946 elections, when it took 75 out of 86 Muslim seats.

"Conditions in the Punjab were precarious. As no compromise between the League and the Unionists could be reached, Khizar Hayat Khan resigned (on 2 March 1947) and his coalition ministry,"—due to the League's inability to form a ministry for lack of an absolute majority—mainly supported by Sikhs and Hindus, fell."¹³⁶

Sikh and Hindu refusal to cooperate with the attempt to establish a "provincial Muslim League" ministry¹⁻⁷ resulted in the Punjab's take-over by its last British governor, Sir Evan Jenkins, under the 1935 Government of India Act's Section 93 until independence was proclaimed.

Svarajya brought in its wake the Indian Union's and the Punjab's¹³⁸ schism. The suggestion for dividing Hind according to its Hindu and major Muslim components already had been made in the nineteenth century,¹³⁹ and by Lajpat Rai in 1924. He interpreted Hasrat Mohani's January 1922 statement concerning a "parallel government" in a "federated India 'similar to that of the United States'" and follows: "It means

a clear partition of India into a Muslim India and a non-Muslim India.'"¹⁴⁰ Dr. Iqbal clarified it in 1930.¹⁴¹ Mr. Jinnah adopting the "Pakistan Plan" in 1940¹⁴² made it henceforth the All-India Muslim League's platform. Thus an independent Republic of Pakistan came to be the final result of the Sikh-and Hindu-Muslim inability to come to a basic understanding concerning the minority safeguards to be incorporated into an All-Indian Constitution!

Conclusions

"The attitude of toleration and even conformity—without belief in dogma—is probably the most incomprehensible thing to the vulgar mind."¹⁴³ Nationalism and communalism dominated the Indian political sphere during Dr. Iqbal's (and Mr. Jinnah's) lifetime. Both were stimulated and heightened by British supremacy. Secular insensitive rule promoted the conviction amongst Hindu's leaders that a spiritual rebirth is essential.¹⁴⁴ The divide-and-rule policy furthermore stirred growing apprehensions amongst the Muslims about Hindu and Sikh intentions toward them and amongst these groups fear concerning the possibility of a revival of Islamic rule. The irritations within and outside of the provincial and central councils. Concerning nationalism, it may be said that there was a transposition of the term "sect" into "nation." The foremost Hindu poet and dramatist, Rabindranath Tagore (1861—1941) had said: "We have no word for nation in our language."¹⁴⁵ He like the *Quaid-i-Azam* before 1940 clearly rejected the communal form that nationalism was assuming. Such a course nevertheless was facilitated by such revivalist organizations as the Mahasabha and the Jamaat-i-Islami. Neither really was a political institution; yet both had fundamentalist political influence radiating across Hind.¹⁴⁶ It was felt in the All-India Congress as much as in the All-India Muslim League (even their cross-currents). Dr. Iqbal being a Muslim fell under the *Anjuman's* spell. He deeply was attached to Islam as his association with Muslim institutions while in England already showed. He may have been a Modernist, but he was *not* a secularist. He thus readily accepted and crystallized that concept of nationalism which was infused heavily with sectarianism. For him patriotism could not mean devotion to a Hindu motherland, but an Islamic fatherland. It must enshrine the *Shariat*!

From a more secular viewpoint, he stood for cooperation with the British mainly because he felt governmental protection of the Islamic community essential amidst the communal fervor. This may be regarded contradictory, if he was aware that basically the British were not so Muslim-minded. Nevertheless, they granted the leaders' requests: separate electorates, and representation on the basis of a fixed number of allotted seats in the legislatures. Taking a contrary stand *might not* have gotten them these demands.¹⁴⁷

Was his League membership in contradiction to his Punjab Legislature activities? The answer to this question partly has been given. To repeat: he wished to

serve the Muslim cause best represented by the League in the council at a time it felt the communalist pangs. His bitter critique of anyone, including Fazl-i-Hussain and even Mr. Jinnah, for retaining a non-communalist attitude and policy, also contains a clue. Wasn't their viewpoint more contradictory by subscribing to non-communalism on the one hand and, on the other, to work on behalf of their co-religionists' well-being? ¹⁴⁸Thirdly, he wished to give Mr. Jinnah the hard-needed solid support in a legislature overridden by Congress and Sikh anti-Muslim representatives (with some exceptions) and even by anti-League Unionists. Their founder's statement shortly before his death that " 'Jinnah's Parliamentary Board is already broken up " ¹⁴⁹ has limited historical importance because it deals with a particular moment when neither the Ahrars nor the *Ittihad-i-Millat*, " 'the extremist section of the Muslims'" (Hussain's statement) gave him their loyalty. Dr. Iqbal's 1909 assertion that "a common nationhood...is poetic ideal", and as such unworkable, can be likened to a prophetic prediction. Hadn't he written: " 'A Prophet is only a practical poet' " ¹⁵⁰ His was *not* a vague emotional nationalism (as Maududi had asserted), but the consequence of the *swarajya* tide which in its communalist form swept the politicians and the intelligentsia along like an avalanche. Dr. Iqbal, however, has the great distinction of giving it an indelible stamp in his speeches, letters and writings. He lastly hoped that by joining Muslim India with the Islamic world the *Millat* could be solidified. Isn't that why this tribute is given him by those commemorating his birth centennial?

"I have no tale to tell except the tale of love; I do not care if men approve or disapprove. Of learning's light I do not have the slightest need; And all I have to do is burn and melt and bleed."¹⁵²

NOTES

1. His Dissertation entitled *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* was published by Luzac Co., London, in 1908.
2. *A Note-Book of Allama Iqbal* (Started on April 27th, 1910), ed. by his son, Mr. Justice Javid Iqbal of Lahore. (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1961. P. 127 for quotation.
3. Iqbal Singh, *The Ardent Pilgrim*, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Muhammad Iqbal (Bombay: Orient Longmans, Ltd.), 1951. P. 60.
4. Cf. also his famed 1928 University Lectures, edited by Mr. Justice Javid Iqbal, and published under the title: *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. It has seen many reprints, and is now, in honour of his commemoration, under revision.
5. Rt. Hon. Amir Ali's April 22, 1920 speech at Kingsway Hall, London. (Cf. *His Thoughts on the Present Situation*, Bombay Gazette Steam Press, 1907, p. 183.)
6. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk's statement quoted in *Tazkirah-i-Viqar*, p. 169. His real name was Mushtaq Hussain (1814-1917). He was elected to the post of Aligarh College Secretary in 1907. See Chapter VI in S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan (1858-1951)* (Lahore, Sh. M. Ashraf, 1965).
7. F. K. Khan Durrani, *Meaning of Pakistan* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf), 1944. P. 101. No source listed.

8. Dr. Iqbal himself belonged to "an aristocratic Brahmin family of Kashmiri origin who had embraced Islam some three centuries previously..." (Maryam Jameelah, *Islam in Theory and Practice*, Lahore: M. Yusuf Khan, 1967, P. 203.)
9. The 1976 estimated total population of Pakistan (excluding Bangla Desh) is 72,368,000, of whom the majority are Muslims. The 1971 Indian census counted an estimated 435,300,000 total, of whom 82.72% were Hindus and 61,400 or 18% were Muslim's. India's 1976 estimate is a total and 609,270,000 million of whom over 70 million are Muslims.
10. *Bal-i-Jibril* ("Gabriel's Wing"), Urdu, published in 1935.
11. Khan Durrani, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
12. *Javid Namah* ("Pilgrimage to Eternity"), Persian, 1932.
13. See Ikram, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIV; also, M. Hassan Saiyid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah, A Political Study* (Karachi: Elite Publishers Limited), 1962 reprint of 1953 edition (first ed., 1945).
14. *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* with a Foreward by M.A. Jinnah (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf), 1956.
15. Jameelah, *op. cit.*, p. 213 quoting from a personal letter received from Maududi (without giving any date); and pp. 218 ff. for a brief biographical sketch on the founder of the Jamaat-e-Islami ("Party of Islam"), set up at Lahore in 1941. Dr. Iqbal apparently invited him to Lahore to collaborate with him on reviving Islamic Law (Shariah). He was born at Aurangabad, Hyderabad, in 1903, and became Dean of Lahore's Islamic College's Theological Faculty in 1939. Amongst his writings are *Towards Understanding Islam* (1932) and his *Tarjuma-al-Quran* ("Translation of the Quran"), begun in 1933.
16. See below for a brief statement on the All-India Muslim League.
17. See my *Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought After 1857* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf), 1974, p. 240 where this quotation appears.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 241. (Italics mine).
19. J. Coatman, *India in 1928-1929* (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch), 1930, p. 48 for both quotations. He was Director of Public Information for the British Government of India.
20. See for instance V. P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 1957, p. 38 for the text of Lord Irwin's announcement.
21. Beginning with the 1919 Rowlatt Acts which, as stated, infuriated the Indian people(s).
22. The Punjab University was a Hindu institution until reforms were introduced by Mian Fazl-i-Husain (1877-1936), who was appointed the Punjab's Education Minister in 1921. See Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 269 ff., for a brief biography; also that written by his son Azim Husain, entitled *Fazl-i-Husain, A Political Biography* (Bombay, Madras, et al.,: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd.), 1946.
23. It was signed by Mr. Jinnah on the Indo-Muslim community's behalf. It also demanded one-third of the allotted elective seats for the Muslims in all legislatures and a three-fourth quorum in the Central Legislature to assure that no bill affecting any minority would be passed without elected their member's approval.
24. They retained the above-stated provisions and added such conditions as Sind's separation from the Bombay Presidency and granting the North-West Frontier Province a status similar to that had by the other provinces. They were incorporated in the 1935 Government of India Act.
25. See also "Conclusions".
26. *Letters, op.cit.*, pp. 21 ff. The second part of the June 21, 1937 letter is given under the "Conclusions".

27. It covers 47,205 square miles, is about 230 sq. miles broad and 370 sq. miles long. (Nayar, *op. cit.*, p. 12).
28. It was founded by Central Asian Muslims who mostly were of Turkic or Pathan stock.
29. It is based on the teachings of the Hindu Nanak (1469-1538, but was reformed by Kabir (1440-1518). It accepted most of the Hindu tenets *e.g.* *maya*, the triad Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva (the "Absolute", sun-and bull-god), *Nirvana* (return to primal form), but deviated by accepting monotheism derived from Islam without however giving any name to the supreme God (called Allah in the Quran). They have their *Adi Granth* and their religious centre at Amritsar.
30. P. Moon, *Divide and Quit* (London: Chatto & Windus), 1961. P. 29. "In 1931, more than 50 percent of all Sikhs were Jats." (Baldev Raj Nayar, *Minority Politics in the Punjab* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 1966. P. 21.
31. Under their sixth guru Har Govind (1606-1645, Their last Guru Gobind Singh (1616-1708) instituted the Khalsa ("pure") faith: purity of mind and soul; worship; etc.
32. See Nahar Singh, *Gooroo Ram Singh and The Kuka Sikhs* (N. Delhi: Amrit Book Co.) 1966. Vol. 3 (April 1872-June 1880), p. i.
33. Founded in 1600 at London to find a spice route. Its first representatives reached India at the beginning of the 17th century. The East India Company mixed trade with guns and ruled the land until the 1857 Mutiny. In 1858 the Crown took over.
34. It added work; forbade meat (of Hinduism) and alcohol (Islamic); bride sales and purchase; and demanded a simple marriage rite.
35. Nayar, *o.p. cit.*, p. 23. There are also Sikh Harijans or "Scheduled Castes as there are Hindu Jats and Harijans, mostly in the Ariana region now belonging to India.
36. Cf. Rajendra Nath, former Punjab Legislative Council member and ex-Mahasabha president, *Memorandum on The Rights Claimed By The Hindu Minority in North-West India* (Lahore: The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press), 1928. P. 1. There actually were 54.8% Muslims in the Punjab according to the 1921 census.
37. Another Hindu reform sect founded by Mahavira (599-527 B.C.), stressing purity, *ahimsa* or "non-violence" (influencing Mahatma Gandhi), and monasticism (*cf.* Buddhism and Christianity).
38. Followers of the Buddha (563-483 B.C.) or the "Enlightened One", whose historical name was Gautama Sakyamuni (of the Sakya clan).
39. Christianity according to tradition entered India during the first Christian century. British rule reinforced it. Protestantism, too, rooted in Hind, therefore (as most foreign civil servants belonged to this sect).
40. As many as "33 percent" Sikhs at times served in the British Army. (*Cf. Census of India, 1931, xvii, Part 1, p. 305* for this British preference.—
41. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs* (Princeton University Press, 1963-1966, p. 109).
N. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. xii. A year after the Jallianwalagh Bagh incident when General Dyer shot into a crowd assembled in a park against Government will.
42. Nayar, *op. cit.*, p. 67, also referring to Kh. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
43. Cf. Har Bilas Sarda, *Life of Dayananda Saraswati* (Ajmer: Vedic Yantralya, 1946. Saraswati wrote "The Light of Truth" (*Satyartha Prakasha*) (Lahore: 1927?), in which he asserted that "God is one" (and that the Vedas are His revelation (*sruti* in contradistinction to *smṛti*).
44. Another smaller party was the Home Rule League founded by the English theosophist, Mrs. Annie Besant (1847-1933)—she presided over the All-India National Congress which she helped

found—in 1917 (she had come to India in 1893) and to which Mr. Jinnah also belonged for a while. He resigned when Gandhi took over its presidency in 1920 and changed its name to Swaraj Sabha, showing its Hinduization.

46. Nayar, *op. cit.*, p. 62: "in the last quarter of the nineteenth century." It aimed at de-hinduization of Sikh beliefs and institutions, preaching amongst "the ignorant masses", and study and restore their "original sources... to pristine purity." (Source: Teja Singh, *Essays in Sikhism*, Lahore: Sikh University Press, 1944 p. 119. Cf. also his book: *Sikhism Its Ideals and Institutions* (Lahore: Lahore Book Shop, 1918.
47. Cf. however Ikram, *op. cit.*, p. 210, stating that "rival provincial leagues" were started in 1908 by Fazl-i-Hussain" interested... in the provincial branch of the Muslim League" thereby clashing "with the more moderate Mian Muhammad Shafi, who was some ten years his senior."
48. Set up at Dacca toward the end of 1906, it has its first annual meeting at Karachi in December 1907: during its second March 18/19, 1908 Aligarh session, the differences were patched up. Mian M. Shafi submitted 24 and Mian Fazl-i-Hussain 18 names for membership "to constitute the executive of the Punjab Provincial League." (Ikram, p. 210.)
49. Choudhry Khaliqzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (Longmans' Green & Co., Ltd., Pakistan Branch), 1961. P. 295.
50. It was started in about 1875 by former members of the British Indian Association, founded by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan at Aligarh, the site of his 1875 College—a University since 1922—in 1866. They also began the Students Association in 1875.
51. See below for this Assembly.
52. See again Ikram, *op. cit.*, p. 210. He thus took over from Mian M. Shafi. Fazl-i-Husain after an absence from politics joined Congress in 1915. His vigorous political interest apparently dates from 1913. (A. Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 80.)
53. A. Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 306.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 305-306, citing from "Foreword to Vox Populi Series, No. IV, 1932."
58. See Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-220 on him, for instance.
58. Mr. Jinnah submitted Sir Sikander's proposal to come to terms with the League to its 1940 (annual) Lahore session. (*Evolution, op.cit.*, p. 252; cf. pp. 250 ff. for the Punjab).
59. Nayar, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
60. Cf. the Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact. Mr. B. Singh then became a Minister in the Unionist Government.
61. This section mainly is derived from W. Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (London, Victor Gollancz Ltd.), 1946. Part II: Ch. Four: "Islamic Nationalism: The Khaksar Movement".
62. Mashriqi as quoted in Subhan: The Khaksar Movement, Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies Bulletin, Series XXVIX, July-August 1941, p. 151.
63. Mashriqi: The Khaksar Movement (Lahore: The Light), Dec. 24, 1936.
64. In a letter d. December 24, 1936 addressed by an unnamed Khaksar to Mr. Cantwell Smith (his *op. cit.*, p. 236).
65. Such as digging wells, help in times of famine, etc.

66. W. C. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 236.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
68. Mashriqi's 1924 *Tazkirah*.
69. W. C. Smith, p. 238.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 241, citing from Mashriqi in Subhan, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
71. Khilafatism expressed Indian Muslim anger at the old Caliphate's dismemberment by the triumphant Western powers during the First World War. It was to them a symbol of Islamic freedom and power. Kemal Pasha (Ataturk, the "father of the Turks") formally abolished it in March 3, 1924.
72. A. Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 311 quoting from one of his father's letters to the Aga Khan (1875-1958), See Ikram, Ch. 12 (pp. 194 ff.) asserting that the Aga Khan "dominated the national scene..from 1904 till 1934" (on p. 194).
74. The Bharata Dharma Mahamandala (literally, "Indian Religion's Great Chart"), contrary to the Arya Samaj, accepted the Vedas with their polytheism and stood for the defense of orthodox Hinduism. Yet, it advocated preaching the "Eternal Religion" (*Sanatana Dharma*) to all castes: Brahmins or "priests", Ksatriyas or "warrior nobles", Vaisyas or middle classes (merchants, traders, shopkeepers, *et al.*), and Shudras (servant groups) instead of only the first three, as permitted by the *Vedas*, and to non-Hindus as well.
75. A Liberal Arts College which had a European principal by 1913.
76. Following the example of Aligarh, founded only ten years earlier.
77. Sunnies, following the Prophet Muhammad's precepts and example (*sunna*); Shiites ("seceders"), divided into Seveners and Twelvers, and many sects, that the Prophet's teaching secretly was transmitted via his grandsons Hassan and Hussain martyred at Karbela in 683 C.E. to their Imams; and Ahmadiyyas rejecting the Quranic teaching that all revelation ended with the Prophet Muhammad's death in 632 C.E.
78. Following the "Aligarh School".
79. As in Bengal (Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 4).
80. The 1861 Act had stipulated a minimum of four and a maximum of eight to be nominated by the provincial Governor-Generals. The 1892 Act allowed indirect election of Indian non-officials by district boards and municipalities.
81. Embodying the 1906-1908 Morely-Minto reforms. Mr. Morley was Secretary of State for India, but resided in London; Mr. Minto was its Governor-General (1905-1910). They originally disfavoured granting separate electorates.
82. Showing continued "discrimination against the Punjab". (A. Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 75, citing also "Punjab Administration Report, 1911-12, p. 92".)
83. Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
84. Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
85. Already demanded by the Aga Khan during his 1906 "Simla deputation" to Lord Minto.
86. It was granted to the Muslims "in Madras, Bombah, Bengal, the United Provinces and in East Bengal and Assam." (Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 12.) Bengal had been divided in 1905 following Hindu-opposed Muslim demands, but was reunited in 1912.

87. A. Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 82, states 41 percent; Nayar, *op. cit.*, p. 77, 42 percent.
88. Nayar, *op. cit.* p. 77 also for the immediately following quotation.
89. Nayar, *op. cit.*, p. 77. Cf. fn. 63: "Great Britain, Indian Statutory Commission, *Memorandum Submitted by the Government of the Punjab* (London; His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1930), X, 18."
90. Source (listed by Nayar, *op. cit.*, p. 78, fn. 64): "Great Britain, Indian Statutory Commission, *Selections from Memoranda and Oral Evidence by Non-Officials*, XVI, Part I, 135-147." Such "important Sikh leaders" as "Sir Sunder Singh Majithia, Teja Singh, and Jodh Singh" gave "oral evidence".
91. Nayar, *op. cit.*, p. 78 as also for the Muslim opposition.
92. Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
93. R. Nath, *Memorandum, op. cit.*, p. 1; the bracketed figures are those given by Vahid, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
94. Vahid, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
95. R. Nath, *Memorandum, op. cit.*, p. 2.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2. Under the 1919 Act (see above).
97. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
98. Vahid, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 276. Mr. Lal Chand, who was "a Jat member from Rohtak, "was appointed as Minister of Agriculture; considered inefficient, he was replaced by Choudhri Chotu Ram, a Unionist Party adherent. It meant that he, unlike his predecessor, took Muslim as well as other minority interests at heart. C. R. Das founded the Svaraj of a Party in late 1922.
100. Nayar, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79. For the Sikh seats' allotment, he lists as a source (in fn. 67 on p. 78): "Maurice Gwyer and A. Appadorai, *Speeches and Documents on the Indian Constitution, 1921-47* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1957), I, 261-65." Under this Award, the Muslims then totalling 57.0% of the Punjabi population, of a total number of 175, received 86 reserved seats. "The Sikhs, who formed 13.2 per cent of the population of the Punjab, were given 32 seats in a house of 175." (Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 49. also giving statistics on the other provinces.)
101. Muhammad Amin Zuberi: *Siyasat-i-Milliah*, p. 59.
102. S. R. Wasti: *Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement, 1905-1910*, p. 227.
103. The first invasion under the Aghlabids occurred in 827 C.E.; Palermo fell in 831; Messina about 843; Syracuse, in 878. It would remain an Arab province until 1060 when its Norman conquest started.
104. PP. 29 and 33 respectively (also quoted in pp. 83-84 of my book on *Iqbal, His Life and Times*, Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf), 1974.
105. P. 67.
106. *Iqbal, op. cit.*, p. 79—Letter dd. March 28 (1909).
107. *Notebook, op. cit.*, "Introduction", p. xiii.
108. Vahid, *op. cit.*, p. 299.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

110. He even wrote a poem welcoming the "Ali Brothers" (Shaukat and Muhammad) upon their release from prison and even praised them for their courageous khilafatist stand. M. Ali, (d. 1930) founded the *Comrade* on January 1, 1911 and the Urdu journal, *Hamdard* in early 1913. He was called "a communal patriot".
111. February 11, 1920 Letter to Maulvi M. Niazuddin Khan. *Makatab-i-Iqbal*, p. 27.
112. *Makatab-i-Iqbal*, p. 36. It lasted until 1924.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 46. (Cf. Vahid, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-269).
114. Vahid, *op. cit.*, p. 269, citing (in fn. 2) as source: *Zihr-i-Iqbal* by A. M. Salik, p. 129.
115. Vahid, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
116. Ikram, *op. cit.*, p. 180. See also Saiyid, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
117. J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements In India* (London: Macmillan & Co.), 1929 (based on October 1913 Hartford lectures). P. 358.
118. Undoubtedly important reasons for Fazl-i-Husain's Unionist Party's reconstitution.
119. Saiyid, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
120. Two other likely reasons were his hope to gain political eminence and improve thereby his financial status.
121. By three thousand votes over his opponent Malik Muhammad Din. (Vahid, *op. cit.*, p. 269.)
122. Its personnel "was announced in November 1927." (Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 34) It was headed by Sir John Simon, reached India in February 1928., and ended its work in April 1929. Its Report issued on June 10 and 24, 1930 by then was outdated. It was rejected because of its exclusively British membership, demand that defence remain in Governmental hands, etc.
123. On November 5, 1928! Vahid, *op. cit.* p. 272). In April 1928, Independence of India League with Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar as President and Messers. J. Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose as Secretaries was formed. The subsequent Nehru Report, Jinnah's amendments' failure, have been mentioned. Dr. Iqbal also attended the January 1, 1929 All-India Muslim Conference, when Sir M. Shafi insisted upon separate electorates, and "residuary powers in the provinces" etc. (Vahid, p. 280.) Reconciliation. also was effected.
124. Shamloo, *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: Al-Manar Academy), 1948. P. 12.
125. Nov. 12-1930-Jan. 19, 1931; Sept. 7-Dec. 1, 1931; Nov. 1-Dec. 24, 1932. Mr. Jinnah did not attend the third Conference. He had effected the Minorities Pact with the Depressed Classes' representative, Dr. Ambedkar and other minority groups' leaders before the Second Conference while the March 5, 1931 Pact with Viceroy Lord Irwin obliged Gandhi to call off his second civil disobedience campaign in lieu of British promises to release prisoners (incl. Mr. J. Nehru) and permit the manufacture of salt.
126. Chaudhri Rahmat Ali, then a Cambridge University student, (apparently) coined the name "Pakistan" found in his 1933 pamphlet "Now or Never".
127. Reference already has been made to the 1928 Nehru Report and Mr. Jinnah's amendments' failure.
128. The League had weakened after the December 1927 split, became moribund between 1933 and 1936 (rather than since the rift as contended by Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 55), but was resuscitated after Mr. Jinnah's election as its president in early 1936, that is, a year after the passing of the Government of India Act incorporating (as stated) the 1932 Communal Award.
129. As in Sind and Bengal. Elsewhere it won handsomely.

130. The Muslim League nation-wide captured only 108 out of a total of 485 Muslim seats. (Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 55.) It also lost out in Bengal to Fazl ul-Haq's Krishak Party. Its and the Unionist Party's victory showed the strength of provincialism over "nationalism".
131. *Letters, op. cit.*, pp. 13 and 16 ff.
132. *Letters, op. cit.*, p. 24.
133. He signed the so-called "Sikander-Baldev-Singh Pact" which, amongst others, allowed for the use of Hindi Devanagari and Punjabi Gurmukhi script to be used in respectively the Hindu and Sikh schools (as Urdu with its Arabic script in the Islamic institutions of learning). The Hindi-speaking population totalled 6.7 million or 21.7 percent, and the Punjabi-speaking group 9.4 million or 58.3 per cent in 1951. (Nayar, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 and 15.)
134. He died in 1942.
135. *Evolution, op. cit.*, pp. 252-253. The Congress won 51, the Akali Sikhs 22, the Unionists 20, and the Independents the remaining 7 seats in the Punjab Legislature. By-elections in three constituencies gave the League 4 additional seats. Party loyalties furthermore diminished the Unionists' seats by 10, adding 3 to the Independents.
136. R. Symonds, *The Making of Pakistan* (London: Faber and Faber), n.d. (Foreword dd. Nov. 1949), p. 81 states that the Sikhs at that time were demonstrating "shouting 'Death to Pakistan'".
137. As also of Bengal.
138. Henry Cotton in *New India* (1885).
139. *Iqbal, op. cit.*, p. 139.
140. As of 1930, there were 70 million Muslims in India, accounting for *circa* 20 per cent of its population. (Saiyid, *op. cit.*, p. 109.)
141. Mr. Jinnah submitted the proposal to the (annual) All-India Muslim League session held at Lahore in 1940. Hence it came to be called the "Lahore Resolution".
142. *Notebook, op. cit.*, p. 130.
143. Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
144. *Letters to a Friend* (ed. C. P. Andrew, London: Allen & Unwin), 1928. Tagore's letter dd. March 2, 1921 (a year after Gandhi had started his first disobedience campaign).
145. Cf. Vahid, *op. cit.*, p. 299; Farquhar, *op. cit.*, Ch. V "Religious Nationalism" (pp. 354 ff.), p. 355. dates its beginning in 1895 when a newly educated Indian middle class (the first Muslim generation since 1875) with a novel political consciousness began to assume leadership.
146. The question remains whether the Imperial British Government wanted to placate Indo-Muslim opinion and/or saw in the said demands other divisive devices.
147. Cf. M. Noman, *Muslim India* (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1942), p. 330 stating that Sir Fazl-i-Husain's Unionist Party was deceptive because it essentially was a communal organization.
148. Letter to the Aga Khan in *op. cit.*, p. 311.
149. *Notebook, op. cit.*, p. 126.
150. *Payam-i-Mashriq* ("Message from the East"), Persian (1923), poem headed "Love", pp. 84-85 in M. Hadi Hussain's translation (Karachi: Iqbal Academy), January 1971.

136 The Muslim League's political strategy in the 1930s: a study of the Muslim League's political strategy in the 1930s. In *The Muslim League: Its Rise and Growth*, ed. by M. A. Hashmi, pp. 1-15. Lahore: Al-Farooq, 1971.

137 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1931, p. 100.

138 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1931, p. 100.

139 The report of the 'Special Committee on the Muslim League' was published in 1931. The report was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1931, p. 100.

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150 The report of the 'Special Committee on the Muslim League' was published in 1931. The report was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1931, p. 100.

اے لالہ اے چراغ کہستان و باغ و راغ
 در من نگر کہ میدهم از زندگی سراغ

ما رنگ شوخ و بوئی پریشیده نیستم
 مائیم آنچه میرود اندر دل دماغ

مستی ز باده می رسد و از ایام نیست
 هر چند ز باده را نتوان خورد پی ایام

IQBAL'S ANDALUSIAN THEMES

Dr. Muhammad Yusuf Abbasi

The Andalusian themes shine like a silver thread in Iqbal's multi-dimensional poetry, a shimmering panorama as in the Cordovan Mosque, or interspersed as an evocative symbol in Tariq's Prayer. As pictureseque imagery and sonorous diction melt into a cascade of music in the Cordovan Mosque, his poetic sensibility seems to soar above the columns and arches into transcendent realms of truth and beauty. Undoubtedly the Cordovan Mosque is not only best of the Andalusian themes but also one of the finest poems in world literature.

Iqbal's appreciation of Andalusia¹ or Muslim Spain was not a product of his nostalgic yearning for past Muslim glory, even though such a feeling flows like an anguished undercurrent, but was born of a deep study of Muslim contribution to the arts and sciences of the Western World.² His knowledge of Muslim Spain was not confined to European sources but he possessed a keen insight in Arabic works like Al-Maqqari's *Nafh-ul-Teeb* which largely forms the background of Andalusian themes. His interest in Moorish Spain could be traced back to his poem *Siqliya* or Sicily written sometimes in 1908. Muslims left a deep imprint of their culture on Sicily which flourished as a centre of their learning in Mediaeval Europe. As the ship glided past the Sicilian coastline, Iqbal's eyes scoured the distant skyline for any sign of a minaret, and his ears strained to hear the sound of *azan*, and there welled up in his heart an overwhelming emotion that took the shape of the *Siqliya*, that proved to be the harbinger of his Andalusian poems. The *Siqliya* for its tone and tenor bears such a striking resemblance to the later Andalusian themes that it seems, the fire kindled in his

heart by a fleeting glimpse of Sicily burst into flaming verse when he visited Spain in 1932. Undoubtedly Iqbal's poetic genius found greater fulfilment in these poems.

Without prejudice to their deep philosophical import and evocative style, the Andalusian themes would have to be comprehended in their historical framework. Undoubtedly, the Muslim conquest of Spain, 711 A.D., forms a brilliant chapter in the history of Muslim expansion. It came as a climax to the process of westward expansion begun with the conquest of Egypt seventy years earlier. From his newly founded capital of Qairowan, Uqba Bin Nafi, the fiery nephew of the conqueror of Egypt, led a stormy campaign against the Byzantines and the Berbers. He cut through the fierce pagan tribes to reach the Atlantic, and in his zeal for an onward rush he plunged his horse into the waves, and raising his hand towards heaven exclaimed, "Almighty Lord, but for the sea I would have gone into still remoter regions, spreading the glory of Thy name and smiting Thine enemies³." Uqba's successors, in a series of sanguinary campaigns smashed the Byzantine power, and pacified the warlike Berber tribes. Musa bin Nusair was appointed to administer this turbulent territory in 697 A.D. and during next thirteen years he obtained complete submission of the tribes of the coast and the interior. It proved to be a turning point in the history of al-Maghreb. The African tribes sunk in the grossest ignorance and crude superstition were enlightened and humanised by Islam.

Through the centuries, the peoples of North Africa and the Levant often gave expression to their national strength by occupying territories on either side of the Mediterranean. The Arab invasion of Spain was a manifestation of the same geopolitical forces which had brought Hannibal to the Iberian peninsula. Although the Arabs had spread out from Fustat to the Atlantic in about sixty years of hectic expansion, their force was far from being attenuated and continued to flow into new channels. For sometime their impetuous spirits were held in check, as on their west lay the unknown expanse of the "dark ocean" or the Atlantic, and in the south stretched the burning infinity of the Sahara. But soon they braved the challenge of geographical barriers. Iqbal refers to their undying zeal in his famous poem *Shikwa*.

دیں اذانیں کبھی یورپ کے کلیساؤں میں کبھی افریقہ کے تپتے ہوئے صحراؤں میں
 * * * * *
 دشت تو دشت ہیں دریا بھی نہ چھوڑے ہم نے بحرِ ظلمات میں دوڑا دئیے گھوڑے ہم نے

Our *azan* often rang in the cathedrals of Europe and resounded in the blazing deserts of Africa.

* * * *

Often we traversed the deserts and rivers, and on our fiery steeds dashed into the Atlantic.

(free translation by the present author)

After the conquest of Tangier, Musa bin Nusair looked round for new avenues, but he “saw no more enemies to attack, no more nations to subdue, either among the Berbers or Greeks”. He wrote to his freedman Tariq, the governor of Tangier, ordering him to prepare for an advance on Andalus. Thus Musa found a new land, and a new prospect of glory to engage the restless energies of the Muslim armies. The political disorder in Spain provided favourable conditions for an invasion as Count Julian, the Spanish governor of Ceuta, harboured a personal grievance against the usurper King Roderick. Musa sent Tarif Abu Zarah at the the head of a small body of troops to reconnoitre Andalus. Encouraged by Tarif’s success Musa decided to undertake the conquest of Spain. Tariq bin Ziyad, the red haired, fair complexioned, eloquent/and dashing Berber commander was chosen by him to lead the invasion. As Tariq sailed along, he fell asleep and in a dream saw the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) along with a body of *Muhajirs* and *Ansar*, with their swords drawn and bows taut. The Prophet said “O Tariq.! Hasten to your goal.” On waking up, he found his heart brimming with confidence, and he gave good tidings of victory to his comrades who felt that the appearance of the Holy Prophet in a dream was surely a sign of divine grace.⁴ Tariq’s auspicious vision of the Holy Prophet touched a sympathetic chord in the heart of Iqbal who looked upon Tariq not only as a brilliant soldier but as the mystic symbol of Muslim power. Tariq burnt his ships after landing at Gibraltar. Strangely enough, al-Maqqari has glossed over this dramatic episode in a passing reference⁵ and Ibn Khaldun is silent about it. Iqbal’s vivid imagination transformed this incident into a memorable dialogue between Tariq and his men.

طاریق چو بر کنارہ اندلس سفینہ سوخت	گفتند کار توبہ نگاہ خرد خطاست
دوریم از سواد وطن باز چوں رسمیم	ترک سبب زروئے شریعت کجا رواست
خندید و دست خویش به شمشیر برد و گفت	هر ملک ملک ماست کہ ملک خدائے ماست

On the shores of Andalus,

Tariq set his ships ablaze,

How strange! they said.

In anger and rage,

You act not wise, nor sage,

Is it in religion fair?

You deny us a return safe,

To our distant homes,

From this alien shore,

They stood sad and grim

And said no more.

With a smile he held his sword,

And said, O brothers kind!

The ships I do't mind,

All the lands,

Under the blue sky,

Of my God so High,

Are in my hands.

(free translation by the present author)

As a philosopher Iqbal explored new dimensions in common events, comprehended them as moments of reality, and enlarged them into universal verities.

Before the Battle of Medina Sidonia commenced on 19th July 711 A.D., Tariq, made an impassioned speech, ranking among the finest pieces of oratory in the annals of military history. He exhorted his men to *jihad* thus:

“Whither can you fly,—the enemy is in your front, the sea at your back? By Allah! there is no salvation for you but in your courage and perseverance. Consider your situation; here you are on this island like so many orphans cast upon the world; you will soon be met by a powerful enemy, surrounding you on all sides like the billows of a tempestous sea, and sending against you his warriors drowned in steel and provided with every store and description of arms. What can you do to oppose them? You have no other weapons than your swords, no provisions but those that you may snatch from the hands of your enemies; you must therefore attack immediately,....Bear in mind that God

Almightly will select according to His promise those that distinguish themselves most amongst you, and grant them reward both in this world and in the future; and know likewise that I shall be the first to set you the example and to put in practice what I recommend you to do;....”

When Tariq had thus addressed his soldiers . . . their countenances were suddenly expanded with joy, hopes were strengthened, the gales of victory began to blow on their side and they unanimously answered him, “We are ready to follow thee.”⁶

Tariq’s speech was followed by a prayer in the recognized Muslim custom. This thrilling episode forms the background of Iqbal’s stirring poem entitled *Tariq’s Prayer*.

یہ غازی یہ تیرے پر اسرار بندے جنہں تو نے بخشا ہے ذوقِ خدائی
دو نیم ان کی ٹھہر کر سے صحرًا و دریا سمٹ کر پہاڑ ان کی ہیبت سے رائی
شہادت ہے مطلوب و مقصود مومن نہ مالِ غنمیت نہ کشورِ کشائی !

By their living faith and matchless courage Tariq and his warriors inscribed their names in the register of immortal renown. Iqbal was fascinated by those valiant men of action and held them up as a shining example for the listless contemporary Muslims. In the end, Tariq’s prayer turns into Iqbal’s fervent supplication for the revival of Islam.

دلِ مردِ مومن میں پھر زندہ کر دے وہ بجلی کہ تھی نعرہ لا تدر میں !
عزائم کر سینوں میں بیدار کر دے
نگاہِ مسلمان کو تلوار کر دے !

O God!

Let the fires blaze again

In *momin’s* heart,

As a bolt of “Fear Not!”

Let their eyes shine

A mirror of hope,

Nay, a sharp blade

Of a mighty sword.

(free translation by the present author)

With the advent of fugitive Ummayed prince Abdur Rehman al-Dakhil, a new chapter opened in Moorish history, as he crushed tribal factions and laid the foundations of the illustrious Ummayed rule in Spain. Although he carved out a flourishing dominion, and covered himself with glory, he could hardly forget his old associations with the date palm trees and his esert homeland. When he planted a date palm tree in his magnificent capital he was perhaps yearning for his, native Syria, and felt that in planting a date palm tree, he was transplanting a part of Syria, nay, of his own self into Spain. The tree symbolized Abdur Rehman's lonely inner self still longing for the bygone moments, which he did not share with anybody in his lofty loneliness.

تبدت لنا وسط الرصافة نخلة تنات با رض الغرب عن بلد النخل
 ققلت شبيهى فى التغرب والنوى وطول التناى عن بنى و عن اهلى
 فشأت بارض انت فيها غريبة فمشلك فى الاقصاء والمتناى مثلى
 سقتك غوادى المزن فى المتناى الذى يسبح و سيشمرى السماكين با لوبل⁷

Abdur Rehman's verses attracted the attention of Nicholson, the famous Arabist, who published their English translation in 1907

“O Palm, thou art a stranger in the West,
 Far from thy Orient home unblest.
 Weep! But thou Canst not. Dumb, dejected tree,
 Thou art not made to sympathise with me.
 Ah, thou wouldst weep, if thou hadst tears to pour,
 For thy companions on Europhrate's shores,
 But yonder tall groves thou rememberest not,
 As I, in hating foes, have my old friends forgot.”⁸

Iqbal knew Nicholson as professor of Arabic in Cambridge and also as translator of his *Asrar-i-Khudi*, so it is not unlikely that they shared their appreciation of Abdur Rehman's poem. It would be extremely rash to suggest that Iqbal derived his idea from Nicholson since he specially referred to Al-Maqqari, as source of his inspiration. A comparison of Abdur Rehman Al-Dakhil's poem with Nicholson's translation would reveal that the translator modified Arab images considerably, excluded flourishes of

Arabic idioms, and made the translation into a more coherent and intelligible piece for his English readers. Despite all this, Nicholson has tried to be more faithful to the original than Iqbal who is neither restricted by the Arabic text nor by its English translation. Like a kindered spirit, Iqbal imbibed the latent anguish of Abdur Rhman, and in his ethereal perception saw beyond the episode and turned the palm tree into a motiff of undying love.

ہے سوز دروں سے زند گانی - اٹھتا نہیں خاک سے شرارہ

صبح غربت میں اور چمکا ٹوٹا ہوا شام کا ستارہ

مومن کے جہاں کی حد نہیں ہے !

مومن کا مقام ہر کہیں ہے !

In 1236, after the fall of Cordova to Christians the mosque of Cordova, a vestige of Muslim glory, was converted into a Roman Catholic cathedral. Even though a fond pilgrimage, Iqbal's visit to the mosque in its altered condition might have been a shattering experience. I could well imagine Iqbal's emotional upheaval when I recall how an ordinary man like myself reeled under the impact of the Cordovan mosque which I happened to visit during a church service. But Iqbal's poetic alchemy transformed this natural feeling of anguish into an enthralling poem of hope and beauty. As Iqbal stood there under the soaring horseshoe arches and variegated columns, the present vanished, and he found himself living in the heyday of Muslim Spain. Although the present structure is shorn of its original splendour, and like Wazir Khan Mosque, Lahore, is hemmed in by twisting streets, Iqbal's vision of beauty was not restricted by any physical obstacles. It seems that the whole panorama of Cordovan glory opened before his eyes.

The sonorous cadence runs like a silver stream rippling through a variegated bloom, as the poem spreads out like a paradise of word and sound. This miniature epic of Moorish glory is a surpassing vignette of history, philosophy and melody. For its fusion of external reality, represented by the architectural excellence, with the world of inner perception Iqbal's poem perhaps stands unique in Urdu literature, and ranks with Coleridge's Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner and Keat's Ode to the Grecian Urn. Astoundingly beautiful diction fosters speculations into realm of Time and illumines facts of history. Although it would be an over-simplification to ascribe its philosophical theme to the dialogue between Abdur Rehman al-Nasir and qazi Mundhir bin Saeed, it would be worthwhile to examine this hypothesis in view of some internal evidence. Notwithstanding the obvious objection that the dialogue pertained to Medinat-al-Zahara, and not to the Mosque, the discussion does bring into sharp focus the questions like time, beauty and mortality.

Before her death a concubine of Abdur Rehman al-Nasir bequeathed to him immense wealth that she had amassed through the years in the royal harem. Abdur Rehman ordered that the money should be spent for obtaining release of Muslim prisoners from Christian captivity. But when no captive could be traced in the Christian dominions, the caliph thanked God and readily accepted the suggestion of al-Zahara, his dearly beloved concubine to found a city of palaces in order to perpetuate her memory. Once Abdur Rehman al-Nasir was sitting with his ministers in a parlour, much prized for its floor, roofs and walls of solid gold and silver, that Qazi Mundhir bin Sa'eed came in. For a while the caliph did not look up, and then in order to impress the austere qazi recited the following verses:

هم الملوك اذا ارادو ذكرها من بعدهم فبالسن البنيان
 اوترى الهرمين قد بقيا وكم ملك معاه حوادث الا زمان
 ان البناء اذا تعاضم قدره اضحى يدل عظيم الشأن⁹

When a king doth seek renown

Brighter than his golden crown

To remind posterity of his name,

He raises edifices lofty and great,

And puts his seal on eternity's gate,

Lo! the sun-backed pyramids,

Rise above the hoary past,

Reminders of bygone builders,

But many a king lies in dust,

Forgotten swords eaten by rust,

As no domes and no minarets rise,

To proclaim their deeds

In the halls of Time.

(free translation by the present author)

The qazi recited the verses of the Holy Quran, to admonish the caliph against accumulating gold and silver and neglecting the hereafter:

و لو لا ان يكون الناس امه واجدة لجعلنا لمن يكفر بالرحمن لبيوتهم سقفاً من فضة
عليها يظهرون ۝ و لبيوتهم ابواباً و سرراً عليها يتكئون ۝ و زخرفاً ط و ان كل ذلك
متاع الدنيا و الآخرة عند ربك للمتقين ۝

And were it not that all people would become one (disbelieving) community, We would provide, for those who disbelieved in the Benificent, roofs of silver for their houses and stairs (of silver) by which they ascend. And (of silver) the doors of their houses, and the couches on which they recline, And adornments of gold. And all this is naught but a provision of this world's life, and the Hereafter is with they Lord only for the dutiful." (43: 33-35).

The caliph fell silent and seemed visibly moved. According to another tradition, as the caliph was holding court in his resplendent place, Abu Usman bin Idrees recited the following panegyric:

مسيشهد ما ابقيت انك لم تكن - مضياً و قد مكنت للدين و الدنيا
بنا لجامع المعمور للعلم والتقى بالزهرة الزهراء للملك والعليا ۱۰

Forever your legacy would proclaim

You gloried in the name

Of your true faith,

And lit torches of fame

Shining beyond your state;

Built the *Jamia*, a centre of light,

In the dark, shining bright,

And the flower-cluster *Zahara*

Smiling in the dawns of future.

(free translation by the present author)

Abdur Rehman al-Nasir nodded his approval, but qazi Mundhir bin Sa'eed recited these verses warning him against the ephemeral glory of this world:¹¹

يا باني الزهراء مستغرقا اوقاته اتمهل
لله ما احشها سرورنا لولم زهرتها تذبل¹¹

O builder of *Zahara* stay!

Be not lost in palaces gay,

All glory is to God,

Lord of night and day!

How would you ever save?

Shining *Zahara* from decay.

(free translation by the present author)

The caliph was not convinced, since he regarded *al-Zahara* and *al-Jamia* as symbols of a true balance, between worldly power and the majesty of faith. He assured the qazi that his foreboding would not come true, and "the breeze of fond remembrance and memories of love would continue to waft it, and tear-laden prayers would ever irrigate it, so it would never wither away." The Qazi said, "I bear witness by Allah! I have conveyed to you what was in my mind."¹²

At last, the qazi's warning turned out to be true "as the breeze of remembrance" could not protect *al-Zahara* from destruction; but the structure dedicated to the worship of God survived political upheavals and the ravages of time and perhaps this theme inspired Iqbal to write these memorable lines:

آنی وفانی تمام معجزہ ہائے هنر کار جہاں بے ثبات ! کار جہاں بے ثبات
اول و آخر فنا باطن و ظاہر فنا نقش کہن ہو کہ نو منزل آخر فنا !
ھے مگر اس نقش میں رنگ ثبات دوام جس کو کیا ہو کسی مرد خدا نے تمام

Cordova was a glittering city, known even in distant Germany as a "Jewel of the World"¹³ The mosque added to the beauty and fame of Cordova as is evident from the following verses.

با رب فافت الامصار قرطبة فهن قنطر الواد و جامعها
هاتان ثنتان والزهرا ثالثة والعام اعظم شی و هو رابعها¹⁴

O Cordova! our city great!

Four things add to your grace,

The bridge over river fast

Zahara in its silver cast,

The *Jamia* towering tall,

And knowledge, best of all.

(free translation by the present author)

Abdur Rehman al-Dakhil began the construction of that great mosque to symbolise Muslim power, and in order to enhance its sanctity in the eyes of posterity he requested eighteen *tabeen* to lay the foundations of its wall facing towards the Kaaba.¹⁵ The mosque was enlarged and beautified by his successors until Abdur Rehman al-Nasir, the Shah Jahan of Spain, added a magnificent minaret mounted by two large silver and gold spheres which were topped by a shimmering gold flower. Abdur Rehman al-Nasir offered grateful prayers when this tall minaret was completed. Perhaps Iqbal was visualising that lofty minaret in his verse:

تیرے درو بام پر وادی ایمن کا نور
ترا منار بلند جلوہ گہ جبریل

Al-Hakam II, the scholar Caliph, doubled the covered area of the mosque, constructed four water tanks served by fresh running water brought in pipes from the hills. He added a *Dar-ul-Sadqat* or a poor house to serve the needy students who came to Cordova to study *fiqh*. The students were granted stipends and the mosque grew into a famous centre of learning. The travellers were also provided food and shelter. Al-Maqqari has left us a glowing account of the mosque. More than a thousand columns, made of red green, amber, white and bluish stone, stand in stately rows to cover an area of 242,250 sq. feet.¹⁶ As one enters the mosque one is struck by the tall slender columns like date palms in a fading evening over the desert. This is the general impression of the mosque and an eminent European historian compared it to a picturesque oasis that has been petrified with its date palm trees by some sorcerer.¹⁷ In 1887, Lane-poole wrote, "Travellers stand amazed among forest of columns which open out in apparently endless vistas on all sides."¹⁸ Iqbal employed the familiar simile, but in drawing this picture he combined his knowledge of Moorish history with his poetic vision.

تیری بنا پایدار تیرے ستوں پر شمار
شام کے صحرا میں ہو جیسے ہجوم نخیل

The imaginative picture of the historian was refined and rarefied by his muse that sought to locate the date palms in a Syrian desert. Iqbal's graphic imagery is essentially Arab in its tone and colour. Ibn-al-Mathana was so impressed by the vastness and majesty of the mosque that he styled it as *herm* or the Sacred Mosque of the Kaaba. He wrote:

بنیت لله خیر بیت نخرس عن وصفه الا نام
حج الیه من کل اوب کانه مسجد الحرام¹⁹

In God's name, you built,

A stately mosque,

Men stand dumb,

And stare in wonder,

As they come from four corners

To this Sacred House

(free translation by the present author)

The living faith and fervent love of the builders found expression in this splendid edifice, and Iqbal sharing the historic Arab sentiment also extolled it as the Sacred House.

اے حرم قرطبہ! عشق سے تیرا وجود
عشق سراپا دوام جس میں نہیں رفت و بود

In the stillness, that pervades the universe before dawn, Iqbal heard the resonant *azan* ringing in the desolate mosque, and saw the pageant of bygone glory in the ruins of al-Zahra. His vision rested on gallant horsemen galloping to the frontiers, craftsmen cutting water channels through the hills, and farmers planting saffron and lemon. As repository of Muslim sweat and blood, Spain is another sacred land. Iqbal enlarged the metaphorical connotation of *herm* to laud not only the Cordovan mosque but whole of Spain as a vast *herm*.

ہسپانیہ تو خون مسلمان کا امین ہے
مانند حرم پاک ہے تو میری نظر میں
پوشیدہ تری خاک میں سجدوں کے نشان ہیں
خاموش اذانیں ہیں تری باد سحر میں

Iqbal met contemporary Andalusians, who despite their different faith and culture still bear a striking resemblance to their cheerful Muslim ancestors. Al-Maqqari described the Cordovans as well-dressed, high-minded people who are fond of good food and well-known for their fine horses.²⁰ Cordova was the centre of noble born persons, and the cherished goal of travellers.²¹

The black-eyed damsels, and simple, warm-hearted people are a living testimony of centuries of Muslim influence. These demographic traits have taken the shape of superb lyrical verses in Iqbal's poem.

جن کے لہو کی طفیل آج بھی ہیں اندلسی
خوش دل و گرم اختلاط، سادہ و روشن جبیں
آج بھی اس دیس میں عام ہے چشم غزال
اور نگاہوں کے تیر آج بھی ہیں دل نشیں

Muslim contribution to the growth of modern arts and sciences in Europe is a well-known theme of Orientalists and naturally Iqbal was deeply impressed by Moorish intellectual achievement. He aptly said:

جن کی نگاہوں نے نی تربیت شرق و غرب
ظلمت یورپ میں تھی جن کی خرد راہ ہیں

In an earlier poem he had referred to this theme in the following verses:

ہے زمین قرطبہ بھی دیدہ مسلم کا نور
ظلمت مغرب میں روشن تھی مثل شمع طور

Granada, at one time excelled among cities of the Muslim world and an Arab poet hailed it as a bright bride.

غرناطہ ما لها نظیر ما مصر ما الشام ما العراق
ما ہی الا العروس تجلی و تلک با لجملة الصداق²²

Granada is a peerless town,

A fair bride,

None to match its price

Syria, Egypt or Iraq.²²

(free translation by the present author)

But Granada aroused a feeling a deep anguish in Iqbal's heart. He felt a strange restlessness tinged with sadness and a vague longing. The tragic fall of Granada, the last bastion of Muslim power in Spain, has been the subject of tearful elegy in Muslim literature. Iqbal expressed these feelings in the following verse.

غرناطہ بھی دیکھا مری آنکھوں نے و لیکن
تسکین مسافر نہ سفر میں نہ حضر میں

However these sad feelings did not blur his vision and he saw bright sparks of hope in Muslim heart which could not be put out by storms.

کیونکر خس و خاشاک سے دب جائے مسلمان
مانا وہ تب و تاب نہیں اس کے شرر میں

After the fall of Cordova in 1033 A.D., Seville emerged as the leading city of Andalus. Although the petty amirs of Seville could boast of no significant military victory, their real triumph lay in the arts of peace and in the grandeur of Seville. Like Cordova, Seville also stands near a river that imparts a touch of rare beauty to this city. An Arab poet has painted a lovely picture of the river in spring.

كانما النهر صفحة كتبت امطرها و النسيم ينشها
لما ابانت عن حسن منظرها مالت عليها الغصون تقرؤها²³

The breeze writes in ripples

On the river's silver scroll,

And long tender boughs

Like fair damsels bend,

To see their rosy images.

(free translation by the present author)

Though not insensitive to the beauty of Seville, Iqbal was more pre-occupied with an epic theme comprising the exile and imprisonment of Muta'mid, the last king of Seville. Muta'mid could have saved his kingdom from Christian ravages if he had persevered in the arts of war, but he preferred to surround himself with poets, singers and dancers.

It was not surprising, that Yusuf bin Tashfin, the tough son of the desert, overthrew Muta'mid and cast him in prison. During his long imprisonment Muta'mid poured out his heart in verse, but his poems unlike those of Bhadur Shah Zafar are not tearful lamentations. He fell ill and called for Abdul-Aa'la Zuhar bin Abdul Malik, his old physician, who treated him and prayed for his long life. The captive king replied:

دعالي بالبقا و كيف يهوى اسير يطول به البقاء
 اليس الموت اروح من حياة يطول على الشقى بها الشقاء
 اارغب ان اعيش ارى بناتي عوابي، قد اضر بها الحفاء

Pray not for my long life,
 Would a captive yearn,
 For years spun out,
 In loneliness and pain-
 Moment after moment
 Stabbing me again and again,
 Would my eyes dim and old!
 Bear to see my dear daughters
 Shorn of robes and bitten by cold.

(free translation by the present author)

Despite his adversity, Muta'mid finally emerges a noble and high-minded person and it was for this reason Iqbal styled him as "*Mard-i-Hurr*" or a "free man" cherishing his sword and spear even in prison. It seems that Iqbal's image of Muta'mid was not primarily drawn from al-Maqqari but was largely inspired by the pathetic beauty of Muta'mid's *diwan* or collection. In his characteristic manner Iqbal interpreted events in philosophic terms and traced the intagible relationship between the steel of a broken sword and chains of slavery. Muta'mid lamented.

غريب بارض المغربين اسير سبيكي عليه منبر و سرير

This found a ringing echo in Iqbal:

مرد حر زندان میں ہے بے نیزہ و شمشیر آج
میں پشیمان ہوں پشیمان ہے مری تدبیر بھی!
خود بخود زنجیر کی جانب کھنچا جاتا ہے دل
تھی اسی فولاد سے شاید مری شمشیر بھی!

A captive in an alien land,
Cut off by sea and sand,
I am solitary and forlorn;
The pulpit and throne,
And all the world,
Shall my plight mourn,
And of my broken sword.

(free translation by the present author)

While the fast flowing river al-Kabir brought the tragic fall of Muta'mid to the mind of Ibn al-Lubbana, Iqbal saw the vision of a new future for the Muslim world:

آب روان کبیر! تیرے کنارے کوئی
دیکھ رہا ہے کسی اور زمانے کا خواب!

عالم نو ہے ابھی پردہ تقدیر میں
میری نگاہوں میں ہے اس کی سحر بے حجاب

On the banks of Kabir!

I dream ...

And its shiny waters

To my eyes do seem

A mirror of a new age,
An unborn glory!
Spread out on every page
In the book of fate,
Not hidden from my gaze,
And like a dawn ablaze
In my vision.

(free translation by the present author)

Iqbal's dream of Muslim glory seen in the Cordovan Mosque transcended time and the recent emergence of independent Muslim states is a clear evidence of his prophetic vision.

NOTES

1. Although Andalus refers to southern Spain, in general it signified Muslim Spain.
2. In 1935, Iqbal presented J.B. Trends' book *Spain from the South* to Faqir Saiyid Waheed-ud-Din and expressed satisfaction that his young admirer was so well-versed in Scot and Lane-poole's works on Spain. Faqir Saiyid Waheed-ud-Din, *Rozgar-i-Faqir*, 6th edition, Lahore 1966, Vol. I, P. 46.
3. Syed Amer Ali, *A Short the History of the Saracens*, London 1961, P. 79.80.
4. Ibn Athir, *Tarikh-al-Kamil*, Cairo 1290 A.H. Vol. IV, P. 230.
5. Pascual de Gayangos, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, 1840, reprint New York 1964, Vol. I. P. 274.
6. *Ibid.*, PP-271-272.
7. Al-Maqqari, *Nafh-al-Teeb*, Arabic text, Leiden 1855-60, Vol. II, P. 37.
8. R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge 1956, P. 418.
9. Al-Maqqari, Vol. I. *op. cit.*, P. 378.
10. *Ibid.*, P. 379.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*

13. F. G. Stokes, *Spanish Islam*, trans. from Dozy, reprint Karachi, 1976, P. 446.
14. Al-Maqqari, *op. cit.*, vol. I, P. 96.
15. Khalil-ur-Rehman, *Nafh-al-Teeb*, Urdu translation, Aligarh 1920, pp. 122-123. According to another tradition four *tabeen* took part in the ceremony.
16. Muhammad Inayat Ullah, *Andalus Ka Tarikhi Jughraphia*, Haidarabad (Deccan), 1927, p. 371.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 374.
18. Stanley-Lanepoole, *The Moors in Spain*, London, 1887, p. 137.
19. cited by Muhammad Munawwar, Kalam Iqbal par Arabi Key Asrat, *Iqbal Review*, Karachi, July 1968, P. 63.
20. Khalil-ur-Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 287.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
22. Al-Maqqari, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. P. 94.
23. *Ibid.*, P. 640.
24. *Diwan Mutamid bin Abbad*, Cairo, 1951, P. 90.

NOTES

ز من باشاعر رنگین بیان گوئی
 چه سود از سوز اگر چون لاله سوزی
 ند خود را می گدازی ز آتش خویش
 نه شام دردمندی بر فروزی

IQBAL'S LECTURE ON IJTIHAD

Dr. M. Khalid Masud

Iqbal's lecture on Ijtihad ("The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam") constitutes the 6th chapter in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. The first six of the 7 chapters in this book were delivered as lectures in the Universities of Madras, Hyderabad, and Aligarh during the years 1928 and 1930. The present paper does not aim to discuss the significance of these lectures or to analyse their contents. The paper attempts only to deal with a few questions, some remaining un-answered, relating Iqbal's lecture on Ijtihad; largely about its history. The paper therefore concerns itself with the following:—

1. When was the first draft of the lecture written?
2. How many years have gone into its preparation and why?
3. When was it delivered in Lahore?
4. When was it read in South India?
5. What was the criticism on the Lecture?

Before we begin exploring answers to these questions it is essential to preface this attempt with a brief introduction of the problem of *Ijtihad* with a summary of Iqbal's lecture on this issue.

Ijtihad is an Arabic word which literally means "to exert one's efforts." Technically it is defined usually as "the putting forth of every effort in order to determine with a degree of probability the question of Islamic Law." Although the technical definition did not even implicitly limit *Ijtihad* to mean to found a school of law, yet in common parlance the term came to be understood as such. Whenever some one claimed *Ijtihad* he was condemned by the orthodoxy as a heretic and innovator. No *Ijtihad* was necessary or allowed after the establishment of the schools of law in Islam. Those were, therefore, extremely confident and intrepid souls who chose to speak on this problem from time to time. Naturally they had to face the bitter opposition from the orthodoxy.

Iqbal does not completely accept the conventional definition of *Ijtihad* in his lecture. He rather defines *Ijtihad* as a principle of movement in Islam, hence the title of his lecture. In this lecture Iqbal analyses various definitions of *Ijtihad* and rejects the implicit static view therein. He discusses the phenomena of the relapse of *Ijtihad*. Among the causes of its immobility he enumerates orthodox reaction to rationalist movements such as Mu'tazila, apprehensions about sufism, and destruction of Baghdad. These factors forced Islamic Society to discontinue *Ijtihad* activities. This analysis leads him to a discussion of the history and working of *Ijtihad* in modern times. He discusses "Wahhabism" and traces its origin to Ibn Taymiyyah. The impact of Wahhabi movement continued in modern era and culminated in the reform movements in Islam. He does not entirely approve of the reforms in Turkey. He particularly singles out Zia Gokalp as a symbol of modern trends in Islam in Turkey, and criticises his views on the emancipation of women. After this analysis he comes to grapple with the actual problem of *Ijtihad* in the present situation. In his view the crux of the problem lies in facing certain fundamental facts. He emphasises that until the rise of 'Abbasids there was no written law of Islam apart from the Qur'an. Secondly during the first four centuries of Islam the activities of *Ijtihad* which culminated in the appearance of 19 schools of law, not only demonstrates the dynamism of Islamic law but also points out that the formulation of Islamic law was the result of these activities. With these preliminary remarks Iqbal goes on to discuss the four sources of Islamic Law i.e. the Qur'an, Hadith, *Ijma'* and *Qiyas*. He brings out the dynamic character of these principles. He gives an entirely new interpretation of the Institution of *Ijma'*. Instead of letting it remain a passive material source of legal reasoning he proposes it to become an active functional source in the form of a legislative Assembly.

Having summarised Iqbal's views let us now turn to the questions we have raised above.

I—THE DATE OF THE FIRST DRAFT

It was in 1904 that Iqbal first expressed his views on the problems of Ijtihad in an article entitled: "Qawmi Zindagi". He said:

"If we contemplate on the present situation we will come to the conclusion that as in order to support the fundamentals of religion we need a new theology, similarly we need great jurists for the re-interpretation of Islamic Law. The Jurist must be able not only to codify Islamic law on new pattern but he should also be capable of broadening these principles by his power of imagination. So that these principles may eventually cover all the possible situations of the present day social needs. As far as I know there is no one such single jurist born yet in the Islamic World. Considering the significance and volume of the work it appears that this requires definitely more than one mind".¹

From this excerpt we may see that firstly Iqbal was conscious of the insufficiency of Fiqh for the present day needs. Secondly, therefore, he felt the need for its re-interpretation. Thirdly, he had come to the conclusion that Ijtihad required a collective effort instead of individual attempts.

Although the remarks about Ijtihad in this article clearly demonstrated Iqbal's grasp of the problem, yet it took Iqbal a decade or so to fully develop his views on Ijtihad. He delivered a lecture on this problem first in Lahore in 1924 and then in South India perhaps in 1930. It was eventually published as the 6th chapter of the *Reconstruction*.

The question, however, arises when was the first draft of this lecture completed? Iqbal's biographers and Commentators have given different dates. The earliest date is given by Sayyid 'Abd al-Wahid al-Mu'ini as 1920,² and the latest as 1925 is suggested by Rashid Ahmad Siddiqi.³ As we shall see shortly the first date is too early and the second is too late.

We know this from the internal evidences such as Iqbal's letters or the reminiscences of his contemporaries.

During the writing of this article he consulted a number of scholars. His correspondence with Sayyid Sulayman Nadvi on this point dated 1925.⁴ The letters to 'Abdul Majid Daryabadi in which he discusses the problems of this lecture also dates as March 22, 1925.⁵ From this we can conclude that possibly Iqbal had started writing the article in 1920 and kept on improving until 1925. There are, however, two substantial evidences that put this date a bit differently. One is a letter that Iqbal wrote

to a certain friend of his Sayyid Muhammad Said al-Din Ja'fari on August 3, 1922, in which he said:

"I am writing a comprehensive article in English entitled "The idea of Ijtihad in the Law of Islam."⁶

This shows that it would not be correct to say that the article was completed in 1920. It is evident that until 1922 he was still occupied with the compilation of this article.

It would be equally wrong to conclude on the basis of Iqbal's correspondence with Nadvi and Daryabadi in 1925 that the article was completed as late as 1925. Firstly, because the letters, particularly that of Daryabadi, imply that the article was already completed and Iqbal was asking his addresses for their comments. Secondly it is now certainly known, as we will argue shortly, that Iqbal delivered this lecture in Lahore in December 1924. We would not deny, however, the possibility of several drafts having been written on various dates. Also it is still a question whether Iqbal delivered the same lecture in South India which he did in Lahore.

II—THE PREPARATION OF THE LECTURE

We have seen that Iqbal's interest in the problem of Ijtihad began in 1904 and he started drafting his lecture in question probably in 1920 and delivered it in 1924 and 1930. Naturally the question arises why it took Iqbal so long to prepare this lecture. Even if it is admitted that Iqbal kept on improving and revising his draft the need for such revisions is still to be explained. The very first answer one can give is that the subject was very delicate as well as controversial. Iqbal was apprehensive of the reaction of the orthodox 'Ulama' and the general public. This is why, whereas in 1940 his medium of expression was Urdu, in his later years he changed his addresses to be those of English reading public.

In relation to this we must also keep in view that Iqbal was highly conscious of his limitations. His lack of knowledge about Arabic sources especially on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence made him more and more cautious. There is yet another factor to be taken into account. The books on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence were not as readily available to him in those years as they are now. Abu Ishaq al-Shatibi's *Al-Muwafaqat* and Shawkani's *Irshad ul-Fuhul* on which he has drawn heavily, became available only in 1924 to Iqbal. In fact he was one of the first Indian Muslims to have used them. To make up for his mastery of Arabic sources he turned to as many scholars and as many times as was possible for him. We know from Chughtai's⁷ account that he consulted extensively the following scholars when he was

in Ludhiana: Maulana Habib al-Rahman, Mufti Naim, Mian 'Abdul Hayy and Maulana Muhammad Amin.

In Lahore he was constantly in touch with Maulana Asghar 'Ali Ruhi and Maulana Ghulam Murshid. As we have already mentioned he was also in correspondence with Sayyid Sulayman Nadvi on this point. The consultations and deliberations on these advices did demand time.

Furthermore the book which particularly led Iqbal to define his view of *Ijtihad* became available to him only in 1923. It was by N.P. Aghnides, *Muhammedan Theories of Finance*.⁸ Aghnides was a Christian Greek from Turkey who was sent in 1911 to Columbia University, New York by the Turkish Government. He wrote this book as his Ph.D. dissertation for the University in 1916.⁹ The book was published soon after but Iqbal came to know of it only in 1923 when a certain Rehmat Ali in New York sent it to him for his comments.¹⁰ Aghnides shows a good command on original Arabic sources of Islamic Jurisprudence. In his formulation of the problem Aghnides adopted the approach of an orientalist. This provided Iqbal a view of *Ijtihad* which was refreshingly different from the conventional one. It was, however, erroneous at many places. The points where Iqbal found himself differing with Aghnides gave Iqbal an opportunity to reconstruct his views. We would like to point out only three important points of difference between Aghnides and Iqbal. Firstly, Aghnides criticises Islamic Law as a mechanical system.¹¹ This criticism had deep reaction on Iqbal's thinking. In fact one can say that Aghnides's characterisation of this concept as mechanical compelled Iqbal to re-interpret the whole development of Islamic thought in order to stress its dynamic rather than mechanical nature. If we study the seven lectures in the *Reconstruction* we find this theme running through the whole book almost as a refrain. Iqbal rejects the characterisation of Islamic World view as static. He singles out the notion of *Ijtihad* as the principle of movement par excellence.

The second point of contention with Aghnides was the question of Hadith. While Aghnides accepted the traditionist point of view in taking all the ahadith as a reliable source of law,¹² Iqbal did not fully endorse his idea.¹³

The third point of difference was the question of *Ijma'*. Aghnides says that according to some Muslim jurists the *Ijma'* can repeal the Quran and the Sunna.¹⁴ Iqbal disagreed with him on this point.¹⁵

The above remarks show that the problem of *Ijtihad* was not a simple one. It involved the whole gamut of Islamic thought. The modern social problems gave it an entirely new dimension. Adding to it a lack of command on original sources inhibited Iqbal to progress rapidly.

III—THE DATE OF THE LAHORE LECTURE

Dr. Iqbal, in one of his letters, states that he delivered the lecture on the problems of *Ijtihad* in Lahore but he does not mention any date. Ghulam Jilani Barq, in one of his interviews, recalls that this lecture was delivered after Iqbal's return from South India.¹⁶ This remark places the date around 1929-1930. This, however, is not acceptable in view of a number of evidences that we shall discuss shortly.

Faqir Sayyid Wahiduddin has given this date as 1925.¹⁷ It is probably a conjectural remark. A more concise and succinct account of this lecture is given by Dr. 'Abdullah Chughtai.¹⁸ He explains that this lecture was delivered before Iqbal's journey to South India. He also mentions that it was delivered on 13th December, 1924. This is confirmed by an announcement in *Zamindar*, Lahore. We also know that Iqbal delivered almost all of his lectures in Lahore at the various annual sessions of Anjuman Himayat -i-Islam, Lahore, before his journey to South India. This fact has been very ably documented by Hanif Shahid in his book *Iqbal Awr Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam*.¹⁹

The announcement in the *Zamindar* is a very solid and comprehensive evidence on this point. Hence we would like to quote it verbatim:

“Allama Shaykh Muhammad Iqbal will read a very important paper today, the 13th December, at 6.30 p.m. in Habibiya Hall in Islamia College. The paper is entitled as: *Ijtihad in Islam*. Shaykh 'Abdul Qadir will preside. The article will be in English.”²⁰

From this evidence there should have remained no doubt that the exact date of the delivery of this lecture in Lahore was December 13, 1924. Dr. 'Abdullah Chughtai adds that there also appeared comments, reviews and criticism of this lecture in the Lahore Press. However curious it may be we have not been able to find any news reports, or comments in the Urdu and English press in the days after the lecture was delivered.

IV—THE DATE OF SOUTH INDIA DELIVERY

Iqbal was invited to deliver lectures at the University of Madras in 1928. In this tour he also visited Hyderabad. He made another lecture tour in 1930. It has, however, been difficult to find out when and where *Ijtihad* lecture was given. It is certainly known that the lecture was not given in his first tour to Madras in 1928-29. It is hard to explain why, when the lecture was already prepared and had in fact been delivered in Lahore, should it not be included in the first three lectures delivered at

Madras. There is only one indirect reference to the effect that it was given at Hyderabad in 1930.²¹ Besides this we have no other evidence on this point.

The fact that despite its availability the lecture was not delivered in Madras, raises a number of questions. With the present status of information on this point we can only explain this delay by referring to Iqbal's apprehensions of the criticism of his views on *Ijtihad*. He had experienced it in his correspondence with Mawlana Daryabadi. It is also possible that when he presented this lecture in Lahore he might have been criticised by a section of his audience. This is, however, only a surmise. It is also possible that although the lecture was prepared but Iqbal was not confident enough to present it to his Madras audience. He still wanted time to improve and revise it before the final presentation. Now, if this is true then the question arises whether the present lecture included in the *Reconstruction* is actually the revised version of the Lahore lecture or it is the same. It will be interesting to compare the drafts of both these lectures but unfortunately the text of the Lahore lecture is not available. The original manuscripts or the draft of these papers might hold key to explain this point but so far scholars have not been able to trace the original manuscripts.

V—CRITICISM

There is no external contemporary evidence of any criticism on Iqbal's lecture in question. We have not been able to find any such criticism in newspapers, journals or magazines of that period. Nevertheless Iqbal has alluded to it in a number of letters to his friends. In this correspondence Iqbal appears very disappointed and discouraged by the criticism he received of his views. Besides such statements we do not know about the criticism or its extent. Even Iqbal does not furnish with further details of this criticism. One, however, need not deny the probability of such a criticism. The problem of *Ijtihad* is itself a critical and controversial issue. Furthermore, there are places in Iqbal's lecture where he takes positions contrary to what orthodox maintained. It is quite possible that he was criticised for such views.

However one cannot proceed to accept something merely on the basis of probabilities. The absence of external evidence in this case may also lead one to a psychoanalytical explanation of Iqbal's fear of such criticism or opposition by the orthodox 'Ulama. One may argue that Iqbal was a deeply religious person. He was reared in a devoutly religious family. It is only natural that he might have developed a basic loyalty to a religious and orthodox view of life. Hence it is quite possible that whenever he took a liberal and progressive view of things, he felt he was betraying his loyalty to religion. This fear of betrayal restrained him from taking an unorthodox position. This fear might also have kept him pulling nearer to orthodox 'Ulama whose opposition he feared most.

Such an explanation, though plausible, would be only partially true. Because despite his such fears which he expressed as early as in 1904, as we shall see later, he went ahead expressing his views on the subject. Not only did he deliver the lecture twice but also published it. In view of a lack of external evidence one must therefore turn to Iqbal's own statements about this fear. An analysis of these statements may throw some light on the nature of this fear.

In 1904, in his article "Qawmi Zindagi", while entering into a discussion of Ijtihad, he ended it abruptly saying:

"The discussion is immensely significant. But since our community is not yet accustomed to listening to such matters with a cool mind I feel compelled to stop at this very point".²²

This fear is again reflected in his *Reconstruction* when he says:

"Unfortunately the conservative Muslim public of this country is not yet quite ready for a critical discussion of Fiqh which if undertaken is likely to displease most people and raise sectarian controversies."²³

Dr. 'Abdullah Chughtai also narrated that after Iqbal's lecture in Lahore in 1924 Maulana Zafar 'Ali Khan asked his permission to translate it into Urdu and to publish it. Iqbal insisted that no review or report of this lecture should appear in the press.²⁴ As we have already mentioned the absence of any review or report confirms this story. But if the reasons as given by Dr. Chughtai are correct it also affirms the apprehensions of Iqbal which we are discussing.

Iqbal sent the text of his lecture to Maulana Daryabadi in 1925 for his comments. Maulana Daryabadi's comments have not reached us, but Iqbal's letter to Daryabadi shows that Iqbal was greatly disappointed with his comments. In fact he wrote:

"I was surprised to read your note. It appears that on account of your occupations otherwise you could glance the paper only superficially."²⁵

One, however, wonders why Iqbal should send his paper on the subject of Ijtihad to Daryabadi who was not an expert in this field.

In his letter to Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, in 1925, he appears apologetic for his lecture. He wrote that his knowledge of religious matters was limited and the subject of Ijtihad was a complicated issue. He explained that his paper was brief and hence susceptible to misunderstandings. This is why he had not been able to publish

it. Iqbal resolved that he would write a book entitled "*Islam as I understood it*". The title would indicate that it was his personal opinion²⁶.

This comment is very significant for an understanding of Iqbal's reaction to the criticism. Firstly it shows that Iqbal saw his reconstruction of the problem of Ijtihad as his personal opinion and not an authorised attempt to restate the view of the whole of the Muslim community. In other words one may say that he still considered the 'Ulama as authorised exponents of religious teachings. Any attempt to re-interpret by an individual scholar like Iqbal was an opinion given in personal capacity. Secondly it also shows that his view of Ijtihad was not a sectional view. Ijtihad was an integral part of the whole of the Islamic thought, and the two could not be separated from each other.

The apologetic attitude in the above letter is absent in his letter to Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi. He wrote:

"You have rightly observed that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's movement had reduced considerably the influence of the professional religious scholars but the Khilafat Committee, in order to procure their *Fatawa* for their political support, have restored their position among the Indian Muslims. This was an awful mistake which few people have realised. I have experienced it recently. Some time ago I wrote an article in English on Ijtihad which was delivered in a meeting here. God willing it will also be published. But some people have called me infidel for that. Anyhow we will talk about it in details, when you will come to Lahore".²⁷

This letter indicates that the criticism of his paper came from the professional religious circles who were patent opponents of all liberal thought. Iqbal considered their influence emerging from political necessity and hence dangerous for the interest of the community. One obviously notes the difference in the tones and attitudes of these two letters which belong to the same year. While in the first letter he apparently considers the criticism justified on account of his limited knowledge of the subject, in the second letter he interprets this opposition as interest-oriented.

Notwithstanding the opposition by the then orthodoxy Iqbal's ideas on Ijtihad came to be gradually accepted, although partly, by the 'Ulama in the later years. Two issues which were basic in Iqbal's lectures were: (1) the plight of Muslim women in the Punjab and, (2) the problem of the necessity of collective Ijtihad. Arguing on the first point, Iqbal pleaded that the Hanafi law was not sympathetic to the Muslim women who were suffering from the cruelty of husbands and were driven to apostacy in order to get rid of their husbands. Iqbal in this lecture proposed that the Hanafi law must be reformed in order to provide better rights to Hanafi women²⁸.

We know that Iqbal's argument came to be adopted later by the Muslim orthodoxy. Maulana Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi wrote a book on this problem entitled *Al-Hilat al-Najiza L'il Halilat al-'ajiza* (A successful Legal Device for the Helpless Married Woman)²⁹. In this book he suggested that in this case the Judges are permitted to draw on Maliki Law which provided more rights to women as compared to the Hanafi law. Later on this idea developed into a movement which culminated in the "Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act 1939". The act recognised among other things, the right of a Muslim women to the dissolution of Marriage on the basis of the cruelty of husbands.³⁰

Iqbal's proposal for collective Ijtihad has also been adopted by a number of modern 'Ulama. In India Maulana Muhammad Taqi Amini of Aminiya Madrasa, Ajmer, has supported this view in a number of article and books³¹. In Pakistan Maulana Yusuf Banuri, among others, time and again stressed on the need for collective Ijtihad.³²

NOTES

1. Iqbal, "Qawmi Zindagi", *Makhzan*, Oct., 1904, *Vide* 'Abd al-Wahid Mu'ini, *Maqalat-i-Iqbal*, Lahore, Ashraf, 1963, p/54-55.
2. S.A. Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, Lahore Ashraf, 1964, p. XIV.
3. R.A. Siddiqi, "Ba Yad-i-Iqbal", *Jawhar*, Dehli, 1938 Reappeared in R.A. Siddiqi, *Iqbal: Shakh-siyyat awr Shairi*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1976, p. 3.
4. Sh. 'Ata Allah (Ed) *Iqbal Nama* (Collection of Iqbal's Letters) Vol. I, Lahore, Ashraf, n. dp. 13.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Vide* B.A. Dar, (Ed), *Anwar-i-Iqbal* (Collection of Iqbal's letters), Karachi, Iqbal Academy, 1967, p. 285.
7. Dr. Abdullah Chughta'i, "Allama Iqbal ke Madras ke Leckharon Ka Pas Manzar," (Background of Iqbal's Lectures), *Daily Imroze*, Lahore, April, 22, 1956. Dr. Chughta'i accompanied Iqbal to south India on his Lecture tours to regularly despatch back to Lahore papers the reports of this journey.
8. First published by Columbia University, New York in 1916.
9. *Ibid.* & Appendix
10. Chughtai, *op. Cit.*
11. Aghnides, *Muhammedan Theories of Finance*, Lahore Premier Book House, 1961, p. 143.
12. *Ibid.*, P. 35.
13. Iqbal, *Reconstruction*, p. 173.
14. Aghnides, p. 88.
15. Iqbal, *Reconstruction*, p. 174.

16. Vide Rahim Bakhsh Shahin, *Awraq-i-Gum Gashta* (Allama Iqbal Ki ghayr Mudawwana Tahriren), Lahore, Islamic Publications 1975, pp. 191-193.
17. Faqir Sayyid Vahiduddin, *Ruzgar-i-Faqir*, Vol. II, Karachi Lion Art Press, 1968. p. 87.
18. Chughtai, *op. cit.*
19. M. Hanif Shahid, *Iqbal awr Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam*, Lahore, Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam, 1976, p. 110.
20. The daily *Zamindar*, Lahore, Dec., 12, 1924.
I am grateful to the Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore for allowing me to consult their files.
21. I am thankful to Prof. M. Saeed Shaykh, Director Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, for information on this point.
22. Iqbal, "Qawmi Zindagi," p. 55.
23. *Reconstruction*, pp. 164-65.
24. Chughtai, *op. cit.*
25. *Iqbal Nama*, Vol. I, p. 238.
26. *Iqbal Nama*, pp. 46-47.
27. *Anwar-i-Iqbal*, p. 317.
28. *Reconstruction*, p. 169.
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بر تراز اندیشہ سود و زیان ہے زندگی
 ہے کبھی جاں اور کبھی تسلیم زندگی!
 تو اسے پیمانہ مروز و فردا سے نہ ناپ
 جاوداں پھیم دواں، ہر دم جوان ہے زندگی

IQBAL AND THE WESTERN THOUGHTS

By Dr. Hanif Fauq

Iqbal's poetry presents a fascinating scope for the study of the whole range of modern Western thoughts. Oswald Spengler in, "The decline of the West" defined thinker as a person "whose part it is to symbolize time according to his vision and understanding". Again, he said "this symbolism is the one essential, the vessel and expression of human history". Iqbal's comprehension of the living existence, giving a new meaning to the Eastern and the Western ideals, added a new dimension to them. His philosophy gave a new sense of perspective, in keeping with the social and political goals of historic time and place. He made it an illuminating force for the future. His poetry and his lectures not only focussed the attention of the world to a careful study of Islam but also mobilized the potential forces of the community to rehabilitate Islam as a social and political ideal in the modern world. The part of the battle-cry of Iqbal against the modern mechanistic civilization was to re-assert man's position. Iqbal exalted man's position in the scheme of universe and scored the point for his greatness.

The new scientific theories adversely effected man's position in the scheme of things. Newton held the belief that all the phenomena of nature was expressible in terms of matter and motion. The preconceived notions of the evolution of mankind were shattered to pieces by Darwin and his book "The origin of Species" marked the beginning of scientific biology. Darwinian teaching on the struggle of existence in the realm of living nature, became the basis of heartless ideologies when transferred to the level of society. Scientific thoughts exploded many old beliefs and concepts, and so fresh attempts were made to co-ordinate science and belief. Berkley argued that matter

only existed through being perceived. Hume attempted to evolve a scientific system of thinking and arrived at the conclusion that our conclusions are not rational. Rousseau gave a new concept of freedom in his "*Social Contract*". Bergson carried the theory of evolution to the realm of ideas. He divided universe into two opposite motions, life and matter, one leading upward and the other falling downward. He said, "Evolution creates, as it goes on, not only the forms of life, but the ideas that will enable the intellect to understand it, the terms of which will serve to express it. Its future, therefore, overflows its present, and cannot be sketched out therein in idea" (Creative Evolution). Bergson's idea of duration is parallel to Iqbal's ideas. In Iqbal's poetry we find the echoes of all the western thoughts, but he gave the modern Western thinking a new pattern and a new vision. Like Bergson, Iqbal also believed in action, but in his thoughts action followed a vision of life, not to be found in Bergson. Iqbal remained essentially modernistic but he paved the way for a new co-ordination of action, science and belief. His vision of life was based on the whole history of mankind. In an encounter with the world in general and even with time and space in particular, he eulogized the role of man, originating from the desire to assert the self through right action.

In Iqbal's philosophy of action the influence of modern Western thoughts is easily discernable. Iqbal's preachings of action countered the teachings of Hindu philosophy, considering the life and universe as sport and illusion. It also fought against the influences of Hellenistic, mostly neo-platonic idea, reaching Indo-pak sub-continent through Persian poetry of Sufi order. The real significance of Iqbal's contribution towards the re-orientation of the Muslim thoughts, lies in the fact that his ideas, in absorbing as well as refuting the modern Western thoughts, furthered the cause of social and historical progress, and it is in this perspective that his philosophy of life and action, becomes a purposive instrument, ranging over the intellectual life of his times and influencing the course of history in the subsequent period. The intellectual element predominates in Iqbal's poetry. His intellectual grasp over the phenomena of change, both in East and West, gave a new understanding of the transitional stages in the modern society. Iqbal's philosophy met in full the challenge of his times. When the world was in a terrible mess he sounded the note of hope and faith. Hope, in the better future of mankind and faith in the ultimate goodness of the human nature. Robert Bridges lamented about "the Almighty cosmic will fidgetting in a trap" but Iqbal showed a way out of this trap. Iqbal's idealism is graceful and benevolent. Carlyle said that all great ages are the ages of faith. Iqbal witnessing the spectacle of the barrenness of his age, provided the much needed faith to it. His poetry gave a sense of the higher levels of human excellence and delivered a message of divine discontentment to the persons shut up in the narrow prison-walls of day to day existence. Iqbal believed that the world was to become better and better through the efforts of man, translating the divine-discontentment to right action. The conflict of intuitional knowledge and rational knowledge was resolved by Iqbal, in a way as to indicate that rational

knowledge formed but a stage far reaching the higher level of intuitional knowledge. Like a seer he combined the analytic knowledge with his vision of life. The edifice of his philosophy is so remarkable that he is regarded as one of the greatest architects of thoughts that the Muslim world has produced.

Iqbal assimilated the aspect of vigorousness from Western life and Western ideas, giving it a new orientation. He strongly reacted against other aspects of the machine-age. He was concerned with the supreme value of the person over that of material things. According to him the ultimate test of personality resided in the quality of one's life. But that quality was not to be determined by spiritual experience alone. In a society where wickedness prevails, mere contemplation of spiritual poise is not sufficient. If not followed by corresponding action it becomes positively evil. Action, even when wrong, is better than inaction. In working for righteousness, not in ritualistic righteousness, the true quality of personality is revealed. It is in performing acts of moral value, in doing deeds of courage, love, humanity, in striving for new paths, in resisting tyranny and intimidation, in artistic creativeness and self-assertion that the personality gains stature and is fortified. Iqbal was all in favour of originality and very much detested imitation, whether in action or in thoughts.

Iqbal, according to Dr. M. Razi-ud-din Siddiqi, "was abreast of current developments in philosophy and literature, as these were, so to speak, his professional spheres of interest". But his towering personality, projected in his writings, left a deep and wide impression on the contemporary consciousness. Iqbal contrasted the role of mankind with other beings in the universe and pointed out man's capacity for changing the environment and his potentiality for unlimited development. Iqbal, in his philosophy of self, made struggle the central point of development. The reality of the outside world takes a new meaning in the heart of every individual of the community, they escape disintegration and chaos and their reward is given in the form of ever continuing conquests of nature. Iqbal in bold and imaginative language expounded the pattern of "oughtness" in society and aroused the people, especially the Muslim community, to a new sense of historic responsibility. Islamic fraternity, transcending all artificial barriers extending its scope and working on humanitarian principles, is to become universal.

Iqbal developed a philosophy around the modern currents of thoughts. He himself admitted that his system of thinking was developed "with due regard to philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge". In the West, Bergson's intuitionsism and vitalism was making a great headway at that time. Iqbal criticised Bergsonian's concept of will and thought but remained sympathetic to his concept of intuitional vision; Iqbal wanted to make it a source of enrichment to life. In greeting of the finite with the infinite he wanted to control the forces of history and to create fresh world of ideals.

It was Kant, who among the early modern philosophers distinguished between the world of phenomena and the world of reality. Our knowledge, he said, though not transcending experience includes that which can not be deduced from logic. What appears to us, he said, consists of two parts, that due to object and that due to our subjective apparatus. Fichte, on the other hand discarded the idea of "things in themselves" and concentrated on the ultimate reality of Ego. It is through creative action that ego, positing non-ego, achieves the knowledge of the self. Another great philosopher Hegel proceeded to develop the dialectic theory on an idealistic plane. The development through thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis, formed the basis of his ideas. He was led to the idea of knowledge possessed by the Absolute. The idealistic content of his thoughts was purged by Marx and the theory of dialectics applied on the world of reality, formed the basis of his dialectic materialism. Schopenhauer saw the world full of misery and came to the conclusion that the cosmic will, working in the universe, is "the source of all our endless suffering". Schopenhauer was led to ultimate nothingness but his doctrine of will-paramount led Nietzsche to other directions.

All the above-mentioned thinkers, in one way or the other, influenced the thinking of Iqbal. He referred to many of them in his poetry. But, perhaps the greatest influence, among the Western philosophers, on his thoughts is traceable to Nietzsche. Both in acceptance and in refutation of his ideas, Iqbal indicated the deep impact left by Nietzsche's thoughts. Nietzsche's onslaught on the Western civilization and on Christianity profoundly stirred him. About him Iqbal said that his heart was a believer, though his mind denied. He raised him to the status of Majzooob and compared him with Mansoor Hallaj, though without crucification. Kaufmann says about Nietzsche "Nietzsche's influence on contemporary thoughts has been extremely widespread, revealing references to him are scattered through the works of Freud and Sartre, Jung and Spengler, Gide and Malraux, Scheler and Nicolai Hartmann, Shaw and great many others." Iqbal was also greatly moved by Nietzsche's ideas. Nietzsche was highly praised by Iqbal. He said "Nietzsche had made a powerful attack on Christian ethics. His brain is an unbeliever because he denies God, though in some ethical aspects his thought is very close to Islam. His heart is believer". In verse Iqbal said that "Nietzsche's voice is a peal of thunder. He has thrust a sword into the heart of the West. His hands are red with the blood of Christianity. On the foundations of Islam he has built his house of idol-worship." Iqbal saw many of his ideas reflected in Nietzsche's thinking and his attacks on the Western civilization were identical with his own criticism of it. Iqbal independently came to the conclusion that the culture represented by West is doomed to failure and disintegration. That is the reason that he was greatly attracted by Nietzsche's attacks on the Western civilization.

In "Anti-Christ" Nietzsche said, "If Islam despises Christianity, it is justified a thousand times over, for Islam presupposes man". Iqbal was in full agreement with him because his whole philosophy centred round man and the achievements of mankind.

Iqbal elevated the role of mankind to unprecedented heights. He spoke of the achievements of man, making him a partner of God. Because if God created the world, man beautified it. Man is exercising free will and subjugating the material environment to the forces of will. The basis of Iqbal's thought is positive humanism and he evolved a theory of life that through action followed the fullest development of self. But this development is subservient to the development of society as a whole and the concept of all powerfulness is submerged in the concept of all goodness. In Iqbal's thought effectiveness is to be through goodness and not without it. In a different context, Machiavelli also aimed at effectiveness of power, but Iqbal has freely criticized him without indicating any respect that he has shown to Nietzsche.

Iqbal blended the dynamism of the Western thoughts with the wisdom of the East. He wrote a poem on Einstein and on several occasions utilized his findings in his poetry. But Iqbal claimed that his concept of time and space was Islamic, based on Quran. Iqbal remained true to his oriental heritage, though he gave it an occidental dynamism. Chas W. Forman said about Iqbal "In his understanding of action and of knowledge of culture and of democracy, he tried to enhance those elements of Islam which would encourage Muslims to fresh endeavour in this world." Iqbal extended the scope of *Ijtihad* and greatly emphasized the need of creative application of the code of Islam. He said that man must create his own world. The Muslim world which became passive and inert was urged by Iqbal to be creative and living through a free exercise of the faculties of mind and heart. A wakeful heart he preferred to a sleeping faith. With all the weapons of the dynamism of the Western thoughts, he attacked the strongholds of the Eastern repose. He also enlisted the support of all the Islamic thoughts, in his attack on the passivity and inertness prevailing in the Muslim countries. The objective conditions of the world around him urged Iqbal to accept one set of thoughts and to reject the other sets. Iqbal no doubt derived some thoughts from the West. But he only derived those thoughts, which the objective conditions on the national as well as on the international level, inspired him to derive. Iqbal's greatness lies in the fact that to all his derived knowledge from the West and the East, he not only gave an original pattern by synthesizing the two, but also through his emotional fervour and by his deep sense of the objective conditions, he made his poetry and his thought the guiding light of the age.

His message of life, love and action may be summed up in his following verse, the English translation of which is rendered by Iqbal himself.

چنان بزی که اگر مرگ تست مرگ دوام
خدا ز کرده خود شرسار تر گردد

Live so beautifully that if death is the end of all, God himself be put to shame for having ended thy care.

BOOK REVIEW:

Anis Khurshid: *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: An Annotated Bibliography*, Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Vol. I (Western Languages), xxxii .. 403. Price Rs. 180.00

An authentic and standard biography of the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, has yet to be written. One of the problems in writing such a biography is of locating relevant source material. Bibliographic studies on this subject are scarce. Mohammad Anwar's *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: A Selected Bibliography* (Karachi: National Publishing House, 1969) is the only work devoted exclusively on the Quaid-i-Azam but it is a very modest attempt; and among the general bibliographies on the Muslim Freedom Movement, K.K. Aziz's *The Historical Background of Pakistan, 1857-1947: Annotated Digest of Source Material* (Karachi, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, 1970) has the largest number of entries on the Quaid.

Professor Anis Khurshid has done a great service to research scholars by preparing this valuable reference work. In its compilation he was assisted by a team of six compilers and thirty-eight associates. About twenty-six local and foreign libraries and several private collections, including the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Cell at the National Archives of Pakistan, were consulted in preparing the Bibliography. It will be issued in two volumes. The first volume covers mainly the source material in the Western languages, and also includes writings in Turkish, Bengali, Gujarati and Japanese. The second volume will cover material in Arabic, Baluchi, Persian, Punjabi, Pushto, Sindhi and Urdu. The material listed in the present volume includes books, pamphlets, unpublished manuscripts, newspaper reports, editorials, articles and features including those of periodicals. Some 172 newspapers and magazines in Western languages were

consulted for compiling this Bibliography. The source material has been arranged under 172 standard subject headings and this reflects the compiler's technical expertise and has added to the usefulness of the work.

However, the Bibliography is far from exhaustive, and in certain cases the information is misleading. The compilers did not consult all the newspapers indispensable for any authentic research on Quaid-i-Azam. For instance, there is not a single entry from the *Bombay Chronicle*, whose Board of Directors the Quaid chaired for a number of years. The entries from several other newspapers and magazines are negligible. There is only one entry each from such newspapers as the *Statesman*, the *Pakistan Standard*, the *Hindustan Times* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*; two from the *Hindustan Standard*, and twenty-four from the *Civil and Military Gazette*. There is no entry from the *Pakistan Times* from 1946 to 1959., and the entries from the *Dawn* are incomplete. These omissions are unjustified in such a work in view of the fact that most of the newspapers are available in Pakistan. The book is not free from printing errors and a few entries have been made at more than one place.

Despite these shortcomings this is so far the best bibliography on the subject, and it will be of great service to the research scholars if the Quaid-i-Azam Academy acquires copies of all the material listed in it. The price of the Bibliography is beyond the reach of individual scholar and if the object of the Academy is also to facilitate research on the life and work of the Quaid-i-Azam, it should give liberal trade discount to scholars.

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