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ALLAMA IQBAL AND THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

Latif Ahmed Sherwani

In his early years (i.e., upto 1905) Allama Mohammad Iqbal was proud of India, the land of his birth. The opening verse of one of the poems which he wrote during this period reads:

سارے جہاں سے اچھا
ہندوستان ہمارا
ہم بلبلیں ہیں اس کی یہ
گلستان ہمارا¹

In another poem, written during the same period, Iqbal said:

پتھر کی مورتوں میں
سمجھا ہے تو خدا ہے

¹ Bang-i-Dara, 1959 reprint, p. 82.

خاکِ وطنِ کا مجھ کو پر ذرہ
دیوتا ہے²

During 1905-1908, when he was studying philosophy in Europe, Iqbal began to have second thoughts about man's devotion to his country. This was in part due to his reaction to the impact of territorial nationalism in Europe which he observed at first hand. Partly the rethinking was due to the in-depth study of Islam which he then made. By the end of this period Iqbal's ideas about nationalism had undergone much change. The principles of Islam, and not territorial nationalism, from then onwards appealed to Iqbal. In one his poems written shortly after 1908, while speaking of Delhi, the capital city of India, he refers to it as one of the centres during the glorious period of the history of Muslims. In the same poem he also mentions Baghdad, Cardova and Constantinople, all witnesses to the great achievements of Muslims.³

The place of pride which Islam came to occupy in Iqbal's thinking after 1908 naturally led him to write:

چین و عرب ہمارا،
ہندوستان ہمارا
مسلم ہیں ہم، وطن ہے⁴

² Same, p. 88.

³ Same, pp. 155-57.

⁴ Same, p. 172.

In a lecture delivered in 1910 Iqbal explained that the Muslim concept of nationality was linked neither with territory, nor with language, nor with race. "The essential difference between the Muslim community and other communities of the world consists in our peculiar concept of nationality. It is not the unity of language or country or the identity of economic interests that constitutes the basic principle of our nationality. It is because we all believe in a certain view of the universe and participate in the same historical tradition that we are members of the society founded by the Prophet of Islam."⁵ In one of his poems written after 1908 Iqbal said:

اپنی ملت پر قیاس اقوام مغرب
 سے نہ کر
 خاص ہے ترکیب میں قوم رسول
 ہاشمی
 ان کی جمیت کا ہے ملک و
 نسب پر انحصار
 قوت مذہب سے مستحکم ہے
 جمیت تری⁶

One of the developments resulting from the First World War was the further popularity of the concept of nationalism, more particularly in the West. Since this concept directly clashed with the principles of Islam. Iqbal strongly criticised it:

⁵ Latif Ahmed Sherwani (Ed.), *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, Lahore, 1977, p. 104.

⁶ *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 279.

اس دور میں سے اور ہے
جام اور ہے جم اور
ساقی نے بنا کی روشن
لطف وستم اور
مسلم نے بھی تعمیر کیا
اپنا حرم اور
تہذیب کے آذر نے
ترشوائے صنم اور
ان تازہ خدائو میں بڑا
سب سے وطن ہے
جو پیرہن اس کا ہے وہ
مذہب کا کفن ہے⁷

Understandably, Iqbal did not approve of the strategies adopted, and the efforts made, by some Indian leaders to evolve one single nation in India. Speaking in the Punjab Legislative Council in 1927, he observed

It has been argued that the present system [of competitive examination tempered by selection and nomination] tends to retard the progress of what my friend [Sardar Ujjal Singh] called nationality. Well, I do not know whether it is desirable to become a nation. It is a proposition which can be controverted.⁸

⁷ Same, p. 173.

⁸ Latif Ahmed Sherwani, cited, p. 53.

Even though Iqbal's thinking was based upon Islamic principles, he was a universalist in the true sense of the world. As early as 1921, in a letter to Prof. R. A. Nicholson, Iqbal described himself "a lover of all mankind" and said: "...it is in view of practical and not patriotic considerations... that I am compelled to start with a specific society (i.e. Islam) which, among the societies of the world, happens to be the only one suitable to my purpose. . . All men and not Muslims alone are meant for the Kingdom of God on earth, provided they say good-bye to their idols of race and nationality, and treat one another as personalities."⁹ In his poetry, Iqbal, the universalist, gave expression to his thoughts in these words:

ہوس نے کر دیا ہے ٹکرے ٹکرے
 نوع انسان کو
 اخوت کا بیان ہو جا محبت کی
 زبان ہو جا
 یہ ہندی وہ خراسانی، یہ افغانی وہ
 تورانی
 تو اے شرمندہ ساحل اچھل کر
 بے کران ہو جا¹⁰

In line with this thinking, Iqbal could not have anything against the non-Muslims of India. In fact, he himself stated:

⁹ Syed Abdul Wahid (Ed.), Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, Lahore, 1973, p. 99.

¹⁰ Bang-i-Dara, p. 312.

It should be noted that the background of these verses is the misfortune of the Muslim world.

A community which is inspired by feelings of ill-will to-wards other communities is low and ignoble I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to the teaching of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship, if need be.¹¹

It is true that in the context of the communal question Iqbal had been much disappointed by the recommendations of the Nehru Committee¹² as well as those of the Simon Commission. As he put it:

... there is a subtle difference of motive in the constitutions proposed by the pundits of India and the pundits of England. The pundits of India do not disturb the Central authority as it stands at present All that they desire is that this authority should become fully responsible to the Central Legislature which they maintain intact and where their majority will become further reinforced on the nominated element ceasing to exist. The pundits of England, on the other hand, realizing that democracy in the Centre tends to work contrary to their interests and is likely to absorb the whole power now in their bands, in case a further advance is made towards responsible government, have shifted the experience of democracy from the Centre to the provinces.¹³

But the All India Muslim Conference (originally also called the All-Parties Muslim Conference), of which Iqbal was a very prominent member,

¹¹ Latif Ahmed Sherwani, cited, p. 9.

¹² Even some Hindu scholars have stated that the Nehru Report was unfair to the Muslims. For instance, Uma Kaura has written : ". . . his (Medial Nehru s) attitude shows that he was more concerned with placating the Hindu Mahasabha than with giving satisfaction to the Muslims. The main reason was that the lessons of the 1926 elections, when the Swaraj Party had met with serious challenge from candidates like Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lajpat Rai, who were sympathetic to the Mahasabha, were still fresh in his memory. He remained cautious throughout and seemed determined not to give an opportunity to the Mahasabha to increase its following at the cost of the Congress even though this meant losing a chance to satisfy a large section of Muslim leadership." Muslims and Indlan Natlonalism, Columbia, Mo., 1977, p. 165.

¹³ Latif Ahmed Sherwani, cited, pp. 12-13.

had made at its session held on 31 December 1928 and 1 January 1929 some demands-for consideration by the Hindus. In March these demands were largely endorsed by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in his 'Fourteen Points'. Iqbal thought that these demands were reasonable and in due course should be acceptable to the Hindus.

This is the background of Iqbal's address at the Allahabad session of the Muslim League in 1930. Iqbal then made two suggestions—a fact which has not received full attention from scholars. His first suggestion was:

The Muslim demand for the creation of Muslim India within India is... perfectly justified. The resolution of the All Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is, to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of alharmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them.¹⁴

Making his second suggestion, Iqbal said:

Personally I would go farther than the demands embodied in it [resolution of the All Parties Muslim Conference]. 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.¹⁵

In the context of this suggestion Iqbal also said that the predominantly non-Muslim districts of the Punjab should be excluded from it.

Iqbal himself made it plain that he was making two alternative suggestions: (i) as in the demands put forward by the All-India Muslim

¹⁴ Same, p. 9.

¹⁵ Same, p. 10.

Conference and the All India Muslim League (at its sessions in 1924, 1925 and 1926, later incorporated in the 'Fourteen Points'), and (ii) a redistribution of the British Indian provinces.¹⁶ The basic thought behind both suggestions was that the Indian Muslims were a people separate from other Indian peoples. In fact, Iqbal went to the extent of saying: "We are 70 millions and far more homogenous than any other people in India. Indeed the Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word."¹⁷ The importance of this point can hardly be over-emphasized because it was on this basis that the Muslim League later demanded Pakistan.

Iqbal's own preference was for the second suggestion, because, according to him, it provided a permanent solution of the communal problem in India.¹⁸ What Iqbal really meant was that in a consolidated north-western Muslim State it should be possible for the Muslims to order their collective life according to the principles of Islam, about which he was very keen. This keenness logically followed from his view that it is not possible "to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national polities in which religious attitude is not permitted to play any part."¹⁹ In fact, Iqbal believed, as he later said, "that which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical tradition. These are the things which, in my eyes, are worth living for and dying for. .."²⁰ It should be added that Iqbal also thought that the "life of Islam as a cultural force in the country very largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory."²¹

At the same time Iqbal thought that non-Muslims should not have any serious objections to his suggestion. He assured non-Muslims that in the

¹⁶ Same, p. 19.

¹⁷ Same, p. 23.

¹⁸ Same, p. 19.

¹⁹ Same, p. 7.

²⁰ Same, p. 28.

²¹ Same, p. 10.

state which he was suggesting there would not be any kind of religious rule.²² Instead it would, ensure fair treatment to them. As he put it later, Muslims, "in view of their past history and traditions, [would] prove themselves free from all pettiness of mind and narrowness of outlook."²³ Iqbal also thought that the creation of a state with a large Muslim majority would further secure the position of non-Muslims inasmuch as such a state would be in a position "to give a more effective protection to non-Muslim minorities within its area."²⁴

Some non-Muslims thought that the real motive behind Iqbal's suggestion for a Muslim state in the north-west of India was cooperation with Muslim states to the west at the expense of residuary India. Iqbal himself noted that Srinivasa Sastri thought that the suggestion was actuated by a desire "to acquire means of exerting pressure in emergencies on the Government of India."²⁵ His categorical reply was that such thinking was incorrect and his suggestion had resulted solely from "a genuine desire for free development which is practically impossible under the type of unitary government contemplated by the nationalist Hindu politicians.,."²⁶

Iqbal, in fact, thought that the suggested state was in the interests of both India and Islam:

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 law, its education, its culture and to brine them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.²⁷

²² Same, p. 11.

²³ Same, p. 221.

²⁴ Same, p. 10.

²⁵ Same, p. 11.

²⁶ Same.

²⁷ Same.

There is, however, much disagreement on the interpretation of what Iqbal suggested in his address. The well known historian Dr Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, who also took a prominent part in the Pakistan movement, has argued: "Some writers have taken Iqbal to mean that he wanted only a consolidated Muslim unit within the confederation of India but this is incorrect. If that were so, he would not have mentioned self-government within the British empire or without it."²⁸ But Dr. K. K. Aziz, author/ editor of a number of volumes on Pakistan and the Pakistan movement, has expressed the view "It is one of the myths of Pakistani nationalism to saddle Iqbal with the parentage of Pakistan."²⁹

The disagreement is largely due to the fact that while one scholar has been able to comprehend that the suggestion of a consolidated Muslim state emanated from a person who was both a politician and a visionary, the other scholar thinks that the originator of the suggestion was only a politician. In the view of this writer there is a clear hint in the suggestion that if a consolidated Muslim state was created in the immediate future, this would lead at some date in the future to the establishment of an independent Muslim state. This view is supported not only by Dr. Qureshi's argument but also by Iqbal's reference in his suggestion to the final destiny of the Muslims.

The vision of an independent Muslim state continued to recur to Iqbal for quite sometime in different ways. In reply to a letter of Dr. Edward Thompson published in The Times of London in which it had been stated that, if the north-west areas of India separated, the defence of residuary India would become very difficult, Iqbal stated in October 1931:

May I tell Dr. Thompson, in this passage I do not put forward a 'demand' for a Moslem state outside the British Empire but only a guess at

²⁸ The Struggle for Pakistan, Karachi, 1965, p. 121.

²⁹ The Making of Pakistan, London, 1967, p. 54.

the possible outcome in the dim future of the mighty forces now shaping the destiny of the Indian subcontinent.³⁰

At the third session of the Round Table Conference in 1932, when the scheme for a federation of India was being finalised, Iqbal suggested that the Indian provinces should become independent dominions, in direct relationship with the Secretary of State, there being no central government.³¹ It should be noted that till 1931 it was widely believed that the 'Dominions' in the British Empire were not completely independent but the Statute of Westminster of December 1931 had clarified that in the matter of sovereignty the Dominions were in no way inferior to Britain.

This writer also thinks that Iqbal had his 1930 vision as well in mind when, during his London visit, at a meeting of the National League, he stated:

... as President of the All-India Muslim League. I suggested as a possible solution the formation of a large West Indian State. While this suggestion of mine was not embodied in the demand of the Muslims of India, my personal opinion still is that this is the only possible solution. I wait until experience reveals the wisdom or unwisdom of this suggestion.³²

Similarly, in February 1933, it was Iqbal, the visionary, who stated that in one respect the deliberations of the Round Table Conference have been very satisfactory inasmuch as these deliberations "have given birth to a people who are at once new and ancient. . . Not even a farsighted historian can realise the full consequences of the birth of this 'new-ancient' people. I only hope that their leaders will remain alert and not allow the growth of self-

³⁰ B. A. Dar (Ed.), *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, Karachi, 1967, pp. 118-19.

³¹ Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India*, Lahore, 1976, p. 329 f. n.

³² B. A. Dar, cited, p. 75.

consciousness among their people to be arrested by external forces, social or political."³³

So far as the immediate future was concerned there can be no controversy about what Iqbal was asking for, irrespective of whether the existing provinces of India remained intact or these were redistributed as Iqbal preferred. He was asking for such safeguards in the - constitution of a united India as would make it possible for the Muslims to lead their lives according to the principles of Islam. In the address itself Iqbal recalled that the suggestion for a consolidated Muslim unit had earlier been put forward before the Nehru Committee but it had not been accepted on the ground that the proposed unit would be very unwieldy.³⁴ He also stated 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 home-lands is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India."³⁵

It is important to note that Muslim leaders at the first session of the Round Table Conference, which met in the winter of 1930-31, were also demanding such provisions in the future constitution as would enable the Muslims to keep their identity separate from that of the non-Muslims and would safeguard their special interests. Muslim demands did not look unreasonable to a number of non-Muslim delegates but in the absence of the Congress representatives at the Conference it seemed that there was not much point in reaching a settlement of the communal problem. At the second session of the Round Table Conference M. K. Gandhi was the sole spokesman of the Congress and he took the stand that the Congress alone represented the peoples of India.³⁶ He refused to consider even those demands of the Muslims and other minorities which they considered most

³³ Latif Ahmed Sherwani, cited, p. 225.

³⁴ Same, p. 10.

³⁵ Same, p. 8.

³⁶ Sams, p. 32.

essential. Iqbal, himself a delegate at this session, later remarked: "We tried the majority and found them unwilling to recognize the safeguards which we can forego only at the risk of complete extinction as a nation determined to live its own life."³⁷

Iqbal was naturally disappointed at Gandhi's attitude but he continued to hope that a Hindu-Muslim understanding on some basis was still possible. The basis he proposed was: complete provincial autonomy, equal status for all federal units, classification of subjects into two categories only—federal and provincial, unconditional separation of Sind from Bombay, one-third seats for the Muslims in the Central Legislature, and Muslim majorities in the Punjab and Bengal Assemblies.³⁸

Iqbal reiterated his stand for a united federal India as late as December 1933 when, in a press statement, he declared:

The offer which His Highness the Agha Khan made to Mr. Gandhi two years ago still holds good. If under Pandit Nehru's leadership the Hindus or the Congress agree to the safeguards which Muslims believe to be necessary for their protection as an all-India minority, the Muslims are still ready to serve, in the Agha Khan's words, as camp-followers of the majority community in the country's political struggle.³⁹

While Iqbal was busy suggesting measures to safeguard the position of Muslims in the constitution that was then being thrashed out, Choudhry Rahmat Ali, a student at Cambridge, started a powerful campaign for a completely independent Muslim state in the north of India in the immediate future. Rahmat Ali has, however, claimed that he had demanded the establishment of such a state as early as 1915. The demand, he says, he had

³⁷ Same, p. 34.

³⁸ Same, p. 32.

³⁹ Same, p. 241.

put forward in his inaugural address at the Bazm-i-Shibli, which he had himself founded that year.⁴⁰

In the context of Rahmat Ali's claim the following points have, however, to be noted:

1. He has himself stated that his belief that the territories in the north of India belonged to the Muslims was imparted to him by his father, that he grew with it and it grew with him, and that it became the "dominating passion" of his life.⁴¹ Nevertheless, from 1916 for about 15 years he showed no activity although a number of important developments concerning the future of India took place during this period.

2. In December 1924 Lala Lajpat Rai had proposed the partitioning of the country into Hindu India and Muslim India and Muslim India included East Bengal also.⁴² In spite of that suggestion, Rahmat All, like Iqbal, concerned himself only with north-western India, although the basic consideration before both was the future of Islam and Muslims in India and there were more Muslims in the east of India than in the north-west.⁴³

3. Iqbal's address did not make much impression on the Muslim politicians but it led to some rethinking about the future of India amongst those Hindu leaders, British statesmen and intellectuals in India as well as Britain who studied it care-fully. In fact, it seems to this writer that Iqbal himself was invited to the second session of the Round Table Conference

⁴⁰ Choudhry Rahmat Ali, Pakistan : The Fatherland of the Pak Natlon, Lahore, 1978, pp. 213-14.

⁴¹ Same. p. 123.

⁴² K. K. Aziz (Ed.), Complete Works of Rahmat All, Vol. I, Islamabad, 1978, p. xvi (Introduction).

⁴³ Including Kashmir, but excluding the non-Muslim majority districts of the Punjab, there were about 20 million Muslims out of a total population of some 26.5 millions in the north-west of India as compared with about 27 million Muslims in the contiguous Muslim majority districts of Bengal and the adjoining Muslim majority district of Sylhet in Assam out of a total population of about 39 millions.

largely because he had put forward some new ideas in his address. The possibility therefore cannot be ruled out that Iqbal's address and his other observations about a consolidated Muslim state contributed to Rahmat Ali's decision to start an active campaign in favour of an independent Muslim state in the north of India in the immediate future. In this context it is important to note that Rahmat Ali himself has paid a great tribute to Iqbal:

... it must be gratefully remembered that . . . Iqbal's suggestion for the amalgamation of the four provinces made a profound contribution to our cause. Though it infuriated our politicians and convulsed the Caste Hindus, it re-inspired our people to think in terms of the consolidation of our nation, revived the issue of our future, and riveted our gaze on our homelands in the north-west of 'India' ⁴⁴

Rahmat Ali's own explanation is that he started his campaign because he was bitterly opposed to the agreement of the Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conferences to the scheme of an Indian Federation. "I warned the Muslim delegates I knew that their action had obliterated the twelve centuries of our history, destroyed the very foundations of our heritage and crippled all hopes of the fulfilment of our mission."⁴⁵ Perhaps it would be more correct to say that Rahmat Ali could not convince any of the delegates of the soundness of his own scheme. Whatever the case, he started his campaign single-handed and, on 28 January 1933, he issued a declaration entitled *Now or Never*, in which it was stated that the demand for a separate Muslim Federation was "a matter of life and death for the Muslims of India" and that the "issue is now or never. Either we live or perish for ever."⁴⁶ He followed up this declaration by issuing and distributing pamphlets, tracts and handbills and also started a weekly which he called *Pakistan*. As a result of these various measures his scheme became known at least to the British

⁴⁴ Choudhry Rahmat Ali, cited, pp. 220-21.

⁴⁵ Same, pp. 222-23.

⁴⁶ For the text of the declaration see K. K. Aziz, cited, pp. 5-10. The two quotes are from pp. 6 and 10.

statesmen concerned with the future of India and later in that year some members of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee interrogated Muslim witnesses, who appeared before the Committee, about it.

But Muslim leaders were then convinced that the interests of the Indian Muslims could be properly safeguarded in a constitution based upon the federal principle, In fact, on various occasions they had already expressed their views on those lines. The Muslim witnesses before the Committee therefore called Pakistan "only a student's scheme", "chimerical and impracticable."⁴⁷

Iqbal himself, as is evident from the extracts from his address and statements quoted earlier, was then committed to a federal constitution in the immediate future. His thinking must have been reinforced by the replies of the Muslim witnesses before the Select Committee. Small wonder, he decided not to leave any ambiguity about his position, and in his letter of 6 March 1934 to Maulana Raghīb Ahsan, stated: "I propose to create a Muslim province within the Indian federation ; the 'Pakistan' scheme of Rahmat Ali proposes a separate federation of Muslim provinces in the northwest of India outside the Indian federation. . ." It is significant that Iqbal wanted his position to be publicised through the newspapers.⁴⁸

What Iqbal visualised in 1930 as a possibility in the distant future became a clear cut demand of the Indian Muslims within a decade, largely because of developments connected with the introduction of provincial autonomy, provided in the Government of India Act of 1935, as from April 1937. At this crucial moment in the history of India, the predominantly Hindu Congress decided to elect Jawaharlal Nehru to its key post of President. Nehru was a socialist and knew a great deal about international relations but not much about the affairs of his own country. As he himself said in his presidential address at the Lucknow session of the Congress in

⁴⁷ Quoted in Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided*, Lahore, 1978, p. 207.

⁴⁸ Fascimile of letter published in Jung, 21 April 1982.

April 1936: "For many years now I have been a distant looker-on on this Indian scene where once I was an actor. .."⁴⁹ And in spite of the very conservative nature of the people whose destiny Nehru had been chosen to influence, he declared: "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in socialism ..."⁵⁰ He also declared that the communal problem was "after all, a side issue, and it can have no real importance in the larger scheme of things."⁵¹ A few weeks later he expressed the view that "the communal problem was the creation of a third party."⁵²

Inasmuch as it was not then known how popular the Congress was among the Indian peoples, Muslim leaders did not take much notice of such statements. But the statements of Nehru and his socialist nominees in the Congress Working Committee created a rift in the Congress leadership itself. Rajendra Prasad, one of the leading right wing leaders, wrote to Nehru: "We have got many difficulties and problems which baffle solution. The country has not yet found a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem in spite of the greatest efforts." In these circumstances, Rajendra Prasad posed the question, "is it practical politics to say that all our communal and international differences will vanish in no time if we can concentrate our attention on economic problems and solve them on socialistic lines?"⁵³ Indeed, so wide became the rift that at the end of June Rajendra Prasad, C. Rajagopalachari, Jairamdas Doulatram, Jamnalal Bajaj, Vallabhbhai Patel, J. B. Kripalani and S. D. Dev, members of the Working Committee, tendered their resignations and wrote to Nehru: "We are of [the] opinion that . . . through your speeches and those of . . . other socialists colleagues and the acts of other socialists who have been emboldened by the speeches we have referred to the

⁴⁹ Dorothy Norman (Ed.), *Nehru-The First Sixty Years*, Vol. I, London, 1965, p. 425.

⁵⁰ Same, p. 433.

⁵¹ Same, p. 442.

⁵² Quoted from *The Civil and Military Gazette (Lahore)* in C. H. Philips and Mary Doreen Wainright (Eds.), *The Partition of India*. London, 1970, p. 254.

⁵³ Same, p. 255.

Congress organisations has been weakened throughout the country without any compensating gain."⁵⁴ Nehru was naturally perturbed and himself offered to resign the Presidentship. -

The rift was, however, healed on the intervention of Gandhi who was held in very high esteem both by Nehru and his right wing colleagues. With unity restored in leadership the Congress was able to launch a powerful election campaign, which proved very successful inasmuch as in about two-thirds of India it won a majority of seats in the provincial assemblies. The success was even beyond the expectations of the Congress leaders themselves.

It is true that the Congress succeeded only in the Hindu majority provinces and there also it fared very badly in the case of Muslim seats.⁵⁵ But this failure did not disturb Nehru because he thought: "We failed because we had long neglected working among the Muslim masses and we could not reach them in time."⁵⁶

Thrilled with the election results, Nehru declared at the Convention of Congress Members of the Provincial Assemblies held in March 1937: "We have too long thought in terms of pacts and compromises between communal leaders and neglected the people behind them. That is a discredited policy and I trust that we shall not revert to it. And yet some people still talk of the Muslims as a group dealing with the Hindus or others as a group, a medieval conception which has no place in the modern world. We deal with economic groups today and the problems of poverty and

⁵⁴ Dorothy Norman, cited, p. 454.

⁵⁵ The Congress won 16 seats out of a total of 36 Muslim seats in the Assembly of the Muslim majority N. W.F.P. Province where it had since long been allied with the Muslim Red Shirt organisation, in the remaining 10 provincial Assemblies, out of a total of 446 Muslim seats. Congress won only 11 seats.

⁵⁶ Dorothy Norman, cited, p. 479.

unemployment and national freedom are common for the Hindu, the Muslim, the Sikh and the Christian."⁵⁷

To make the Congress popular among the Muslims asked all Congress Committees in the provinces to make special efforts to enroll Muslim members. The Central make Committee set up a new department to deal with Congress Muslims. Notices were circulated to all district and local committees to substitute Urdu for Hindi for areas where there were large Muslim populations.⁵⁸ Towards the Muslim League, the only All-India party of the Muslims, Nehru adopted an attitude of contempt.

He thought that it was a religious body and could not participate in politics. He had the Muslim League in mind when he declared that "the time has gone when religious groups as such can take part in the political and economic struggle. That may have been so in the medieval times: it is inconceivable today "⁵⁹

Nehru's efforts to win over the Muslim masses for the Congress and his contempt for the Muslim League startled Muslim leaders, more particularly because it became apparent to them that the Congress leadership was aiming at the merger of the Muslims in one Indian nation, which would be based on the values of the much larger Hindu community.

Iqbal was bound to react more strongly than any other Muslim leader because he was not only greatly dedicated to Islam but also possessed unbounded faith in the capacity of Muslims to make their contribution for the good of mankind. Some two decades back he had written in the *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*:

⁵⁷ Same.

⁵⁸ Congress circular of 31 March 1937. Uma Kaura, cited, pp. 109.10.

⁵⁹ Quoted from *The Times of India* in same, p. 110.

تانه خيزد بانگ حق
از عالمے
گر مسلمانى
نياساى دمسے
مى نه داني آيه ام
الكتاب
امت عادل ترا آمد
خطاب
آب و تاب چهره ايام
تو
در جهان شايد على
الاقوام تو
جلوه در تاريخى ايام
كن
آنچه ير تو كامل آمد
عام⁶⁰ كن

His faith in his co-religionists had remained unshaken and about the time Nehru had started his Muslim mass contact programme, Iqbal was writing:

⁶⁰ Kulliyat-i-Iqbal (Farm), Lahore, 1975, pp. 139-40.

اگر گردوں یہ کام او
نہ گردد
بکام خود به گرداند
زمین را⁶¹

This is not to suggest that Iqbal was not interested in the material well-being of people on which Nehru was laying so much emphasis. In fact, as early as 1920, in a letter to Gandhi, Iqbal had stated: "Situated as we are, political independence must be preceded by economic independence and in this respect the Muslims of India are far behind other communities of this country. Their principal need is not literature and philosophy but technical education, which would make them economically independent."⁶² In his address to the All-India Muslim Conference in 1932, Iqbal had emphasized the need for the formation of youth leagues which "must specially devote themselves to social service, customs reform, commercial organization of the community and economic propaganda in towns and villages, especially in the Punjab, where enormous indebtedness of Muslim agriculturists cannot be allowed to wait for the drastic remedies provided by agrarian upheavals."⁶³ In 1937 Iqbal wrote to Jinnah: "Personally I believe that a political organization which gives no promise of improving the lot of the average Muslim cannot attract our masses. . . And the whole future of the League depends on the League's activity to solve this question [of Muslim poverty]."⁶⁴

⁶¹ Same, p. 1024.

⁶² Latif Ahmed Sherwani, cited, p. 203.

⁶³ Same, p. 41.

⁶⁴ Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah, Lahore, 1974 reprint, pp. 17-18.

But Iqbal could not reconcile to Nehru's atheistic socialism. It is admitted that at times Iqbal has spoken well of socialism. But this is only in the context of one of its aspects, that of relieving the workers of the oppression of capitalists:

بندہ مزدور کو جا کر مرا پیغام دے
خضر کا پیغام کیا ہے یہ پیام کائنات
اے کر تجھ کو کہا گیا سرمایہ دار
حیلہ گر
شاخ آہو پر رہی صدیوں تلک تری
برات
دست دولت آفرین کو مزد یوں
ملتی رہی
اہل ثروت ، جیسے دیتے ہیں
غریبوں کو زکات⁶⁵

The basic approach of socialism—its concern only with the material well-being of man—was unacceptable to Iqbal:

غریباں گم کردہ اند

⁶⁵ Bang-i-Dara, p. 297.

افلاک را
درشکم جویند جان
پاک را
رنگ و بو از تن نگیرد
جان پاک
جزبه تن کارے ندارد
اشتراک
دین آں پیغمبر حق نا
شناس
بر مساوات شکم دارد
اساس⁶⁶

Iqbal believed that the unity of man could not be bifurcated into spirit and matter:

تن و جان را دو تا گفتن
کلام است
تن و جان را دو تا دیدن

⁶⁶ Javed Namah, 1959 reprint, p. 69.

In Iqbal's view the major purpose of the State itself is to develop the spirit of man: "There is no such thing as a profane world. All this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realization of spirit. AU is holy ground. The State, according to Islam, is only an effort to realize the spiritual in a human organization."⁶⁸

In view of his failing health, Iqbal could not actively oppose Nehru's programme. He therefore appealed to Jinnah to save the Indian Muslims from Nehru's socialism. In March 1937 Iqbal wrote: "It is absolutely necessary to tell the world both inside and outside India that the economic problem is not the only problem in the country. From the Muslim point of view the cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims. At any rate it is not less important than the economic problem."⁶⁹ In May Iqbal wrote that the solution of the problem of Muslim poverty lay "in the enforcement of the Law of Islam and its further development in the light of modern ideas" and that "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."⁷⁰ Finally, in June Iqbal wrote: "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?"⁷¹ Iqbal's letters no doubt influenced Jinnah's thinking.

In May, when suggesting the redistribution of the country, Iqbal had also posed the question: "Don't you think that the time for such a demand

⁶⁷ Kulliyat-i-Iqbal (Forst), p. 547.

⁶⁸ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Lahore, 1975, p. 155.

⁶⁹ Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah, cited, p. 14.

⁷⁰ Same, pp. 18-19.

⁷¹ Same, p. 21.

has already arrived?"⁷² The time had in fact arrived and although Iqbal did not live long enough to see the Muslim League adopt his suggestion, in October 1938 1 Muslim leaders from the platform of the League itself began to talk in terms of a separate Muslim state. At the Sind Provincial 1 Muslim League Conference, at which Jinnah presided, some League leaders put forward a resolution in which it was stated that "India may be divided into two Federations, viz: the Federation of Muslim States and the Federation of non-Muslim States."⁷³ In March 1919, in his presidential address at the Divisional Muslim League Conference at Meerut, the General Secretary of the League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, stated that if the Hindus and Muslims could not live together in peace, they should agree to divide the country.⁷⁴ A year later, at the annual session of the Muslim League held at Lahore, a resolution was adopted in which it was demanded that geographically contiguous areas of India should be so demarcated 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 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."⁷⁵

It was in the fitness of things that Jinnah acknowledged the soundness of Iqbal's thinking and his great contribution to determining the best solution of the difficult problem of the Indian Muslims. Wrote Jinnah in 1942: "His (Iqbal's) views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumbrated in the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League..."⁷⁶ Two years later Jinnah stated

⁷² Same, p. 19.

⁷³ Quoted in C. H. Philips and Mary Doreen Wainright, cited, p. 261.

⁷⁴ *Khutba-i-Sadarat*, Delhi, 1939, p. 11.

⁷⁵ Latif Ahmed Sherwani (Ed.), *Pakistan Resolution to Pakistan, 1940-47*, Karachi, 1969, p. 21.

⁷⁶ *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, cited, pp. 6-7 (Foreword).

that Iqbal 'was one of the few who originally thought over the feasibility of carving out of India . . . an Islamic state in the North-west and North-east zones which are historical homelands of Muslims."⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Jamiluddin Ahmad (Ed), Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah, Vol. II, Lahore, 1976, p. 147.

IQBAL AND WORDSWORTH

S. Sajjad Husain

It was with considerable interest and surprise that I started reading the article on Iqbal and Wordsworth by Alim Siddiqui in *Iqbal Review* (July 1980). It had never occurred to me before that there existed any affinities between them. They belonged to two different traditions and two different cultural backgrounds. What could they possibly have in common? But considering that Iqbal, like other educated people in the subcontinent, must have read the English poets in school and college, and having regard also to the fact that many subcontinental writers have been influenced by them, I imagined that the author of the article had perhaps discovered traces of this kind of influence. I thought of Tagore in Bengali in whom one could see various European influences at work. But I was disillusioned soon. For what Mr. Siddiqui has done is to quote some passages from the two poets on subjects which by a stretch of the imagination could be called analogous and put on them an interpretation which is untenable.

One need not doubt that Iqbal had read Wordsworth. He is said to have remarked on one occasion that it was the study of Wordsworth's poetry which saved him from atheism (*ilhad*). This is all to the good. The writer then proceeds to say or rather imply that this must be due to the having had the same sort of upbringing: Wordsworth in the Lake District of England and Iqbal in Sialkot! The idea that the Lake District and Sialkot have much in common and would breed the same moods and attitudes is certainly original. Neither of the two was what we call a city-bred poet. Wordsworth was not a Cockney like Keats, nor had Iqbal the urban background of Ghalib. But does it follow that they must have spiritual affinities? That needs substantiation.

A few passages are quoted from such pieces as *Himalay*, *Khizr-e-Rah*, *Ek Arzoo*—which certainly prove that Iqbal was not unresponsive to nature—and having done so the writer goes on to adduce passages from Wordsworth on the subject of nature and asks the reader to accept that his point has been demonstrated. It never struck him that whereas Iqbal's poems are plain evocations of natural beauty Wordsworth's exemplify the philosophical idea that Nature was a living force, a presence that disturbed him with the joy of elevated things. Unlike Wordsworth, Iqbal never formulated a philosophy out of his love of nature such as it was. Wordsworth is pantheistic. Now there have been great lovers of nature in English poetry. Both Shelley and Keats wrote magnificent nature poetry, but we do not on that account try to establish affinities between them and Wordsworth. Anyone who has ever read Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind* and Keat's *To Autumn* and compared them with Wordsworth's *Tintern Abbey* and the *Prelude* would know what I am talking about.

The fact is that all poetry revolves around such basic subjects as love, nature, suffering, death, God, beauty and so on. There are hundreds of poems in every literature on these themes. But unless one could prove that two poets have approached a subject from the same point of view it is not customary to speak of affinities. What poet who had deep feelings could avoid writing at one time or another on the pain of separation from the loved one? But would it be wise to group together Kalidasa and Horace and Shakespeare and Browning because they have all written on love? That is the kind of parallelism Mr. Siddiqui has established.

The strange example of parallelism that occurs in the article relates to the attachment of the two poets to two women. Iqbal, he writes, was deeply attached to a woman called *Atyia Begum*; Wordsworth, similarly was attached to his sister *Dorothy*, as they say in geometry. There are hundreds of poets in whose lives a woman has played a part. Why not say that Iqbal and Shakespeare belong to the same group, because the latter also loved a *Dark Lady*? This is neither good logic nor sound literary criticism. I suppose that

one could from this point of view also establish a likeness between Iqbal and Petrarch who worshipped his Laura and Dante whose devotion was concentrated on Beatrice.

Something could possibly have been said about the interest which both Iqbal and Wordsworth had in politics. The early revolutionary fervour in the latter and Iqbal's life-long interest in the political fate of his fellow Muslims sprang probably from the same motives. But this is an area which the author has avoided.

Another example of the kind of parallelism the writer has sought is the mention in the last paragraph of the article of the fact that both poets received public recognition from their peoples. Wordsworth had been appointed poet Laureate, while Iqbal was acknowledged as the national poet of the Muslims in the subcontinent. If this testifies to any affinity between the two, could one not trace a parallel between Iqbal and Tennyson or Iqbal and Robert Bridges?

Literary comparisons are sometimes illuminating. They bring to light aspects of the work of two poets which may have passed unnoticed. But a forced comparison where no affinities exist can serve no purpose. Both temperamentally and in their approach to life, their beliefs and ideas, Iqbal and Wordsworth were very dissimilar. This is not denying the fact that at a certain stage in his life Iqbal may have owed some inspiration to him. That is an entirely different matter. One can usefully compare a poet like Milton with Dante with their preoccupation with Christian theology, but it would be absurd to draw a comparison between either of them and say a poet like Philip Sidney or Gray. The mention of Dante reminds me that the striking similarity between Iqbal's use of Rumi as a spiritual guide and Dante's use of Virgil in the same capacity deserves to be studied in depth. This would throw light on Iqbal's indebtedness to Europe and at the same time on his originality.

I confess that I am not an Iqbal scholar. The whole purpose of this note is first to disparage the tendency to draw fanciful comparisons between dissimilar poets, and secondly to protest against the idea that the true test of an Eastern poet's greatness is whether he has affinities with some European poet. The fact that there is nothing to be found in Wordsworth which could be called the counterpart of Asrar-i-Khudi or Javid Namah does not detract from his greatness. Likewise, the absence in Iqbal's works of anything like the Prelude or Tintern Abbey does not take away from his renown, they are great in their different ways.

THE NATURE OF DANTE'S INFLUENCE ON IQBAL

S. M. Abdullah

Almost all the important writers on Iqbal have referred to Dante's influence on Iqbal, so far as the *Javid Nama* is concerned.

This has left an impression in the minds of some students of Iqbal that *Javid Nama* is an imitation, and lacks originality because of its resemblances with the *Divine Comedy*.

That *Javid Nama* has some similarities with the *Divine Comedy*, there is no doubt. But mere resemblance in a few details or even imitation of certain aspects does not necessarily prove that Iqbal was an imitator having no scheme of his own, conceptual as well as artistic. In fact, Iqbal's work is almost original in ideational approach as also in the architecture of his story.

Inspiration in the field of ideas, life and culture is one of the commonest phenomenon of human culture, even great masters, like Shakespeare not excluded. Dante's own borrowings from old poets and men of letters (including the Muslim, authors and Scholars) were considerable. Yet, Dante's masterpiece, the *Commedia* stands aloft as a wonderful piece of originality. Similarly, Iqbal's claim to originality and greatness is not vitiated because of a few resemblances, or for reasons of casual inspiration from Dante.

This assumption necessitates a critical and fuller discussion on a few points, e.g.:

(a) What is the nature and extent of Iqbal's borrowings?

(b) Why should Iqbal solely depend upon Dante, when he could fall back directly upon the Muslim materials (like Mrajnamas, prophetic traditions relating to Miraj and their adaptations in verse and prose) which, according to Miguel Asin (the author of the famous book *Islam and the Divine Comedy*) Dante also used profusely.

(c) What are the characteristic features of the *Jawid Nama* which account for its distinction and individuality as against the *Divine Comedy*.

(d) Some other notable aspects of the *Jawid Nama*.

Nature and extent of resemblances

It can not be denied that the *Jawid Nama* seems to have some similarities with the pattern of the *Divine Comedy*. It may also be surmised that the idea of compiling such a book may have struck the Poet of the East, after studying the memorable book of Miguel Asin on the subject, the first English Edition of which had already appeared in 1926, and become very popular among the Muslim intellectuals of the time. However, we know on the authority of the late Chaudari Muhammad Husain, a disciple and trusted associate of Allama Iqbal—who wrote an article on *Jawid Nama* soon after it was published) that the Allama had always in his mind a book on the mysteries of the Miraj of the Holy Prophet, till in 1929 he decided to compile the present work *Jawid Nama* (see *Nairang-i-Khayal*, Annual Number 1942, pp. 108). In any case, Dante's work may have been taken as model by Iqbal.

Similarities

In fact, the basic scheme of the work is the same. Of course, differences are there as we shall see later, but the general outline is the same, e.g.: (1) the starting point (an incident in the D.C. (*Divine Comedy*), mis-track in a Jungle), (2) sudden appearance of a guide (Rumi in the case of the *Jawid Nama*, and Virgil in the case of the D. C.), (3) Ascension of both poets stage by stage, according to the Astronomical (or theological) arrangement, (4)

Interviews with several men or personalities in Hell and Heaven, (5) Various kinds of torments and tortures and rewards to the sinners and the righteous men respectively, (6) description of several places providing an atmosphere to each situation (rivers of gold and silver, mountains covered with snow, landscape, characters and mythological figures and several other things.

Differences

This is a list of similarities but as already observed differences are more glaring and are of a basic nature.

As against Dante, who takes deeper interest in the spiritual conversion of the individual on theological basis of the Catholic-ism, in vogue in the 14th Century, A. D., Iqbal is more concerned with the metaphysical questions of his own age, and political questions of the Muslim world during the twentieth century.

The age of Dante was that of scholastic rationalism as expounded by St. Thomas Aquinas but Iqbal belonged to the age of Science, Mathematics and Space—Physics. While Dante insists on the identity of Religion and Reason, Iqbal emphasises the unity of spirit and Matter, hence of Religion and Science. So, the interpretation of Reality is different in both cases.

In a sense, we come across two different voices while going through the texts of these two poets. In Dante, we have a Christian voice while in Iqbal, we find a Muslim voice expressing ideas, characteristically Muslim.

For Iqbal Ascension to the Divine Sphere (معراج) is not an unfamiliar phenomenon because every Muslim believes in Miraj (ascension) and lsea (nocturnal journey) of the Holy Prophet. Iqbal refers to the idea of of the Mi'raj in the first section of the book.

He thereby suggests that ascension of man to the Divine Sphere was not impossibility. No doubt, Iqbal's view of Miraj appaerently does not strictly

conform to the traditional belief, and he interprets Miraj as a change or revolution in consciousness but this is his interpretation. The case of the Holy Prophet is quite different and specific as we shall see later.

Here we have two different tempers. Generally speaking Dante is always seen frightened, depressed, terrified, confused and panicstricken throughout his heavenly journey, while Iqbal even in a very grave situation looks calm and composed, although enthusiastic and eager to know more. Again, Dante is too much submissive, even timid. When he accompanies his guide he puts very few questions, and when he has ever the courage of asking about anything, he is snubbed and is satisfied with one or two casual remarks of his guide. As against this, Iqbal is very inquisitive, goes deep into delicate questions, and, in most cases argues with 'heavenly personalities', nay even with his Guide.

Javid Nama begins with Muaajat (prayer in Quietude or whispering with the Lord, in which the poet expresses his craving for a vision of Reality. Here Iqbal's approach is positive. His passion for Higher Knowledge is intense. In such a state of Mind, he prays that he may be granted light, yet more light.

Dante's attitude throughout his journey smacks of his conviction in the Christian idea of the 'original sin', whereas Iqbal's idea of human dignity and glorious destiny is based on God's declaration on the eve of Adam's mission to earth that Man is going to be the Deputy of God on earth (خلیفہ) and has a great future. There is no guilt complex, no indication of inferiority, no wavering, no defeatism. In a section of the Jawid Name, there is an assurance from the Angels about the superiority of Man (of Naghma-i-Mala'ik—the Song of the Angels), after which the great Rumi appears on the scene with a surer and more confident voice. Those interested may examine the Canto in the D. C. regarding the emergence of Virgil who exhorts the Poet (Dante) to proceed under the lure of Poet's beloved Beatrice idealized by him (Dante).

Here we find the two poets on two different planes. While Ideal Love is the chief motive with Dante, with Iqbal it is love for the knowledge of Reality which is the main motivating force. Another great difference between the two poets lies in their treatment of the super-natural element as a means of the development of the story, In Dante, this element is very strong He creates an atmosphere completely flouting the law of probability. He wishes his reader to believe what is not believable. He carries his reader through his undoubtedly superior power of description and delineation which captures the imagination not allowing him to ponder rationally. However, Iqbal does not lose his rational sense under any situation. In most difficult situations necessitating the intervention of the super-natural element, his regard for the law of causality and probability never fails him. For instance, if we compare the episode of the Heavens, appearance of the suburbs of the inferno in the D. C. and of reaching the lower limits of the sphere of the Moon in the J. N., we will at once find that while Iqbal's approach is gradual and almost natural and therefore intelligible, Dante's approach is sudden like a jerk. Iqbal passes through the various stages methodically: for instance, after the first prayer ('h.L4) there is (1) Tamhid-i-Asmani, (2) the Song of the Angels, (3) Tanshid-i-Zamini, (4) Rumi's Appearance and sudden emergence of Zarwan—the Higher spirit controlling time and space—and then entrance of the two poets) (the Guide and the Disciple) into the Afiak-i- Falak-i-Qamar, Falak-i-Utarad, Falak-i-Zuhra and so on: All this process is gradual and therefore credible.

But in Dante, in the 3rd canto (of the Inferno), Caronte refuses to take poets further, a severe whirlwind takes over, an earthquake sets in along with lightening and lashing winds. Here Dante falls down unconscious. But after a thunder, when he regains his consciousness, he finds that someone has carried him across the chasm which was hitherto impassible.

Now this is sheer 'phantasy' overloaded with fiction of the most violent type. Usually we find Dante crossing one stage after the other in a state of unconsciousness.

As observed before, the differences of the two are those of the age—and also those of the religious tradition.

Iqbal follows the Holy Quran which maintains that nobody from the Earth could penetrate into the Heavens, except with the essential (spiritual or divine) powers (Quranic words: *الابسطان*). This means that the Heavens could through Sultan be pierced through by human being—and the Holy Prophet set an example of that.

The recent Space Conquest has further strengthened the view, but Iqbal's reference may be read in a wider context.

Dante could not conceive that Heavens could be pierced through. Therefore he proceeded fictionally. Yet another sphere of distinction between Dante and Iqbal is found in the handling of the mythological materials. Dante has utilized Greek mythology to the fullest extent,—three-headed demons, some creatures, half human and half animal and so many other things. But in Iqbal use of mythology is rare. It exists only in the episode dealing with the Hindu saint Jahandost (Vishwa Mitr) and the Hindu poet Bhartari Hari.

Dante is allegorical throughout while Iqbal's statements are factual, logical, with allegorical significance only rarely. However, inspired by all this, Dante excels in his superb characterization, excellent artistry and marvellous power of description, as also in his great dramatic skill, and this justifies T. S. Eliot's remarks that "Shakespeare gives the greatest width of human passion:

Dante the greatest altitude and greatest depth. They complement each other. It is futile to ask which undertook the more difficult job." (T. S. Eliot, *Selected Essays*, p. 265). One thing, however is certain that Iqbal's job was decidedly more difficult because he belonged to the age of scientific thought in which concrete reality rather than fiction reigned supreme.

The system of the Universe which Dante employed was Ptolemaic and not the familiar Copernican—, the macrocosmic system as one would say. But Iqbal is not very strict about the system: he simply follows the usual familiar astronomical system in vogue among the Muslims.

Anyhow, in the words of Robert H. Lynn, (Notes on the Divine Comedy, vol. 1 p. 9) "the Commedia is a cathedral in language and is unique in several ways" and so is Jawid Noma unique in certain other ways.

Miguel Asin, who has already been quoted above, has taken great pains to prove that Dante based his book on the Muslim legends of the Isra and the Miraj. Isra mean's undertaking of journey at night as the Holy Prophet did, according to the Holy Quran (سبحان الذى أسرى بعبده ليلا الخ), from the Holy mosque of Makkah to the Holy mosque of Aqsa (Jerusalem), followed by accession to the Heavens. Quite a large mass of Muslim literature exists on these topics, and M. Asin has examined it' to arrive finally at the conclusion that Dante with all his fame as a great poet, which praise he deserves, has substantially borrowed from the above-mentioned Muslim sources.

In this article, I do not propose to go into the merits of the above-mentioned conclusion. I am only refering to the question of Iqbal's utilization of the original Muslim sources from which Dante undoubtedly borrowed a lot.

I do not claim to have gone through the entire body of this literature but I have an impression that Iqbal did not depend much on these stories of the Miraj and the Isra. Conversely, he partially based his poem on the plan of the Divine Comedy as is suggested by the systematic arrangement of the episodes having almost the same details here and there.

Iqbal did not follow the pattern of the Isra and the Miraj out of respect for the Holy Prophet whose special privilege it was to have ascended the Heavens with prophteic dignity and sublimity.

No other human being according to Muslims can have that honour.

This also accounts for Iqbal's interpretation of the ascension (معراج) that it could only be a higher state of Ordinary human consciousness (and not specific), without involving any physical implication. This refers to men other than the Holy Prophet. Others can attain to some sort of superconsciousness but the Ascension of the Holy Prophet's is a unique experience and without parallel.

It is quite certain that Ibn-i-Arabi's *Fatuhāt* and his other work on *Isra* could not be the models of Iqbal for his *David Nama* because details differ widely and basically. Similarly *al-Ma'arri's Risalatul-Ghufran* could not catch the imagination of Iqbal because its contents contain heretical materials. There are certain other works of importance such as the *Miraj Nama* of Ibn-i-Sina (in Persian), and certain poems on *Miraj* in the *Mathnawiyat* of great Persian poets such as *Nizami Ganjawi*, *Amir Khusru*, *Jami* and others. These also could not serve as models because most of these contain vague rhetorical statements lacking in accuracy and precision.

Ibn-i-Sina's work is more or less an interpretation of the facts of *Miraj* in philosophical terms, and in *Amir Khusru's Matla'-ul-Anwar*, the only resemblance with *Jawid Nama* is that *Khusrau* also describes the various stages of the heavenly journey but that is only casual.

There are certain chapters in the *Ma'arrijun-Nubuwah* also which could benefit Iqbal but their subject matter is different and more theological.

In any case, Iqbal owes a bit to Dante but only to the extent indicated in this article. But with all his indebtedness to Dante he has his one scheme and his own ideals.

HERBERT READ ON DR. IQBAL

Saleem Akhtar

While doing some research on Dr. Iqbal I came across a quotation of Herbert Read. in which he had paid rich tribute to Dr Iqbal—as far my study of Dr. Iqbal goes, I had never heard of Herbert Read in connection with Dr Iqbal, naturally I was intrigued—this started my search for the original article. Failing to find it here, I wrote to the Library of Congress, Washington, explaining my difficulty in locating the said article and requesting for a copy of the same They were prompt enough in sending me a copy of the article entitled: "READERS AND WRITERS" published in "The New Age" dated 25th August 1921. For the first time this article is being published in quarterly "IQBAL REVIEW". (S.A.)

"READERS AND WRITERS"

Good criticism is so rare in our journals that I feel bound to draw attention to it when it does appear. I have in general not too much sympathy for work of Mr. D. H. Lawrence, but an essay of his on Whitman in a recent issue of "The Nation" is to my mind as near perfect criticism as we can expect. The subject, of course, is an inspiring one ; it has not yet been adequately explored and, because it offers no scope for the pedant of prosody, the literary genealogist, and other academic sleuth-hounds, the critic is almost forced to plain speaking and original thought. Mr. Lawrence responds to each of these demands, and though it is not my business to rehearse his ideas, I would like to emphasise a triumph of his analysis, which is the revelation of the extreme significance of that aspects of Whitman's genius best represented in Calamus. "The polarity is between man and man.

Whitman alone of all moderns has known this positively. ... Even Whitman becomes grave, tremulous, before the last

dynamic truth of life. . . . He tells the mystery of manly love, the love of comrades. . . . This comradeship is to be the final cohering principle of the new world, the new Democracy. It is the cohering principle of perfect solidarity. . . . It is the soul's last and most vivid responsibility, the responsibility for the circuit of final friendship, comradeship, manly love." This is true analysis and the poet to whom it is applied, more massive and forceful in his work than any revelation or appreciation can make him, is profound—certainly beyond his own country and time—perhaps beyond our country and time. I do not know: I see but little active understanding of his significance. It is a female age, or an age of female attachment Whitman is self-styled the poet of manly attachment and he will be the poet of a manly age. The greatest modern poet? Yes: I for one agree with Mr. Lawrence and acknowledge his sufficient tribute. And however neglectful we may be consciously of the greatness of this poet, I think that the world unconsciously begins to fulfil Whitman's ideal. He is almost the poet of modern universal unconscious mind. He gives expression to the herd instinct of the male. For man is driven—defensively by the tide of feminine ideas, spontaneously by the aggression of economic factors—to formulate between man and man that fresh aspect of comradeship which, as Whitman said, "hard to define, underlies the lessons and which seems to promise, when thoroughly developed, cultivated and recognised in manners and literature, the most substantial hope and safety of the future. . . ." This feeling was given actuality for Whitman in the American Civil War; and "Drum Taps," the finest war poems known to the world, remain as a testament. And it may be said that the fundamental experience in the recent war among those sensitive to anything fundamental was the birth or renaissance of his manly attachment. But that is something difficult to explain in emotionless prose.

Mr. Lawrence is equally acute in his analysis of Whitman's "element of falsity," for with all his greatness Whitman was not a perfect poet. But that

aspect does not need stress—as romantic boundlessness and pantheistic diliquescence it is obvious enough—and there are aspects of control, of positiveness, of concentration, that outweigh the multiplicity of the included sensations. In, this sensations. In this sense, the best expression of his genius, the most complete definition of his craft, has been written by Whitman himself. It is an unobtrusive footnote hidden among the pages. of "Democratic Vists," and for that reason I may be justified in quoting it:

The culmination and fruit of literary artistic expression, and its final fields of pleasure for the human soul, are in metaphysics, including the mysteries of the spiritual world, the soul itself, and the question of the immortal continuation of our identity. In all ages the mind of man has brought up here—and always will here at least, of whatever race or era, we stand on common ground. Applause, too, is unanimous, antique or modern. Those authors who work well in this field—though their reward, instead of a handsome percentage, or royalty, may be but simply the laurel-crown of the victors in the Olympic games—will be dearest, to humanity, and their works, however esthetic, cally, defective, will be treasured for ever. The attitude of literature and poetry has always been religion—and always will be. The Indian Vedas, the Nackas of Zoroaster, the Talmud of the Jews, the Old Testament, the Gospel of Christ and His disciples. Plato's works, the Koran of Mohammed, the Edda of Suorro, and so on toward our own day, to Swedenborg, and to the in-valuable contributions of Liebnitz, Kant, and Hegel—these, with such poems only in which (while singing well of persons and events, of the passions of man, and the shows of the material universel, the religious tone, the consciousness of mystery, the recognition of the future, of unknown, of Deity over and under, all, of the divine purpose, are never absent, but indirectly give tone to all—exhibit literature's real heights and elevations, towering up like great mountains of the earth.

This is a definition of the potentiality of literature rather than of its intrinsic nature. It does not solve—it even naively overrides—the problem of method, of aesthetic expression. ("However esthetically defective" ! Great

works, such as those enumerated, are never aesthetically defective: their energy of thought burns a way, moulds a form.) But subject to these elucidations, this ideal of Whitman's is a critical ideal of workability, of direct use. Applying it here and now, I can think of only one living poet who in any way sustains the test, and almost necessarily he is not of our race and creed. I mean Muhammad Iqbal, whose poem "Asrar-i-Khudi: The Secrets of the Self," has recently been translated from the original Persian by Dr. Reynold Nicholson and published by Messrs. Macmillan. Whilst our native poetasters were rhyming to their intimate coteries about cats and corn-crakes and other homely or unusual variations of a Keatsian theme, there was written and published in Lahore this poem, which, we are told, has taken by storm the younger generation of Indian Moslems. ' Iqbal writes one of them, "has come amongst us as Messiah and has stirred the dead with life." And what catch penny nostrum, you will ask, has thus appealed to the covetous hearts of the market-place ? You will then be told, as I tell you now, that no nostrum, neither of the jingo nor of the salvationist, has wrought this wonder, but a poem that crystalises in its beauty the essential phases of modern philosophy, making a unity of faith out of a multiplicity of ideas, a universal inspiration out of the esoteric logic of the schools.

Iqbal specifically disclaims the influence of Nietzsche but he cannot escape the comparison. The Superman of Nietzsche and the Perfect Man of Iqbal differ only in incidental characteristics, though the former is based on a false sociology of aristocracy, while, the latter is I think, on surer ground in that the ideal aristocrat—the Socrates, the Christ, the Muhammad—is recognised as not social or pre-determined in origin, but a sport of the creative force of nature. the Perfect Man is democratic in origin —"is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every human being is centre of latent power, the possibilities of which developed by cultivating a certain type of character. It is an ideal much nearer to actuality, and in that respect has more affinity to Whitman's Divine Average. But the same initial desire seems to underlie the three ideals: they differ only in prevision. Religiously, is

basis is the belief that man evolves by the attraction of a divine force called God. Scientifically, it is the hypothesis that there is revealed in "the structure of events a creative force which is manifest to consciousness and which will develop the mind's capacity for awareness and understanding. Metaphysically, the scientific and the religious aspects are united: "Life (I quote from Iqbal's introduction to his poem) is a forward assimilative movement. It removes all obstructions in its resarch by assimilating them. It's essence is the continal creation of desires and ideal, and for the pupose of its preservation and expansion it has invented or developed out of itself certain instruments, e.g., senses. intellect, etc., which help to assimilate obstructions. The greatest obstruction in the way of life is matter. Nature ; yet Nature is not evil, since it enables the inner powers of life to unfold themselves." Life, therefore, is an endeavour for freedom, and the method of endeavour is "the education of the Ego," or as Muhammad himself directed: "Create in yourselves the attributes of God." This reminds one of Whitman: "I am an acme of things accomplished, and I am encloser of things to be." And Whitman also wrote: "In the faces of men and women I see God and in my own face in the glasses," "Fellow creators the creator seeketh" is Nietzsche's expression of the same ideal ; and indeed, all religion and all philosophy ultimately concentrates in this doctrine of the perfection of the self. Man cannot psychologically admit any divinity of which he is not expression. That seems to be a physical truth. Iqbal seems to realise this truth more certainly than Nietzsche or Whitman. Whitman's Divine Average is vague, and not intense enough as an ideal, and Nietzsche's Superman is anti-social and so instinctively false. But Iqbal's Perfect Man is divine average, comrade: his divine average is perfect man—"both idol and worshipper."

HERBERT READ

A RARE WRITING OF IQBAL

Afzal Haq Qarshi

The magazine the orient was launched from Lahore in 1925. It was a monthly review containing articles of political, social, economic, educational and general interest. Syed Nur Ahmad B.A. (Alig.) was its editor and publisher. The office of the journal was situated in the Australia Buildings (near the Lahore Railway Station). In its issue number 6—8 (June-August 1925) of Volume I, the magazine announced a scheme of establishing a printing press on co-operative basis. A joint stock company was thus set up to undertake this work and it was declared as follows:

"The New orient has had to wait in the meanwhile, and will have to wait for some time more after the publication of this issue—the next issue will be printed at its printing machines".

Nothing is known of the fate of the press after the above-mentioned combined issue. However, we come to know through the Statement of Newspapers and Periodicals published in the Punjab and Native States that the magazine continued its printing during 1926 at the same press i.e. Punjab Co-operative Printing Press and ceased to exist during 1927. The new orient contains, in this issue, among other material, an article of Iqbal entitled Stray Thoughts, which is not included in any of the following collections of his writings.

1. Abdul Wahid, Syed. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal. Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf. 1964.
2. Dar, B.A. Letters and Writings of Iqbal. Karachi; Iqbal Academy, 1967.
3. Razzaqi, Shahid Hussain. Discourses of Iqbal. Lahore: Sh. Ghulam

Ali, 1979.

4. Shaheen, Rahim Bakhsh. Mementos of Iqbal. Lahore ; All-Pakistan Islamic Education Congress [n.d.]
5. Sherwani, Latif Ahmed. Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal. Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977.
6. Iqbal's Stray Thoughts edited by Dr. Javed Iqbal under the title Stray Reflections and published from Lahore in 1961, does not contain these stray thoughts. These are being produced here for scholars in the field of Iqbal Studies.(A.H Q.)
- 7.

I

The weak lose themselves in God ; the strong discover him in themselves.

II

For centuries Eastern heart and intellect have been absorbed the question —Does God Exist ? I propose to raise a new question—new, that is to say, for the East—Does man exist?

III

Islam is not a religion in the ancient sense of the word. It is an attitude—an attitude, that is to say—of Freedom, and even of defiance to the Universe. It is really a protest against the entire outlook of the ancient world. Briefly, it is the discovery of Man.

IV

Nietzsche thinks that belief in God makes man feeble. The wisdom of Islam consists in exploiting the idea of God in the interest of Man, and transforming it into a source of power. For the Tauhid (-taji) of Islam means absolute freedom from fear and superstition in actual life. A mere intellectual belief in God does not count for much in Islam.

V

Before you talk of self-sacrifice you must see whether you have got a self to sacrifice. The egoist alone is capable of self, sacrifice.

VI

One of the most interesting phenomena of modern history is the birth, or rather the rebirth of humanism in the world of Islam. This will no doubt sharpen our sense for matter which centuries of speculative Sufism have dulled ; but we must not forget the distinction which the mediaeval thinkers of Europe made between "use" and "enjoyment". We "use" all that is a means to the acquisition of the ultimate good; and "enjoy" what we regard as the ultimate good. The Eternal alone is enjoyable; all else is useable only. Europe forgot this distinction long ago and there is no knowing where her unrestrained Humanism will carry her.

VII

Knowledge partly contributes to the structure of what we call objective reality; but the character of events that drop 'out of the womb of fate is wholly determined by the heart of man. It is the weak man who endows Fate with its sting. The strong man exploits his misfortunes, in as much as he enhances the force of his soul by maintaining an attitude of total indifference to them.

VIII

The idea of Mi'raj in Islam is face to face vision of Reality without the slightest displacement of your own ego. It is impossible to forget the words of the Muslim poet who said of the prophet this much.

IX

Most of our theologians thought the doctrine of human freedom could not be reconciled with the fore-knowledge of God. They looked upon belief in freedom as veiled atheism. So thought Mahmud Shabistri.

But the author of Gulshan-i-Raa made the tacit assumption of an absolute and independent time like Newton. He did not see if his view of time were true, then the freedom of God would also disappear. Shabistri's argument will not hold to-day; for God can be conceived as creating time from moment to moment. If the Universe is an open one there is no pre-existing future, and God does not know the future because there is nothing know.

X

People extol the past and deprecate the present, not understanding that the present is the whole of the past concentrated in one point.

TWO UNPULISHED LETTERS OF IQBAL

M. Jehangir Alam

A collection of thirteen letters of Iqbal addressed to the Quaid-i-Azam were published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf of Lahore in April 1943. This small collection also contained a brief Foreword by the Quaid. The book has run into six editions between 1943 and 1968, without any substantial change or addition.

I take opportunity to present to the readers of Iqbal Review two more letters belonging to the period May 1936 to November 1937. These 'letters throw some light on 'election activities' in the Punjab and Iqbal's assessment of the Muslim League position in this area during those days. The Urdu translation of these two documents appeared in Qaomi Zaban, Karachi. The original text is being given below

Phone No: 2984

PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE

PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

Delhi House Building

Edwards Road

Ref. No

Lahore 8.12.1936

Dear Mr. M.A. Jinnah

Mr. Ghulam Rasul tells me that he has written a detailed letter to you about the Board's affairs. I certainly agree with him when he says that your presence in this province is absolutely essential at least a fortnight before the polling days. You know the people of this province thoroughly well and also that they are the most undependable lot. They are generally carried away by the excitement of the moment and if you, Shaukat Ali and Mr. Kafaitullah address them just on the eve of the election day I am sure they will all support you and your candidates, other-wise they might do any thing. I, therefore, request you to visit us about the end of December, 1936 and beginning of January 1937 so that a last effort may be made to break the forces of reaction. In case you are unable to come I am afraid you will not have more than four of your followers in the coming Assembly. With kind regards.

Yours sincerely

S/d

MUHAMMAD IQBAL

M.A. Jinnah, Esquire
Bar-at-Law

Bar-at-Law

President Punjab Provl.
Muslim League

Bombay
Parliamentary Board

PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE

Mayo Road

Lahore 13th August 1937

My dear Jinnah

As I wrote to you yesterday enthusiasm for the League is rapidly increasing in the Punjab. You will be glad to hear that without any initiative on the part of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League about 20 branches of the League have already been established in different towns of the Punjab. I am convinced that if some of the Office bearers of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League are able to make a tour of the Province they will be able not only to raise money but also to open the eyes of the general Muslim public in the Punjab to the situation which has fortunately developed itself on account of the Congress attitude towards the Muslims. - Unfortunately, however, the Provincial League is very much handicapped by lack of funds for initial expenses of such a tour. Could you make us a contribution of at least Rs.1500/- from the Central funds I have every hope that our men will be able to raise sufficient money which will enable us to return the amount borrowed from you. We should be much obliged if you could do so at your earliest convenience.

Yours Sincerely

S/d

MUHAMMAD IQBAL

①

Phone No. 2884.

Punjab Provincial Muslim League

PARLIAMENTARY BOARD.

Delhi House Building,
EDWARDS ROAD.

Lahore 9.12. 1936

DEAR Mr. M.A. Jinnah,

Mr. Ghulam Rasul tells me that he has written a detailed letter to you about the Board's affairs. I certainly agree with him when he says that your presence in this province is absolutely essential atleast a fortnight before the polling days. You know the people of this province thoroughly well and also that they are the most indepenable lot. They are generally carried away by the excitement of the moment and if you, Shaukat Ali and M. Hafaitullah address them just on the eve of the election they are sure they will all support you and your candidates, otherwise they might do any thing. I, therefore, request you to visit us about the end of December, 1936 and beginning of January 1937 so that a last effort may be made to break the forces of reaction. In case you are unable to come I am afraid you will not have more than four of your followers in the coming assembly. With kind regards

Yours sincerely

Mahmood Ghosal

Bar-at-Law
President, Punjab Provincial Muslim League,
Parliamentary Board.

M.A. Jinnah, Esquire

Bar-at-Law,

Bombay.

Punjab Provincial Muslim League

PARLIAMENTARY BOARD.

Mayo Road,
Datta House Building,
EDWARDS ROAD

Lahore 13th August 1937

My dear Jinnah,

As I wrote to you yesterday enthusiasm for the League is rapidly increasing in the Punjab. You will be glad to hear that without any initiative on the part of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League about 20 branches of the League have already been established in different towns of the Punjab. I am convinced that if some of the Office bearers of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League are able to make a tour of the Province they will be able not only to raise money but also to open the eyes of the general Muslim public in the Punjab to the situation which has fortunately developed itself on account of the Congress attitude towards the Muslims. Unfortunately, however, the Provincial League is very much handicapped by lack of funds for initial expenses of such a tour. Could you make us a contribution of atleast Rs 1500/- from the Central funds. I have every hope that our men will be able to raise sufficient money which will enable us to return the amount borrowed from you. We should be much obliged if you could do so at your earliest convenience.

Yours Sincerely

Muhammad Iqbal

BOOK REVIEW

In his book, *Iqbal: His Political Ideas at Crossroads* (Aligarh, 1974), Dr Syed Hasan Ahmad of Aligarh Muslim University has no doubt made an addition to source materials for studying Allama Mohammad Iqbal by reproducing in it nine letters of the Allama written to Professor Edward J. Thompson of Oxford University during 1933-34. While reproducing these letters, the Aligarh scholar has also written a 68-page "commentary", based partly upon these and other letters of Iqbal and partly upon his speeches and statements,

In this commentary the author's major concern has been to establish that during the early 1930s, as stated on the dust cover, Iqbal was not sympathetic to the Pakistan idea. Hasan Ahmad's other findings, in his own words, are that "till 1934, his (Iqbal's) own proposal of a Muslim province envisaged that it should form part of the Indian Federal State" (p. 12), that "during the last two years of his life, Iqbal had come closer to the Muslim League movement in the Punjab" but this "is not the same thing as being a protagonist of Pakistan in those years" (p. 13), and, finally, that Iqbal is a Muslim and an Indian at the same time, a good Muslim and a good Indian" and the "question of which comes first and which [comes] second is a wrong question" (p. 35).

Let us relate these findings to what Iqbal has himself stated and take Hasan Ahmad's last finding first because this point is basic to understanding Iqbal. In his presidential address at the All India Muslim Conference in March 1932 Iqbal unambiguously stated "Patriotism is a perfectly natural virtue and has a place in the moral life of man. Yet that which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical tradition. These are the things which, in my eyes, are worth living for and dying for, and not the piece of earth with which the spirit of man happens to be temporarily associated."

On this issue Iqbal's thinking never underwent any kind of change. For shortly before his death, in a rejoinder to Maulana Husain Ahmad Madni, Iqbal said in a statement (from which Hasan Ahmad has also quoted in his booklet): "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 it is a political concept. Since Islam also is a law of human society, the word 'country', when used as a political concept, comes into conflict with Islam."

To disprove Hasan Ahmad's contention that in the case of Iqbal the question of precedence of country over religion and vice versa is a wrong question, it is unnecessary to advance any further explanation except to point out what should be known to every intelligent student of Iqbal that because in India loyalty of a Muslim to his country (in the political sense) came into conflict with his loyalty to Islam, Iqbal unhesitatingly gave precedence to Islam over nationalism even though he never denied that he was an Indian as well as a Muslim.

So far as Iqbal's attitude to the Pakistan concept is concerned, Iqbal's letters to Professor Thompson reproduced by Hasan Ahmad do not throw any new light. The well-established facts are:

(i) Since Iqbal died in 1938 and the Muslim League's Lahore Resolution (the League did not call it Pakistan Resolution) was passed in 1940, Iqbal obviously could not be a protagonist of Pakistan during the two years before his death ;

(ii) in 1933 it was Chaudhri Rahmat Ali (and not Iqbal) who had started a campaign in favour of his 'Pakistan Scheme.' ; and

(iii) at the Allahabad session of the Muslim League in 1930 Iqbal had put forward two alternative proposals, one based upon safeguards for Muslims in the constitutions of the existing provinces and the proposed federation of

India as demanded by the Muslim League and the Muslim Conference, and the other his own, which envisaged the creation of a large Muslim state in the north-west of India, in which the Muslims would have substantial majority. In such a state, it needs hardly be added, Muslims would be in a position to order their individual and collective lives according to the principles of Islam.

There can be no doubt that Iqbal had also envisaged that the state he was proposing could be independent. Indeed this is implied in his saying that the proposed state might be within or without the British Empire and in his reference to the final destiny of the Muslims of North-west India. This implication of his proposal was understood by thoughtful persons and Professor Thompson objected to the proposal on the ground that, if implemented, the defence of residuary India would become very difficult.

Anticipating opposition to his proposal from Hindu and British leaders and intellectual, Iqbal had stated in the address itself that the proposed state would not sever its links completely with the rest of India but remain associated with it in common defence arrangements and, as a consequence, "the North-west Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion the one of ideas or of bayonets." Nevertheless, the vision that the projected state might, *at some future date*, become completely independent had remained in Iqbal's mind. This is confirmed in his letter to the London *Times* in October 1931, in which he stated that the independent status was "a guess at the possible outcome in the dim future of the mighty forces now shaping the destiny of the Indian sub-continent." Iqbal must have been disappointed that his proposal could not get the support of even the Muslim leaders at that time, but he never changed his own mind.

However, it soon became apparent to the Muslim leaders that the Hindus were opposed to the Muslim demand that they should be allowed to retain their separate identity. Not only did the Hindu leaders consistently deny the Muslims their rightful representation on the basis of population in the legislative assemblies of the two large Muslim majority provinces of the Punjab and Bengal, at the second session of the Round Table Conference, the most outstanding Hindu

leader M.K. Gandhi took the incredible stand that the overwhelmingly Hindu Congress was the sole representative of all the peoples of India.

The issue was finally clinched by Jawaharlal Nehru's election to the Presidency of the Congress during the crucial years 1936-37, when arrangements were being to introduce autonomy in the provinces as provided in the Government of India Act of 1935.

Nehru then made it plain that henceforth Congress was going to follow socialist policies. Muslim leaders in general and Iqbal in particular were opposed to such policies being foisted upon Muslims because they believed that Islam provided a much better system for removing poverty amongst the people. The Congress President also said that there was no communal problem in India and organised a campaign to bring Muslims under the banner of the Congress. If successful, these moves would have inter alia, resulted in ending the separate identity of the Muslims and their merger in one Indian nation which would be dominated by Hindu values. Devoted so greatly Iqbal was to Islamic values, he could not obviously reconcile to this possible development. Indeed Iqbal thought that the separate identity of the Muslims was absolutely necessary because as Muslims they could make their distinct contribution to the well-being of humanity. In this context it should be noted that he had earlier asked the Muslim community:

جلوہ در
تاریکی کی ایام
کن
آنچ بر تو کامل
آمد عام کن

In view of the developments noted above, it is quite logical that Iqbal's views about the link of his proposed Muslim state with residuary India should change and, in 1937 he decided in favour of complete independence for areas where the Muslims formed the majority in the population—the same kind of state of which he had a vision in 1930, with the difference that Muslim Bengal was also now to be included in it. However, the Aligarh scholar considers Iqbal's 1937 decision as a shift in his earlier position.

The most important questions which arise in the mind of the reader of Hasan Ahmad's small book is What would have been the possible attitudes of Iqbal to the Pakistan Movement as it was launched in the wake of the Lahore Resolution and to Pakistan that in fact emerged in 1947 ? These questions have been posed by the learned author himself at one place in his commentary, but he has avoided answering them by saying that these are not within the scope of his present work. The reader can however, easily make a safe guess about the author's thinking on these questions.

Latif Ahmed Sherwani