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ISLAM AT THE DAWN OF THE NEW CHRISTIAN MILLENNIUM

Seyyed Hossein Nasr

Let it be mentioned at the outset that the year two thousand is in itself not of any vital millennial or eschatological significance for Islam as it is for Christianity or at least for many Christians and it does not mean an automatic beginning of a new era for Muslims as even many secularists in the West, who no longer accept Christian millennial ideas, envisage. As far as eschatological expectations are concerned, Muslims expect the coming of the Mahdi, who will then prepare for the second coming of Christ and not the return of Christ directly, although like traditional Christians they also expect his return. Some Muslims in fact point to an enigmatic saying (*Ādāth*) of the Prophet of Islam which asserts, "The life of my community shall be one and a half days" and interpret it to mean one thousand five hundred years on the basis of the Qur'anic verse that a day with the Lord is like a thousand years. It also needs to be added at the beginning of this discourse that Mahdism and the expectation of the fairly imminent appearance of the Mahdi is widespread in many circles in the Islamic world today and is of great significance, but we shall not deal with it here save to point to its existence. Rather, we shall use the number 2000 associated with the birth of Christ more in an emblematic fashion as far as the Islamic world is concerned and discuss the various aspects of the faith, practice, teachings, intellectual life and civilization of Islam as we enter what for both the Christian and the secular West is the beginning of both a new century and a new millennium.

Before discussing any other matter, it must be noted that the element of faith (*īmān*) in Islam and the practice of its tenets remains very strong among the vast majority of Muslims and if anything have become strengthened rather than weakened in the last decades of the 20th century among the modernized classes and also among people such as the Palestinians, Bosnians, Chechnians and Kosovars who have suffered great tragedies during these years. One usually counts the followers of various religions quantitatively and assert, let us say, that there are some fifty million Christians in France and fifty-five million Muslims in Egypt. But such accounts veil the question of the degree of attachment to one's faith. It is enough to visit a major Cairo mosque such as Sayyidina Àusayn's and a major

church in Paris such as St. Sulpice to observe the difference involved at this point of history. This is not to say that there are not numerous devout Christians outside of Europe and many in Europe itself. Rather, this difference is mentioned so that those acquainted only with the situation of Christianity and Judaism in Western secular societies do not judge the place and role of Islam in the Islamic world in the same manner. The presence of faith and the following of religious prescriptions especially the acts of worship (*ibadat*) in Islam, which should be compared more to the practice of Christianity in the West in pre-modern days rather than today, is bound to continue and there is no sign that in the near future at least the forces of secularism will be able to affect Muslim faith and worship in the same ways that they affected the faith and practice of Christianity in Europe during the past few centuries and especially in recent times. This having been said, it is also necessary to assert that the quality and depth of faith has diminished and its vision narrowed among many Muslims and especially the light of Truth has become more difficult to find and paths leading to its attainment less accessible than before in accordance with the predictions of the Qur'an concerning the latter days.

While faith in Islam has remained strong and is bound to continue to be so into the foreseeable future for most Muslims, Islamic civilization which was created on the basis of the Qur'anic revelation and through integration of pre-existing elements in accord with the Islamic view, helping to create a totally Islamic ambience, both material and intellectual, began to be seriously threatened from the 19th century onward with the spread of colonialism and modernism in the Islamic world. Since Islam is a total way of life, the partial destruction of its civilization, as observed in the domains of education, culture, art and architecture, etc., has had an impact on the all encompassing character of the religion and the degree of the Muslims attachment to its all-embracing tenets and must therefore also be considered in any projection that one makes about Islam as a religion in the narrower sense of the term in the coming century. Interestingly enough, while the presence of secularism and modernism upon the Islamic world have increased rather than decreased during the past half century along with the nominal independence of Muslim countries, and despite further devastation of the traditional living space of Muslims, there is now also observable an attempt to revive Islamic civilization itself. The current call for the dialogue of civilizations which came originally from Iran recently and has been adopted as a theme for the United

Nations for the year 2001, is itself a sign of the Muslims' desire to preserve their distinct civilization despite the numerous challenges which such an undertaking faces in its encounter with forces of much greater worldly strength. To ponder upon the future of Islam, it is therefore necessary not only to deal with the religion but also to delve into civilizational factors which are directly related to the faith as well as into the challenges which Islam faces as both a religion and a world civilization spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific and with an ever more significant presence as a religion in Europe and America.

To understand the present state of Islam and hence its most likely immediate future, it must be remembered that Islam does not function within the same politico-social matrix as does Christianity in the West. In the Occident from the end of the Middle Ages onward, Christianity became ever more marginalized from the domain of public life and also from the arena of intellectual activity by forces which were born and nourished from within the Christian European society of the day and not as a result of external domination. In contrast Islamic countries, with few exceptions, were dominated directly or indirectly by external colonial powers which even after their departure left behind a political class which, although native, possessed a mental perspective akin to the worldview of the West and distinct from the prevailing beliefs and *Weltanschauung* of the vast majority of those over whom they ruled in the name of independence and nationalism. Nor has this situation changed in most places even today. Islam is challenged in many parts of the Islamic world not only from the outside but also by the so-called "ruling elite" which relies upon the power of the West and could not survive for long without its support. Obviously this situation poses a major challenge for Islam which cannot accept the privatisation and subjectivization of religion and does not enjoy the freedom to respond creatively on the basis of its own nature and genius to the problems that the modern world poses for it.

In this context the question of law is particularly significant. As is well known, Islamic possesses a Sacred Law (*al-sharā'ah*) which is as central to it as theology is to Christianity. This Law has its roots in the Qur'«n and the wont (*sunnah*) of the Prophet ﷺ and is immutable in its principles and yet a growing reality like a tree whose roots are firmly sunk in the earth, while its branches grow from season to season. For the traditional Muslim, the *sharā'ah* represents the concrete embodiment of the Divine Will and to

practice Islam means to follow the *sharâ'ab*. Now, in most Islamic countries, during the 19th century the *sharâ'ab* was set aside in favour of various European codes by either the colonial powers or modernized Muslims themselves influenced by Western ideas of secular law which was based on premises very different from the Islamic conception which sees God as the ultimate Lawgiver (*al-Shari'*), a view which would be easily understood and in fact confirmed by orthodox Jews and in the realm of moral laws by Christians as well. But for Muslims the *sharâ'ab* concerns not only moral laws but also everyday laws which govern human society.

The outward political independence of Muslim countries after the Second World War caused the majority of people to expect a return to the practice of the *sharâ'ab* and when this did not happen and the secular laws promulgated by the modernists failed in many ways, a battle set in within the Islamic world itself. One sees this tension between "ruling elites" which support a secular understanding of law and favours economic and political institutions based on European models and the majority of Muslims for whom legitimate laws and legal institutions mean essentially the *sharâ'ab* and its complements which jurists had accepted as *qanûn* over the centuries and for which *sharâ'ite* legitimacy had been established. Sometimes this tension turns to riots and suppressions and sometimes into open revolt and confrontation as we have seen in Egypt and Algeria during the past decade.

This tension, which is a concrete and widespread aspect of the more general confrontation between traditional Islam and modernity, has led in recent decades to activist movements which often employ Western political ideologies and methods and yet oppose the West and which have been dubbed as "fundamentalism", a most unfortunate term that has nevertheless become prevalent. As a result, we now have in the Islamic world not only traditionalists and modernists, but in reality traditionalists, "fundamentalists" and modernists with rarely clearly defined boundaries between them. As long as the pressure of modernism and now also post-modernism upon the Islamic world continues and this tension is not resolved within Islamic societies, confrontations to which the world has been witness in recent years will continue. It is important to mention, however, that there is no proportion, numerically and qualitatively speaking between followers of traditional Islam and members of the other two groups which vie with each other for power and will continue to do so in the future. Interestingly enough, politically speaking all the governments in the Islamic world today,

even those that possess a traditional structure, are controlled by either the modernists or by so-called fundamentalists but not by traditional Islam which, however, remains strong and manifests its influence within structures controlled by other groups and is likely to continue to do so in the near future while its power and influence increases intellectually and spiritually especially among the more modern educated classes.

The Islamic world is not only challenged by secular laws left over from the colonial period but also by a secularised view of the world and forms of knowledge itself which were brought to the Islamic world through domination by the modern secularised West and if anything these forms of knowledge have spread their influence since the end of the colonial era. The worldview which grew out of the Renaissance and the 17th century Scientific Revolution in the West divorced knowledge of the natural world from theology and this process was followed gradually in other disciplines reaching into the humanities and what has come to be known as the social sciences which were infected by scientism and positivism since their very inception in the 19th century and were even conceived under the influence of these philosophies. The result for the West and consequently for segments of Islamic society influenced by modern Western thought was on the one hand the dominance of the quantitative and rationalistic view of the world as consisting of dead matter in motion in which life and consciousness were but accidents and in which God's Will could not be operative, and on the other hand the spread of a whole educational system based on a secularised view of knowledge which interestingly enough was also propagated by Christian missionaries in the Islamic world who usually preferred a secularised Muslim to a devout one as possible subject for conversion.

Traditional Islam sees the cosmos as reflections of the Divine Names and Qualities and their interactions. For example, the universe reflects the Divine Name *al-Āyy* (the Living) and is therefore alive and the same holds true for the other Names. Life and consciousness are not accidents in an otherwise dead cosmos. Rather, they are manifestations of realities that are part and parcel of God's creation. Furthermore, God is not only the creator of the world but also its sustainer and ruler. For Islam He cannot under any condition be reduced to the role of the clockmaker favoured by so many proponents of classical modern science. As for education, Islam had refused throughout its history to separate knowledge from the sacred and the category of "secular science" was totally alien to its unitary view of

knowledge. The traditional Islamic schools and universities (*madrasahs*) reflected this view of knowledge in their curriculum, philosophy of education, content of course, etc.

Needless to say, this major challenge posed to the traditional Islamic view of the world and of knowledge in general caused diverse and complicated reactions in the Islamic world which cannot be treated here. What is certain, however, is that these issues continue to loom very large on the horizon of Islamic intellectual life. In the Muslim world today, governments of all political persuasion from the left to the right and from secularist to so-called Islamic, as well as many religious scholars who are not aware of the real nature of modern science, which most equate blindly with the Qur'anic concept of *'ilm* or *scientia* that is so highly extolled in the Sacred Text, continue to praise without reserve and support totally modern Western science. The main reason is that they see the power that this science bestows upon its possessors without which many feel that the Islamic world cannot free itself from the political and economic, not to speak of the military, domination of the West.

And yet, during the past few decades voices have arisen in the Islamic world about the danger of a secularised science for the Islamic worldview and for the Islamic religion itself especially since Islam is a religion based upon the knowledge of the nature of reality which ultimately issues from and returns to Reality (*al-haqāqah*) or God Himself one of whose Names is *al-Āqq* or Truth/Reality. Islamic responses to this issue have been diverse and different views continue to be debated as to what is "Islamic science" and whether the Islamic world should develop its own Islamic science or simply adopt modern secularised science. There have been no responses to this question that have been universally accepted by all the intellectual elements involved in such debates. But at least since we began to discuss these matters forty years ago and challenged the prevalent views of many Muslim thinkers, both modern and traditional, who for different reasons were preaching the blind acceptance of modern science, the intellectual scene in the Islamic world has changed a great deal and there are now many voices concerned with the deeper theological and spiritual questions issuing from the confrontation of the Islamic religion and modern science. As we enter the new Christian millennium this issue is bound to remain central to Islamic religious and theological thought. Furthermore, it is also likely that inter-religious dialogue especially between Islam and Christianity that has been

taking place during the past decades will spread more and more into the domain of the relation between religion and science.

As for education and the various disciplines of knowledge taught in schools, the colonial experience left most Islamic countries with two educational systems, one Islamic and the other Western, either brought by foreigners, most of whom were missionaries, or established by modernized Western oriented Muslim “elites” on the model of Western institution of learning. These two types of institutions possess completely different philosophies of education. As a result in most Islamic countries, especially those which first confronted modernism and which had also been major intellectual centres of the Islamic world such as Egypt, Turkey, Persia and Muslim India a deep chasm began to appear in society between two educated classes with the same ethnic background, religion, language, etc. but unable to understand each other because they interpreted the world through two different prisms. Strangely enough with the political independence of Muslim countries this dichotomy and breach only deepened and also spread geographically to countries such as Saudi Arabia, the Yemen, Oman, Afghanistan, the Sudan and many other countries which had functioned mostly with only their traditional educational system before.

The question of integrating Western modes of learning into the Islamic perspective and creating a single educational system, which would be Islamic and yet able to expand to include modern disciplines, began to occupy the mind of many Muslim intellectuals from the fifties and sixties onward and led to the first world conference on Islamic education held in Mecca in 1977. This effort led to the establishment of several Islamic universities, the preparation of integrated curricula, etc. and the movement called the “Islamization of knowledge”. Although these efforts have not been completely satisfactory, they remain a major Islamic intellectual concern. How to make educational institutions imported from the West more Islamic or expand existing traditional *madrasabs* to embrace modern disciplines is debated across the Islamic world and many different solutions have been proposed and implemented ranging from the integration of the oldest of all Islamic traditional *madrasabs*, the Qarawiyyân, in Morocco as the Faculty of Theology within the modern University of Rabat, to the expansion of the greatest centre of Sunni learning, al-Azhar in Cairo, to include schools of medicine and engineering to the creation of creative interaction in Persia between the traditional *madrasabs* of Qom, Mashhad, etc.—also called

Āwzāb— with the Western style universities. None of these attempts has as yet been totally successful. But the effort continues as an ongoing project and is bound to continue in future years as a central concern of Islamic thought. The great impact of this issue and how it is resolved upon Islam and Islamic society can hardly be exaggerated.

Closely related to both the issues of science and education is that of modern technology which continues to penetrate in an ever greater degree into the Islamic world, as elsewhere, supported as it is by governments for both internal and external reasons with which we cannot deal in this essay. In an earlier period the Islamic world did have its Luddites, but in recent decades few obstacles have been placed before the rapid spread of Western technology and few Muslim thinkers have bothered to delve into the religious and spiritual implications of the use of the modern machine on a vast scale. If anything many of the more recent religious leaders, even those who support traditional views theologically, have championed the wholesale adoption of Western technology with as great a rapidity as possible and this holds true whether one is speaking of Saudi Arabia with its traditional monarchy or Persia with its Islamic revolutionary government. In Persia, where in such cities as Qom, the religious centre of the country, the traditional scholars '*ulama*' remained until recently aloof from modern modes of life affected to an ever-greater degree by modern technology, matters have changed to such a degree that now most religious students in Qom have mastery of the use of the computer. Some visitors have in fact reported that the libraries of Qom are more "advanced" than the Vatican library in making their holdings available on the Internet.

This attitude of indifference to the religious, moral and spiritual consequences of modern technology in the Islamic world is now, however, beginning to change for two reasons: problems issuing from modern genetic engineering along with related activities and the environmental crisis both of which are directly caused by the implementation of modern technology. The intrusion of modern medicine into the very fabric of human life and of the penetration of genetic engineering into the inner structure of living things have caused much alarm not only among many Christians, Jews, Hindus, Buddhists and followers of other religions, but also in many Islamic circles as have the ethical implications of organ transplants and the like not to speak of cloning. As for the environment, the rapid deterioration of the natural environment globally has caused many Muslims, who thought until recently

that this was simply a Western problem, to turn reluctantly to the issue of Islam's attitudes and teachings about the environment. There is no doubt that in coming years both of these issues, which are in fact interrelated on many levels, will become more and more central to Islam on both a theoretical and a practical level as they have become for Christianity. Islam has to reformulate in terms that are clearly understood by the present generation its philosophy or rather theology and metaphysics of nature, to which so many verses of the Qur'«n are devoted. It must also clarify its ethical teachings concerning the non-human world and expand the teachings of the *sharā'ah* upon foundations already contained therein to embrace a full fledged environmental ethics based upon the Islamic religion and not simply a rationalistic philosophy which would create an ethics that would have no efficacy among the vast majority of Muslims. Such efforts are also bound to be of great importance in the future for Islamic intellectual life as well as for the daily life of the Islamic community.

Modern Western technology has brought with it not only forms of production that alienate man from his work and bestow power to its owners which allows them to dominate to a greater degree than before over those not in possession of new technologies, but it has also made possible massive flow of information and hitherto unimaginable possibilities of communication on a mass scale associated with modern forms of printing, the telephone, the radio, the cinema, the television, and now the internet. While these means have made possible a small flow of ideas and information from the Islamic world and other non-Western cultures and civilizations to the West, the direction of the flow remains almost completely in the other direction with the result that non-Western cultures are bombarded as never before by alien ideas, images and depictions of alien life styles. The consequence of this phenomenon for the Islamic world has been and remains considerable and needs to be mentioned on several levels and in a number of different domains all of which have and are bound to have an affect upon the practice of Islam and its response to the world in the future.

On the most palpable level there is the ever-increasing bombardment of Islamic society, and especially its youth, with the products of Western and especially American pop culture and the hedonistic aspects of Western life. The new media do not emphasize the presentation of the music of Virgil Thompson or Leonard Bernstein but of rock and roll (one should not forget the lewd meaning of the term rock when it was first used in this context), not

classical American ballet but the most sexually suggestive dances performed by the young in ambiances hardly conducive to the cultivation of religious discipline and the sobriety that Islam emphasizes so much as a central characteristic of the religious life. Quantitatively speaking, more than Marx, Heidegger, Russell and Sartre, it is the Michael Jacksons and Madonnas who pose a challenge to Islamic society as a whole as they are so attractive to a large number of the young especially in bigger cities. The idea of rebellion by the young and even the specific American notion of “teen-ager” which is a specific term found only in American English and not in other languages—certainly not Islamic ones— as well as practices involving drinking, use of drugs, sexual promiscuity, etc. are all anathema to Islam’s teachings about society in which obedience to God’s laws, significance of the family, respect for elders and especially parents, abstention from alcohol and sexual activity outside of marriage, etc. are strongly emphasized. Like Christianity and Judaism in the West which spend much of their energy confronting such issues, Islam is already forced to face such problems on a smaller scale and is bound to do so on a greater scale in the future. Many have said that the major challenge of the West to the Islamic world comes not so much from philosophy and ideology as from new life styles especially as they concern the young. Without in any case diminishing the importance of the intellectual and philosophical elements, we also wish to emphasize how important the question of life style is. Already the emulation of Western dress and adoption of many aspects of Western life style by earlier generations of modernized Muslims have caused much tension and contention within the Islamic world. In the future this tension is bound to increase as modern technologies of communication make the impact of modern and post-modern Western culture much more pervasive and intrusive and as there is created ever stronger Islamic reactions to these intrusions.

There is another basic question involved in this issue of life style which is both part of this issue and larger than it and that is the relation between man and woman. Islam is based not only on a doctrine about the nature of reality and of God who is the ultimately Real and possesses the means of attaining spiritual perfection by living according to the Divine Norm, but it is also a community, an *ummah*. The laws of the *sharâ’ah* are promulgated with the *ummah* in view. The new wave of ideas concerning the role of women that has been cultivated in the West during the past several decades and which is called feminism, challenges many aspects of the Islamic understanding of the

relation between man and woman, the family as well as society at large. Although there are different strands of feminism in the West, most of them are secularist and seek to change even the language of the Bible and in any case base themselves on the idea of a quantitative equality between men and women in all realms. In contrast, for Islam, while men and women are equal as immortal beings before God, they have been created in a complementary fashion like the *yin* and *yang* of Far Eastern doctrines. The question of working outside of the home, participation in economic and political life, etc. are all secondary to the basic metaphysical and theological issues involved.

Now, Western feminism is not only concerned with the question of the status of women in the West but also considers itself to have a global mission like Christian missionaries and propagators of so many other ideas and ideologies that have come out of the West from Marxism to liberal democracy. The attempt of Western feminism to penetrate aggressively to the degree possible into the Islamic world by both internal and external means has spawned many local movements in various Islamic countries ranging from emulation of the most secular strands of Western feminism that is particularly opposed to Islam for many complicated reasons, to what is now called Islamic feminism. In this domain, as in so many others, the Islamic world is faced with ideas and agendas that are imposed upon it from the outside very much in contrast to the West itself. In any case this question is one of the most important facing the Islamic world today on the social level. Many different solutions have been proposed and implemented as one can see in differences in the role now being played on the social level by women in Nigeria, Turkey, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan and Indonesia just to give examples of several major Islamic countries. There is little doubt that Islam as a religion will continue to be involved in the coming years and decades with the question of the role, rights and duties of women in its own realm while it studies not as a source of emulation but as an ongoing social experiment what is occurring in the West and especially America which keeps experimenting with different possibilities many of which have hardly had a positive outcome as far as marriage and divorce, the rearing of children by both parents and even “fulfilment” about which so much has been said are concerned.

There are many other realms in which Western ideas have forced or been catalysts for responses within the Islamic world. Since Islam is not only a private religion but one that is also concerned with society in all its aspects, a

particularly important domain in which there is a great deal of turmoil at this juncture of Islamic history is the political. A combination of complicated factors related to the colonial experience, the imposition of foreign forms and ideas of government, nationalism issuing from the French Revolution, reassertion of Islamic values, tension between modernized and traditional classes within Islamic society and of course global *Realpolitik* and the continuous political and economic domination of the West have made it very difficult for many parts of the Islamic world to find a satisfactory political *modus vivendi*. This whole issue has been made more complicated by the fact that Islam has always held the unity of the *ummah* as an ideal and the unity of the Islamic world remains a cherished goal despite the existence of present forms of nationalism. It might of course be said that this issue is a political and not religious question, but such an interpretation is a Western and not an Islamic one. For Islam religion is never separated from the political domain in the sense of giving unto Caesar what is Caesar's and will not be so in the future. The question therefore is not how to emulate the American idea of the separation of church and state, but of how and in what way will the state reflect Islam and Islamic values. At least that is the case for most Islamic countries, there being a few exceptions, such as Turkey. But even there history will tell whether an early 20th century idea based upon European definitions of secularism now dominant among the ruling classes in that country will continue to survive in the next century at a time when even in America religion challenges more and more the monopoly of secularism in the public domain.

With the traditional political institutions especially the caliphate and the sultanate described by classical Islamic thinkers destroyed in most Islamic lands, the question of the form of government, the source of its legitimacy, the relation between its authority and that of the *sharâ'ah* as interpreted by the traditional scholars (*'ulama'*), and the place for the voice of the people and the *'ulama'* loom large on the horizon. There is little doubt that in the coming century of the Christian calendar much of the energy and attention of Islamic thinkers will be devoted to these issues and the means to achieve the goal of greatly political unity among Muslim peoples and nations. Moreover, the different attempts made during this century to define what is an Islamic state from traditional models of Morocco and Saudi Arabia to three different understandings of the Islamic state in the neighbouring countries of Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan will surely continue. There is bound to be a fluid

and unstable situation in many lands, pitting so-called fundamentalists against Western supported modernists and each one against the traditionalists and in some cases modernists against Western supported traditional institutions with the colour of an earlier form of so-called fundamentalism as seen in Saudi Arabia.

In many Muslim countries Islamic political thought is now also much concerned with the question of freedom and its meaning in an Islamic context, with democracy and participation of the people in the political process and many other issues for which the West has often been a catalyst although for economic and political reasons of self interest the West has not been particularly anxious to support those who speak of Islamic democracy within the Islamic world, at least not in countries whose governments are favourable to the West. Such concerns also of course include the issue of human rights, which is defended in the West for the most part on a secularist basis. In the Islamic world there are those who claim that this issue is simply a part of the arsenal of Western policy to be used when convenient. There are others who are trying to define human rights from the point of view of Islam and in light of human responsibility before God which always preceded human rights in classical Islamic thought which has taught that God gave man social rights as well as certain rights over the world of nature in light of man's responsibility before God concerning himself, human society and God's creation. Religious thinking along those lines is bound to continue in the future and there is likely to be much cooperation between Muslim thinkers and those in the West and elsewhere who speak of the necessity of a global declaration of human responsibility before over-emphasis of only human rights puts an end to human life on earth.

As with politics so with economics, Islamic thought has had to concern itself with issues posed for it by modern economic systems based upon philosophies alien to the ethos of Islam. In response to economic theories and practices of both capitalism and socialism, Islamic thinkers have dealt extensively in recent decades with what has come to be known as Islamic economics. These types of intellectual activity as well as applications to concrete situations are not only of concern to economics but also to Islam itself as a religion as Muslims see it. In fact, Islam has never separated economics from ethics and what is called economics today has always been envisaged and practiced in the Islamic world in the context of the *sharā'ah*. Furthermore, Islamic thought cannot remain impervious to many current

economic theories and practices such as charging of interest and consumerism. With the pressure increasing to create a global economy, the Islamic world is bound to continue to experience external and internal pressure to conform even more than before to foreign economic ideas and practices. But by token of the same fact, activity in the realm of what is now known as Islamic economics is bound to continue and in fact increase and a significant part of Islamic intellectual efforts is bound to be concerned in the future with Islamic economics including the question of economic justice and the implementation of Islamic ideas in situations ever more difficult than what one finds today.

Having discussed the domains of concern to Islamic thought, it is necessary now to return to the heart of the religion itself as it confronts the future. As far as what Christianity would call dogmatic theology is concerned, Islam rests firmly rooted in the certainties of its traditional worldview. No matter how much Western orientalisks have tried to cast doubt above the celestial origin of the Qur'ān, the Sacred Text remains the verbatim Word of God for all Muslims, the one or two voices to the contrary being irrelevant no matter how aggrandized they might have become in the West. As for the *badāth*, historical challenges have been fully recognized and Islamic responses provided although debates continue on this issue on the basis of traditional Islamic criteria and only rarely within the matrix of Western historicism. Altogether as far as the nature of God, prophecy, revelation, angelology and eschatology are concerned; Islam does not face the same crisis as Western Christianity has done in modern times nor is this reality likely to change in the near future. Modern Western theological debates about the gender of God or whether He is immutable or changing, as claimed by process theologians, are alien to Islamic concerns. Furthermore, because of the still living reality of Islamic metaphysics it is most likely that Islam will be able to continue to provide intellectual responses to the challenges of modernism in the form of historicism, rationalism, empiricism and the like and not to surrender parts of its theological worldview to modernism as has happened in many of the Western churches. When people talk about traditional and modern interpretations of Islam, they must understand that the debate does not involve so much the nature of God, eschatology or the practice of the rites of the religion as we see in the West in debates between more traditional and modern interpreters of religion, but most of all interpretations and applications of the religion of Islam to the social and human domains.

This having been said, it is necessary to add that since the encounter with modernism, many Muslim thinkers have tried through different means to create a new chapter in Islamic theology (*kalām*). This effort in fact goes back to Muhammad ‘Abduh and the late 13th/19th century although that early effort was quite limited and for the most part unsuccessful. This type of activity is bound to increase in the future especially as more and more of those Muslims educated in traditional *madrasahs* become acquainted more deeply with Western thought and the roots of prevalent Western ideas. In fact the Islamic response to the challenges of modern and post-modern thought have deepened during the past few decades and are bound to continue to do so in coming years. The trend begun in several Islamic countries to teach what the Persians call *kalām-i jadād* or “new theology” is bound to continue and expand. This “new theology” is not, however, a break with traditional theologies as has happened in many churches in the West, but applications of Islamic principles to new challenges posed by modernism, ranging from Darwinism to Comptism to Freudianism to logical positivism and more recently to deconstructionalism and the like.

There is one further theological question of importance that must also be mentioned and which in a way marks a new chapter in Islamic religious thought. It is the re-examination of the relation between Sunnism and Shi‘ism. These two branches of Islam had polemics and sometimes conflicts with each other over the centuries. These polemics became intensified with the founding of the Shi‘ite Safavid state in the 16th century facing the powerful Sunni Ottoman Empire as a result of which Sunni Shi‘ite religious and theological differences becoming entangled in political contentions and rivalries between the two empires. Furthermore, throughout the colonial period full use was made of Sunni Shi‘ite differences by British and other colonialist powers, in order to divide and rule.

In the 19th century Wahhabism set itself strongly against Shi‘ism with tragic consequences in Iraq and Arabia. But from the 1950’s onward a strong movement was begun in Egypt in cooperation with Iran to create peace and better mutual understanding between Sunnism and Shi‘ism. The center established in Cairo by the then Shaykh al-Azhar Ma‘Āmēd Shaltēt with the aid of a number of Shi‘ite ‘*ulama*’ was known as *dār al-taqrīb* and its function was similar to that of ecumenical organizations which have sought to create better understanding among various Christian churches. From that date onward the ‘*ulama*’ of both Sunnism and Shi‘ism (excluding of course most

Wahh**ab**â/Salafâ scholars) have been in favour of better mutual understanding and respect and have been closer to each other than perhaps at any other period of Islamic history.

During the last decades, however, the fire of hatred between the two major branches of Islam has been lit in many places for different political and ideological reasons as one sees in Iraq, Bahrain, Afghanistan and especially Pakistan and India where conflicts between the two groups has reached unprecedented proportions. The situation has called for a renewal of the efforts of the *ḥar al-taqrâb* and many Islamic scholars are now devoting much time to re-thinking many of the theological and religious differences between Sunnism and Shî'ism and to bringing about greater internal understanding within the Islamic world itself. This new theological and religious effort in the direction of greater internal dialogue and ecumenism within Islam is bound to persist and to occupy the mind of many Muslim thinkers in the future complementing the dialogue with other religions.

It must be remembered that Islam does not possess only a Law governing human society and embracing what is usually understood by religion today and a wealth of theological thought, but also an inner or esoteric message which came to be crystallized mostly in Sufism and which deals with the purification of man's inner being and the full realization of Unity (*al-taw'Áád*). From the 13th/19th century onward two forces in the Islamic world began to oppose Sufism and its vast influence upon all aspects of human society from economic guilds to music. These two forces were modernism and that puritanical rationalism identified mostly with the Wahh**ab**â/Salafâ movement. But far from dying out, Sufism has continued to flourish among traditional elements of society and during the past few decades to an ever-greater degree among Western educated classes. This trend is likely to persist as Sufism also continues to draw many people in the West to the inner teachings of Islam. Sufi metaphysics, cosmology, psychology and spiritual methods as well as art, especially in the form of poetry and music, constitute the intellectual and spiritual heart of Islam and are bound to play an ever greater role in the life of those Muslims seeking responses to the philosophical and artistic challenges of the modern world and deeper religious meaning in a world becoming ever more chaotic.

The continued vitality of Islam as a faith also implies continuity in the creation of sacred art in this tradition, whether it be calligraphy, architecture, or Qur'anic psalmody, all of which make possible the experience of the

sacred in the ambience of every day life. Now, Sufism has an inalienable link with traditional Islamic art, which has suffered much in many domains during the past century especially as far as architecture is concerned. Therefore, the revival of interest in Sufism in the past few decades is bound to have its salutary effect upon both the survival and the revival of various Islamic arts, a revival which began a few decades ago and which is to be seen today in many lands from Morocco to Persia to Indonesia. Despite the horrendous invasion of ugliness in the name of progress and modernism in many Islamic cities, the revival of Islamic art and architecture is bound to continue in the future along with not only the revival of Sufism but also with the reformulation of its teachings in a contemporary and more easily accessible language and pertaining to many domains including the philosophy of art.

The rise of interest in Sufism is also related to the need for the solution of another major challenge faced by Islam, namely the diversity of religions or what is currently being called religious pluralism. Christian theology has been concerned with this issue for many decades and numerous Western Christian theologians and philosophers of religion, both Catholic and Protestant, have tried to create a “theology of religious pluralism” in a Christian context. The Qur’ān is perhaps the most universalist of all sacred scriptures in the sense of asserting openly that religion begins with the origin of the human state itself, that God has revealed religion to all peoples and that He has created diverse religions so that followers of various religions would vie with each other in piety and virtue. On the basis of these teachings, many scholars and theologians throughout Islamic history showed much interest in what has now come to be known as comparative religion or *Religionswissenschaft*. But it was most of all the Sufis such as Ibn ‘Arabā and Rēmā who expounded the meaning of this universality and during this century it was from the same Sufi tradition that those in the West such as René Guénon and Frithjof Schuon who spoke of the unity of traditions and the “transcendent unity of religions” drew their inspiration. It remained for the latter and several other traditional authors to expound for today’s humanity the Qur’ānic doctrine of the universality of revelation in its fullness.

The question of religious diversity is among the most widely discussed in the Islamic world today and there is much interest among Muslim thinkers to carry out religious dialogue not only with Christians and Jews but also with Hindus, Buddhists, Confucians, Taoists and others. Most likely this trend will

continue and expand in the future drawing a larger number of Muslim thinkers into circles of discussion and necessitating a more general appreciation of the classical Sufi and contemporary traditionalist metaphysics which alone can provide a matrix for the understanding of religious diversity without relativization and sacrifice of “the sense of the Absolute” which lies at the heart of religion. One cannot imagine the future of Islamic intellectual activity without this strand of thought constituting one of its main elements.



In light of what has been said, it might be asked whether Islam and post-modernism can co-exist. If Islam is understood as a total way of life embracing the domains of action as well as thought, the external as well as the inner world of its adherents, then the answer to this question is no in the same way that Islam as a totality cannot co-exist with modernism. Post-modernism opposes in many ways the theses of modernism but not in the direction of the re-assertion of the reality of the Sacred and intellectual and spiritual certitude. On the contrary it opposes all forms of certitude, all “absolutes”, all that is permanent and abiding. It seeks to deconstruct the sacred structures of religion and even sacred scripture itself. While modernism emphasized rationality and rationalism, post-modernism rejects even the knowledge gained by the use of man’s limited reason not to speak of the intellect and revelation which are the twin sources of ultimate knowledge in all traditions including Islam. For Islam to co-exist with such a worldview would mean accepting that which is opposed totally to all for which Islam stands, to the acceptance of the Absolute and our total surrender to the revelation which descends from It. Co-existence is in fact itself problematic unless one speaks from the point of view of expediency. Co-existence means the existence of one reality besides another. In principle that cannot be accepted if one of the realities is based on the negation of the Divine and the very ground upon which the other worldview stands substituting for it a radical secularist understanding of the nature of man and the world and the goal of human society. The Sacred demands of us all that we are and as Christ said, a house divided unto itself cannot stand.

On the plane of practicality and expediency, however, the matter must be seen in a different light. Islam can exist and function in any ambience which gives its followers the freedom to practice their religion at least inwardly and privately if not in the general public arena and such an ambience could include one dominated by post-modernism as one sees in many

contemporary Western societies. In fact the very relativization of values and cultural norms preached by post-modernism, while seeking to destroy sacred traditions and trivializing them while superficially accepting certain of their tenets, allows at the same time a certain “space” to be created within which religions, whether they be Judaism, Christianity or Islam or for that matter Hinduism and Buddhism can be practiced to some extent. But of course such “spaces” are not allowed to cover the whole living space of the post-modern world and therefore conflicts are bound to arise in certain domains as we see even in the case of Christianity and Judaism, which have existed in the West for two millennia.

Perhaps a more pertinent question would be to ask whether post-modernism itself is a stable or a transient reality and whether *it* can survive before the light of sacred traditions in general and of Islam in particular. One must never lose sight of the rapidly changing nature of post-modernism as well as the manifestations of modernism themselves. Where are the philosophies and ideologies such as structuralism and Marxism, which were so fashionable only two or three decades ago? What fads will parade as the latest and most important pattern of thought in the West a few decades from now? One thing is certain and that is that philosophies rooted in the Immutable continue to attract the minds and souls of many long after “timely philosophies” have been relegated to oblivion as we can see in the attraction for many people today of various versions of the perennial philosophy in comparison to widely held philosophical views of just a century ago. Islam is a religion based upon the nature of the Absolute and the primordial and immutable nature of man in his such-ness beyond historical contingencies and like other religions rooted in the Divine is bound to survive long after post-modernism ceases to attract certain Western minds and is relegated to a chapter in Western intellectual history.

Questions such as the relation of religion to politics, the nature of knowledge, the source of ethics, the relation of private ethics to public life, the rapport between religion and science (including the social and human sciences) and many other issues which are of concern to post-modern philosophers are also of great interest to Islamic thought. There is every possibility of dialogue and discourse on such subjects and some have in fact already taken place. Through such discourse Islamic thought is bound to make a greater impact on the general intellectual and cultural discourse in the West than before and such discussions are also bound to affect issues and

subjects of religious thought in the Islamic world itself. But this does not mean co-existence on the intellectual and principal plane unless Islam gives up its claim to the truth and the possibility of its attainment as have the typical post-modern thinkers or if post-modernism relinquishes its views and ceases to be post-modernism. As far as Islam is concerned, that possibility of the acceptance of the relative as the only meaningful category and the banning of the very category of truth from intellectual discourse is suicidal and most unlikely.

On the practical level, however, as far as living in the same *Lebensraum* with proponents of post-modernism is concerned, that has already occurred for the many Islamic communities living in the West and is likely to do so in the future. What is important to consider here, in thinking about the future, is not only how religion in general and Islam in particular can survive in a world dominated by modernism and post-modernism, but also how and whether the modern world itself can survive for long while clinging to all those ideas such as secular humanism, rationalism, individualism, materialism and now more and more irrationalism that have defined modernity and laid the basis for post-modernism, ideas which the traditional Islamic worldview has rejected and continues to reject.



For a Muslim, the meaning of living Islam faithfully today and tomorrow has not changed essentially from doing so yesterday and the day before because the relation between man and God transcends time. As Jakl al-Dân Rēmâ says in a famous poem:

*There is a link beyond asking how, beyond all comparison
Between the Lord of man and the soul of man.*

That link (*ittiĀ*) is beyond all externalities, beyond all temporal and spatial exigencies. In no matter what situation a Muslim finds himself or herself temporally or spatially, he or she can practice Islam faithfully by remaining aware of that inner link and by surrendering his or her will to that of the “Lord of man”. The more difficult question is now to remain faithfully a Muslim externally in a world, which in so many ways denies the reality of the Sacred and the rights of God. Within the Islamic world the problem is how to live according to the *Sharā‘ah* and as part of the *ummah* in a world in which the homogeneity of the traditional ambience has been destroyed, where the Sacred Law is no longer the “law of the land” in many places, where nationalism has segmented the unity of the *ummah*, where many

economic practices are not in conformity with Islamic tenets, where much of the urban setting no longer reflects the ethos of Islam. In such a situation to live faithfully as a Muslim means first of all to live inwardly as a person of faith, to practice the sacred rites which Islam makes possible under all circumstances and without the aid of any ecclesiastical figures since the priestly function is divided among all Muslims. It means to practice Islamic ethical teachings and for those who have the possibility and ability, to follow the spiritual path of inner purification. And it means to seek to the extent possible to live in the larger society according to Islamic norms and practices and to encourage fellow Muslims to do so by exhortation and example. It also means to abide by the truths of Islam on the intellectual plane and to combat intellectually all that would destroy the vision of reality based upon Unity (*al-tawÁád*) as understood Islamically. It means to live in prayer, to seek the truth and to search for and create the beautiful for beauty is inseparable from truth. All of this means that one must carry out continuous inner exertion (*jib«d*) in the path of God which the Prophet called the greater *jib«d*. As for performing the smaller *jib«d*, which means outward struggle for the defence and protection of Islam, that depends on complicated circumstances which are not the same for all Muslims and which must be discussed separately for each particular case and situation.

As far as Muslims living as a minority whether in the West, India, Burma, Russia, China or any other country are concerned, their situation is similar inwardly to Muslims living in *d«r al-isl«m* or Abode of Islam itself. What is different is that they do not bear responsibility for general norms and law of the society in which they live but they do bear the responsibility for living righteously as Muslims and protecting the possibility of living within their homes and communities as Muslims. Strangely enough, this latter task is now more difficult for Muslims living in such lands as China, Burma and parts of India, countries in which they have lived for many centuries and in some places for over a millennium, than in the West. This is paradoxical because in older days Europe was more virulently opposed to an Islamic presence on its soil than the Asian societies mentioned as can be seen by the destiny of Muslims in Spain after an eight hundred year presence. Today, however, the situation is reversed if we exclude the incredible genocides of Muslims in Bosnia and Kosovo in recent years to say nothing of the Russian brutalities in Chechnya. There are now sizable Islamic communities in most European countries and Islam has become part of the mainstream religious scene in

America. For those Muslims living in the West, the challenges of a secular and hedonistic culture are greater than in non-Western societies but there also exists the freedom to practice their religion, at least privately, especially in America where certain constraints seen in France and some other European countries are not to be found although local problems continue to manifest themselves here and there. In these circumstances the way to live faithfully as a Muslim is essentially to practice the faith individually and strengthening the local Islamic communities to the extent possible without there being the burdens of responsibility for society at large which living in an Islamic society places upon the shoulders of Muslims who are members of such a society. It remains the duty of all minority Muslims who claim to practice their religion to remain steadfast in clinging to that inner “link”, in surrendering themselves to God’s Will and in practicing Islamic ethics to the highest degree that they are able to do. It also means to bear witness to the truths for which Islam stands and to confront through intellectual dialogue and discourse the errors which parade as norms today. In this task they share much with Jews, Christians and other religious groups with all of whom Muslims have the duty to have a rapport of mutual respect and friendship as promulgated by the teachings of the Qur’ \llcorner n and *Aadith* concerning the relation of Muslims to the “People of the Book” (*ahl al-kit \llcorner b*) which from the Islamic point of view means in its most universal sense those who accept the Oneness of the Divine Principle and follow a religion revealed by the One. Needless to say, Islamic teachings also emphasize that Muslims must exercise the same respect vis-à-vis religious communities living as minorities among them as they are expected to exercise vis-à-vis religions among whose followers they live themselves as minorities



As summary and in conclusion it can be said that when one looks upon the horizon into the coming century and millennium of the Christian calendar and ponders upon Islam as a religion and way of life, one is lead to make the following observations: The faith (*âman*) of the vast majority of Muslims is bound to continue in strength if not always in depth and the tradition on both its external and inward dimensions as Law and Way, will remain a living reality. The intellectual and spiritual traditions of Islam, whose expressions have been renewed and whose activities have been revived in the latter half of this century now coming to an end are also bound to continue their process of rejuvenation and revival especially among modern educated

Muslims while they will be of ever greater attraction to non-Muslims in quest of wisdom and means for its attainment. Likewise, the process of the revival of traditional Islamic art is bound to continue even in face of the onslaught of secularist art and culture in the Islamic world. Moreover, the spread of Islam globally, and especially in America, seems most likely to continue while the newly established Islamic communities in the West continue to struggle in order to establish themselves while guarding their authenticity and sinking their roots in the new soil and land in which they have been planted.

At the same time the crisis alluded to above in the intellectual, cultural and social domains are bound to persist. As the Muslim intelligentsia seriously rooted in the Islamic tradition becomes more deeply aware of the nature of modern and post-modern thought in all domains ranging from philosophy to the natural sciences to the humanities and social sciences, Islamic answers provided to these intellectual challenges are bound to grow in depth and seriousness. It seems most unlikely, however, that the tension and confrontation observable in the intellectual and educational domains can be overcome any time soon especially since the disorder and even chaos of modern Western civilization is reflected almost immediately within the non-Western worlds, including of course the Islamic, and the Islamic world does not enjoy the privilege of isolating itself in order to solve its own problems. The fact that during the 20th century the West has always decided the agenda even if other civilizations have mustered the strength to participate in serious intellectual and cultural dialogue is bound to continue in the future.

As for culture, most likely in the near future it will be the popular culture especially of American origin that will be a major challenge to Islamic society as it mesmerizes the youth across the width and breadth of the Islamic world. If anything, this flood is bound to become even more extended in the future as a result of the much more intrusive means of communication which are even now spreading from cities and towns to villages in the Atlas mountains and Anatolia, the forests of Bangladesh and far away islands of Indonesia. The effort spent by Muslims from religious scholars, educators and parents to governments to combat the erosive influence of much of this imported popular culture will almost certainly continue to consume much of the energy of the Islamic community.

On the social plane the trends of the past few decades including increasing urbanism and the pressure to break down the traditional family structures coming from various forms of feminism and various stresses of

the modern style of living, are bound to continue although in these domains more Islamic responses are likely. In the late 20th century most feminists in the Islamic world were from the modernized classes and not especially noted for their religious devotion. Most likely the trend toward an “Islamic form of feminism”, if such a term is still appropriate to use, will become more strengthened as will the greater participation of fully practising and pious Muslim women in social and economic activities outside the home as one can see even in a country such as Iran where a political revolution in the name of Islam has already occurred. Likewise, the new urban classes, coming from more pious layers of Islamic society than the older upper classes in urban areas are bound to strengthen rather than weaken the Islamic presence in cities despite the uprooting which urban growth at the expense of the countryside implies.

In the domain of economics and politics it is difficult to see how in the foreseeable future a completely stable situation can be created. In the economic field, Islamic ideals and practices have to contend with a much more powerful so-called global economic order and must remain content with creating islands here and there where Islamic economic theories can be put to practice and also with seeking to preserve as much as possible what remains of traditional Islamic economic practices in the bazaars as well as the countryside. There is no doubt, however, that many Muslims, even those living in the West, will seek to relate economics to ethics and will refuse to allow economics to be ever considered in principle as a legitimate field independent of ethical and hence religious concerns.

As for the political situation, the tensions and turmoils of the past decades and in fact since the colonial period are bound to continue as long as the Islamic world is not really independent. On the one hand areas still under foreign rule and annexed by colonial expansion during the past few centuries, ranging from certain parts of the Balkans to the northern Caucasus, to Palestine, to Kashmir, to Western China, which until the 19th century was Eastern Turkistan, to the southern Philippines are bound to be witness to continuous tension and strife until political problems are solved on the basis of sovereignty of the will of the people living in these lands. On the other hand within the main areas of the Islamic world contention between traditional, so-called fundamentalist and modernized or secularist groups are bound to continue and are most likely to spread. The question of the meaning of an Islamic state, Islamic democracy, the rule of God’s religion *vis-*

à-vis the rule of the people, the meaning and role of secularism, the relation between religion and the state, the unity of the Islamic world versus local national authority and many other central issues are bound to be continuously debated leading from time to time to external conflict as a result of constraints within Islamic societies as well as pressures exerted upon the Islamic world from the outside.

As far as religion in its most central sense is concerned, the most important challenges to Islam are bound to continue to be on the one hand that of secularism in all its forms including philosophical scepticism and scientific naturalism and materialism (despite the loss of the significance of the term matter in modern physics) and on the other the diversity of religions or religious pluralism. As the Islamic world plunges into civilizational dialogue and religious discourse with other religions on a more public scale, many of the most important new chapters in Islamic thought will probably be devoted to the subject of the unity and diversity of religions and all the issues ranging from the metaphysical to the ethical that are involved in this all important issue. This inter-religious discourse is also likely to be complemented by a greater intensity of dialogue among various schools within Islam itself, especially Sunnism and Shi'ism, and movements to create greater accord between these major interpretations of Islam during the past few decades are bound to continue and grow in strength in the future.

These and other issues and factors are likely to continue to push forth new manifestations and flowerings of Sufism, its spiritual teachings (along with other aspects of Islamic esoteric teachings as contained in Shi'ism), its philosophy so pertinent to the understanding of religious diversity, and its art and literature. As already mentioned, while during the past century both so-called fundamentalists and modernists in the Islamic world opposed Sufism, during the past few decades a new wave of interest in Sufism has been observable in many Islamic countries while in the West it has been primarily through Sufism that Westerners have come to gain a grasp of the deeper meaning of Islam. While opposition to Sufism is bound to continue in certain circles, its spread both within and outside the Islamic world is also most likely to continue and even accelerate. The incredible interest in America in the poetry of one of the greatest masters of Sufism, Jalâl al-Dân Rëmâ, even if it be an Americanised version of Rëmâ, is not a passing fad but most likely a sign of the ever more extensive influence of Sufism and its teachings in the West where it provides a path towards perfection for those

qualified to follow it and also the means for recollection of much that has been lost for those Christians and Jews seeking to re-discover the deeper dimensions of their own tradition. Within the Islamic world itself, Sufism and other philosophies issuing from the esoteric dimension of the Islamic revelation such as Shâ'ite gnosis (*'irfân-i shâ'â*) are alone capable of providing answers to many of the philosophical challenges of modernism as well as the challenge of taking into serious consideration the presence of other forms of the Sacred. This source is therefore bound to be tapped to an ever greater degree in future years as Muslims grapple more seriously with questions of the presence of two "others", one the secular which denies the validity of all religious views and the second, religious views of reality other than the Islamic.

Having said all of this, it is necessary to remember, however, the principle so emphasized in Islam that God alone knows the future. All human extrapolations in fact shall fall short with the smallest unforeseen perturbation. The so-called predictions of futurologists are there to bear witness to this assertion. All the projections made here are therefore made with the utmost humility and with full awareness of the fragility of human existence and the possibility of unforeseen factors, which can burst at any moment upon the scene in completely unpredictable ways. This is particularly true of our age in which signs of the latter days predicted by the Prophet and the saints of Islam are manifest everywhere, an age which seems so pregnant with momentous events beyond our ken. But even such projections cannot be made categorically, if one remembers the saying of the Prophet that all those who predict the Hour are liars. Even if we know that it is the eleventh hour, according to Islam only God knows when the clock will strike twelve o'clock.

All that one can say is that Islam is likely to remain a powerful religious force in the coming future, a challenge to secularism in all its forms as secularism will remain a challenge to it. Islam is bound to struggle with forces which negate its reality within and without and is most likely to draw ever closer to other religions, especially its monotheistic sisters, Judaism and Christianity, but even beyond them to all religions which share with it acceptance of the Transcendent, the sense of the sacred and understanding of the ultimately spiritual nature of man as well as the spiritual significance of all of creation. As to how exactly the forces of religion and secularism will contend with each other on the stage of cosmic history and how Islam will

create better understanding and bring about mutual understanding with other religions in the future while preserving its integrity, one can only repeat the formula with which traditional Islamic treatises usually conclude, that is, “And God knows best.” *wa’ Lahu a’lam.*



IQBAL'S CONCEPT OF CREATIVE EVOLUTION AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Ayesha Leghari

Allama Muhammad Iqbal is one of the most outstanding poet-philosophers of the Indian sub-continent belonging to the modern period. His intellectual genius has reigned supreme in the arena of Islamic philosophy during the twentieth century and is likely to direct and influence the Islamic Intellectual tradition in the twenty first century as well. His sublime poetry and philosophy inspired millions of Muslims to wake up to the reality of the times and forge a destiny for themselves. Iqbal was deeply concerned about the pervasive lethargy that had settled over the minds and souls of Muslims, under the colonial rule. His message motivated millions of Muslims to struggle for emancipation from colonial rulers and age old, stagnant norms of thinking and acting.

The integrity of the world of Islam and the universality of the message of Islam was under threat due to the fearful attitude of Muslims towards all knowledge and philosophies that did not originate in their own traditions and conventions. Ignorance bred fear and fear bred oppression at all levels. Speaking specifically, Iqbal was frustrated by the lack of movement in the intellectual and spiritual life of Muslims. If he were alive today, Iqbal would be filled with dismay over the same lack of movement in the intellectual and spiritual spheres of present day Muslims. Although he was able to influence millions of Muslims to rise up against colonial oppressors, the depth of his message and its manifold implications have yet to be realised by the Muslims.

His burning ambition was to rekindle the fire of the unique human personality to put it on the path of creative evolution, renovation and renewal.

'The stars tremble in their courses over man's upward march,

Lest this fallen star should become the perfect moon.'

One of the facets of Iqbal's genius is the fluidity with which he displays his in-depth knowledge and critical analysis of both Islamic and Western

philosophies, theories and concepts. His critical assessment is sparing of no one.

In his famous lectures, which were delivered at the request of the Madras Muslim Association in Madras, Hyderabad and Aligarh, he quotes about thirty-four Western writers. Twenty-five of these were his contemporaries. Some of these whom he gave a lot of consideration are Whitehead, Eddington, Wildoncarr, Louis Rougier, Einstein and Nicholson.

Allama Iqbal's work regarding Western writers is characterised by ambivalence of admiration on the one hand and dissatisfaction on the other. One of the important recommendation that he addressed to the Muslims was: "Approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and to appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us".¹

Iqbal's purpose is to enrich the intellectual life of Islam by a thorough knowledge and critical examination of the current trends in Western and Eastern thought. He had a strong faith in both the resilient and the dynamic character of Islam.

His message stands as fresh today, for the present day Muslim *ummah*, as it did when he first transmitted it at the beginning of the twentieth century. Vested interests of most political regimes have not allowed the Muslims to reach the ideal of emancipation and creativity, as envisioned by Iqbal.

But this should not be a cause for despair because Islam espouses faith and hope as its intrinsic principles. One of the most outstanding qualities of Iqbal's philosophy is his emphasis on the universality and the futuristic appeal of Islam. He has been described, very aptly, as the philosopher of the future. The relevance of Iqbal's message for the next millennium will become apparent as we explore his concept of creative evolution that is an integral aspect of his over all philosophy.

¹Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1989, p. 78.

Iqbal's mission was to raise the level of consciousness of the Muslim *ummah*. He endeavoured to do so by presenting his unique vision of *kbudâ* or ego that is expressed within his dynamic concept of creative evolution. Iqbal believed that Islam aimed at preserving the values of eternal truths, which, if correctly understood, allowed human beings to become alive towards and take part consciously in, the creative evolution of life around them. He says in his lectures, "humanity needs three things today, spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual, and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis."²

Iqbal was inspired by the integral Islamic concept of *tawââd* or the Oneness of Allah. He vehemently opposed the Cartesian/ Mechanistic philosophy of scientific determinism that divides reality into that of body and spirit. His whole philosophy is a revolt against the idea of scientific determinism that advocates that human beings are under the sway of laws of science and nature only. Iqbal was an ardent advocate of concept of human freedom and evolution. He believed that the concept of *tawââd* contained within its ambit the unity of the spirit and matter, body and soul, the individual and society.

He believed that the Ultimate Ego was Allah, who, though Transcendent in His Essence, was intimately connected to human beings through His *amr*. For Iqbal *amr* stood for the creative power and will of God. Iqbal continued the tradition of the great Muslim intellectuals who pioneered the evolutionary theory, such as Ibn Maskawaih, Ibn Khaldën and Mawk« Rêmâ. According to this theory of creative evolution, the Ultimate Ego manifests itself, from the lowest forms of matter to the highest evolutionary form i.e. the spiritually most advanced human personality.

Iqbal explains the concept of *tawââd* beautifully when he says, "Reality is essentially spirit," yet he qualifies his belief by mentioning that there are degrees of reality reflecting degrees of spirit.³ He writes:

² *Ibid.* p. 142.

³ *Ibid.* p. 57.

Indeed the evolution of life shows that, though in the beginning the mental is dominated by the physical, the mental as it grows in power, tends to dominate the physical and may eventually rise to a position of complete independence....⁴

What Iqbal means by this is that the process of creative evolution involves a gradual growth of the human individuality or ego (*kebudâ*). The ego grows from a position of hardly having any freedom from natural laws and natural appetites, to the position where the ego, through the use of its creative will and power, becomes more and more powerful, free, dynamic and independent. Iqbal says: "The 'unceasing reward' of man consists in his gradual growth in self-possession, in uniqueness, and intensity of his activity as an ego."⁵

In fact the ideal of the evolutionary growth of the human personality is presented by Iqbal through the words of the Qur'«n referring to the Prophet ﷺ vision of the Ultimate Ego i.e. Allah at the journey of ascension called the *mi'raj*:

'His eye turned not aside, nor did it wander' (Qur'«n 53:17)

When Prophet Moses came into contact with God's Light, he could not sustain the impact. He lost consciousness due to the overwhelming effect of, in Iqbal's words, the Ultimate Ego. But the emergence of Prophet Muhammad ﷺ heralded perfection in human personality or ego in the evolutionary scale. Prophet Muhammad ﷺ was able to reach such a height of spiritual perfection that his identity and differentiation remained intact despite a direct contact with the 'most Real' or the Divine Reality as is revealed in the Qur'«n regarding the Prophet's ﷺ *mi'raj*.

Iqbal's *Mard i Mu'min* or the Perfect Man, always moves towards a purpose. The goal is clearly given to Muslims in the concept of *tawÁád*, the belief in the unity of God and the underlying unity, equality and interconnectedness of all humanity as derived from the unity of Allah. God

⁴ *Ibid.* p.85.

⁵ *Ibid.* p.94.

clearly announces in the Qur'ān that all mankind was created from a single individual. (Qur'an 39:6) Iqbal writes:

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.⁶

This is the goal set to us through the concept of *tawĀād*. The message of *tawĀād* is not just the Oneness of God but also the interconnectedness and intrinsic unity of all of creation despite the apparent multiplicity of manifestations of Reality. Iqbal understood the deep implications of the central concept of *tawĀād*. He passionately advocated the unity of the Muslim *Ummah* and the equality and brotherhood of the whole human race. He believed in the central principle of tolerance in Islam which accepted diversity and distinction within the overall concept of unity. This is one of the evolutionary goals Iqbal set up in front of Muslims. We can judge why it is an evolutionary goal because it will need a great deal of spiritual growth within the collective psyche of present day Muslims, to achieve this end.

But how do we achieve this goal where mankind can live peacefully under the canopy of *tawĀād*, equality and justice as espoused by the Qur'ān. Iqbal set out the goal and he also spelt out the method of achieving this destination through his concept of *khudā* or ego.

Iqbal used the word *khudā* to denote the ego, the individuality of a person or the self. He described *khudā* as follows:-

Metaphysically the word *khudā* (self-hood) is used in the sense of that indescribable feeling of 'I' which forms the basis of the uniqueness of each individual. Ethically the word *khudā* means (as used by me) self-reliance, self-respect, self-confidence, self-preservation, self-assertion when such a thing is necessary, in the interest of life and power to stick to the cause of truth, justice, duty etc. even in the face of death. Such behaviour is moral in my opinion because it helps in the integration of the forces of the Ego, thus hardening it, as against the forces of

⁶ Shamloo, *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, Lahore, Al-Manar Academy, 1948. p. 226.

disintegration and dissolution, practically the metaphysical ego is the bearer of two main rights that is the right to life and freedom as determined by Divine Law.⁷

Iqbal believed in the gradual rising note of *kebudâ* or self-hood in the universe through the process of creative evolution till it reaches its highest potential in human beings. The universe according to Iqbal is the spatio-temporal order, where egos of varying levels dwell, interact and take part in the process of continuous change and continuous evolution. Iqbal's concept of heaven and hell is deeply connected to his concept of *kebudâ*. Hell is basically a disintegration and dissolution of the self or ego whereas heaven is a state where the personality has reached a heightened sense of self-awareness, self-consciousness and distinction. Hell is nothingness, an annihilation of the self. Heaven is the opposite of nothingness. It is to be real, an important, integral part of the Greater Reality.

Iqbal emphasises the role of the heart or *dil* or *'ishq* in his philosophy. This is another unique and integral concept of his philosophy which was inspired by, what he terms, '*higher Sufism*' or the Islamic mystic discipline.

Iqbal believed that behind the process of evolution is the vital impulse (Bergson's *elan vital*) of *'ishq* or love which is metaphysical in nature and which makes life grow towards higher evolutionary goals.

It is love that imparts colour to the tulip

It is love that agitates our life.

*If you could rip open the heart of the earth
You would see love's blood coursing through it.*⁸

He writes:

Beneath this visible evolution of forms is the force of love which actualises all strivings, movement and progress. Things are so constituted that they hate non-existence and love the joy of

⁷ Syed Abdul Wahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, Lahore, 1964, p.80.

⁸ Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *Payam-i-Mashriq*, (reprint) Delhi, Kutub Khana Nazireya, 1962, p.12 quatrain 5 from 'Lala-i-Tur'.

individuality in various forms. The indeterminate matter, dead in itself, assumes or more properly is made to assume by the inner force of love, various forms and rises higher and higher in the scale of beauty.⁹

But this “forward push to life cannot be called creative unless hitched to some goal.”¹⁰

Unlike Bergson, Iqbal believed that evolution has a goal. In fact, the evolution or dissolution of life is dependent on how far the individual chooses to use his or her creative will and power. The perfect man of Iqbal’s conception is *mujahid* who is ready and willing to face the problems of life, culture and society as he is to face the problems of after-life, spiritual welfare and death.

Iqbal quotes the Qur’*ān* to support his concept of *khudā* the creative will and power inherent in human beings:-

“And they ask thee of the soul. Say: the soul proceedeth from my Lord’s *amr* (Creative Will and Power) but of knowledge only a little is given to you.” (17:85)

It is this nature of the soul that makes human beings distinct and the chosen ones from the rest of creation. Iqbal translates and interprets the word *amr* as the ‘Directive, Creative Will and Power of God.’ He believes that human beings can share in the creative activity of God by using their own God given creative will and power. Iqbal is an advocate of the freedom of the human personality. He quotes the Qur’*ān* to substantiate his views:

By the soul and He who has balanced it, and has shown to it the ways of wickedness and piety, blessed is he who has made it grow and undone is he who has corrupted it. (91:7-10)

According to Iqbal the trust or the challenge which man accepted, is to become conscious of his own true *fiṣṣrah* or nature. Man’s *fiṣṣrah* has its roots in the Divine Life and it is part of his nature to grow and evolve towards greater and greater perfection by using his creative will and power.

⁹ Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, 1959, p. 33.

¹⁰ Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *Payam-i-Masbrig*, (reprint) Delhi, Kutub Khana Nazireah, 1962, p. 52.

“It is by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither, that man will eventually triumph over a society motivated by inhuman competition and a civilisation which has lost its spiritual unity by its inner conflict of religions and political values.”¹¹ His words resonate with an eerie ring of truth, even today, after a century that has proved his analysis to be correct.

Iqbal believed that the vision of unity and equality of mankind could be achieved through ‘higher religion.’ He believed the religion of Islam to be eminently suitable for this task because it contained within its ambit the tools for the advancement and evolution of mankind. He emphasised *ijtihad*, the method that unfetters truth from the forces of conservatism.

Conservatism is as bad in religion as in any other department of human activity. It destroys the ego’s creative freedom and closes up the paths of fresh spiritual enterprise.¹²

He admitted that the need for new interpretation of Islam in the face of ‘new realities.’ “The claim of the present generation of Muslim liberals to re-interpret the foundational legal principles, in the light of their own experience and the altered conditions of social life, is, in my opinion, perfectly justified.”¹³

Islam aims to free the human ego from the bonds of material and social habits and norms so that the individual’s deepest self is in contact with the ‘Most Real’ or God in other words. This contact with the ‘Most Real’ or the Creator who is upon a new creation at all times, opens the individual to a process of continuous growth, challenge, struggle and creation.

The theory of ‘creative evolution’ as envisaged by Iqbal harnesses human creative potential under the spiritual discipline of religion as the instrument

¹¹ Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1989, p. 149.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 145.

¹³ *Ibid.* p.180.

with which human beings become co-workers with God, effecting the destiny of the universe.¹⁴

In the *Javid Nama* God addresses human beings in this stirring call:

Life is both mortal and immortal, it is all creativity and eagerness

*Art thou alive? Be eager, be creative
Like us encompass the whole universe!*

Shatter into pieces what is uncongenial.

Bring forth another world out of thy imagination!

*It is irksome to the man who is free, to live in a world of another's making.
He who lacks the power of creation is naught to us but an atheist and an agnostic!*

He has not taken his share of our Beauty.

He has not eaten the fruit of the tree of life.

*Man of truth! Be sharp and incisive like the sword and forge the destiny of they own
world.¹⁵*

¹⁴ *Javád Nama* by G. Saiyiddan, 1992, p.75-80.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 74.

IQBAL'S VISION OF A NEW WORLD

Mustansir Mir

In this short poem,¹⁶ which in fact is a preface to a long disquisition by Jamāl al-Dân al-Afghânâ in *Jawâd Namah*, Iqbal summarizes his vision of a new world. This vision is simultaneously intellectual, ethical, religious, and humanistic. It is intellectual in that it seeks to achieve a viable balance between the principles of constancy and change; it rests on an enduring substratum that, on the one hand, guarantees societal continuity, and, on the other, supports an institutional framework that is responsive to society's changing needs. It is ethical in that it is marked by egalitarianism; it does not divide mankind into oppressors and victims, but erases all artificial barriers existing between the members of the human race. It is religious in that it finds its historical sanction in a religion—Islam. According to Iqbal, the rule of the second caliph of Islam, 'Umar, represents an objectification of the ideal herein outlined. Finally, the vision is humanistic in that the most important material needed for the building of the ideal world is the human material. It is the human will and aspirations that will bring such a world into existence. The ideal world thus exists within our "breasts" and has only to be brought out and given tangible form.

TRANSLATION

There is a world still lost¹⁷ in our breasts,

A world still awaiting the call of "Arise!"¹⁸

¹⁶ *Jawid Namah*, in *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*: Farsi, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1989, p. 539.

¹⁷ *still lost*: The world is "lost" in the sense in which we use the phrase "lost treasure." The adverb "still" is meaningful, too. As we learn in the next few lines, the ideal world, Iqbal is alluding to come into existence during the time of the second caliph, 'Umar. This being so, "still" can only mean that the world ceased to exist a long time ago and has to be rediscovered. Iqbal's view of the rapid early expansion of Islam was somewhat different than the one usually held. He believed that the very success of Muslims in conquering vast areas of land in a short period of time had thwarted the possibility of constructing a model Islamic society on solid foundations. In other words, what was gained in breadth was lost in depth. Since this happened centuries ago, the ideal has remained unrealized for a very long time. It is against the background of this view of Iqbal's that the forcefulness of the word "still" can properly be appreciated.

A world without distinctions of blood and colour,
And whose evening is brighter than the morning of the West;¹⁹
A world that is purged of sultan and slave,²⁰
And is boundless like the believer's heart;²¹
A lovely world, whose seed was cast
Into 'Umar's soul by just one blessed look²²
A world eternal, but with ever new adventure²³

¹⁸ *A world . . . "Arise!"* The Arabic word used in the original, *qum*, is associated in the Qur'ān with Jesus, who used to revive the dead by saying: *Qum bi idhni llahi*, "Arise, by God's will!" The world, in other words, is waiting for someone who would have the power to raise it from the dead.

¹⁹ *A world . . . West:* Iqbal was critical of the phenomenon of racism in the West, and the world envisioned by him is an egalitarian society in the truest sense of the expression. "And whose evening is brighter than the morning of the West" means: Even at its most ordinary ("evening") this new world will surpass the West at its most impressive ("morning").

²⁰ *A world . . . slaves:* That is, a world where the unjust division of mankind into master and slave will be abolished. The thought expressed in this line is not to be dismissed as poetic fancy. Iqbal regarded *mulūkīyyat* ("kingship") as a bane of the historic Islamic civilization, and his wish for a world where there would be no sultans and slaves is a powerful—and painful—reminder of the havoc wrought by the dominant monarchical tradition in Islamic history.

²¹ According to a putative *hadīth*, the universe, though huge, is too small a place to accommodate God, but the believer's heart is big enough to accommodate Him.

²² *A lovely . . . look:* Looking for precedents for such an ideal world, Iqbal settles on the era of the second caliph, 'Umar. 'Umar, who pioneered the establishment of major military, financial, and other institutions and provided guidelines for organizing social life in a number of areas, is commonly regarded as the architect of the first great Islamic State. But it was the training he received from the Prophet Muhammad that enabled him to carry out his role and mission in Islamic history; it was the impact of the "look" of the Prophet—Iqbal, dramatizing the matter, calls it a single look that transformed 'Umar, imparting to him the energy and vision that led to the creation of the first great blossoming of Islamic civilization at the caliph's hands.

²³ *adventures:* Iqbal means "happenings, incidents," but "adventures," understood in the Latin sense, is probably more appropriate. In fact the word used by Iqbal is *warīdat*, which is originally Arabic and means the same as the Latin *adventus*, past participle of *advenire*.

Ever new the products²⁴ of its Master Principles;²⁵

Its interior unafflicted with change,

Its exterior undergoing change every moment.²⁶

Such a world is inside you, look!²⁷

I will tell you about its Master Principles ...²⁸

²⁴ *products*: The original, *barg-o-baʿr*, means literally, “leaves and fruit.”

²⁵ *Master Principles*: The word used in the original is *muʿĀkamāt*, from Qurʿān 3:7.

²⁶ *A world eternal . . . every moment*: This is possibly the most concise statement Iqbal provides of one of the principal theses of his philosophy. In Iqbal’s view, the survival and progress of a nation are contingent on that nation’s discovering of the point of equilibrium between change and constancy. Digging into the Islamic tradition for concepts that would provide structure to his argument, Iqbal comes up with the notions of *īḥīr* (exterior) and *baʿḤīn* (interior). If a nation succeeds in developing an infrastructure of principles (let us call this the *baʿḤīn* of the nation) that has perennial validity, and is at the same time able to build, in every age, new institutions (let us call them the *īḥīr* of the nation) that are organically derived from that *baʿḤīn* and effectively meet the particular needs and challenges of the age, then that nation, according to Iqbal, has ensured its survival and is on the road to progress.

²⁷ *Such . . . look!* Note the envelope structure of the poem, which began with “There is a world still lost in our breasts,” and ends with a similar thought.

²⁸ In the several pages that follow (656-663), Jamāl al-Dān al-Afghānī dwells on the *muʿĀkamāt* he has already alluded to. That these *muʿĀkamāt* are, according to Iqbal, derived from the Qurʿān is borne out by the fact that the whole treatment is entitled *MuʿĀkamāt i ʿĵlam i Qurʿānā* (“The Master Principles of the Qurʿānic World”). The four sections into which the treatment is divided have the following titles: “Adam’s Caliphate”; “The Rule of God” ; “The Land Belongs to God” (a reference to many Qurʿānic verses, e.g., 7:128); and “Wisdom is a Great Good” (a reference to Qurʿān 2:269).

IQBAL ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WORLD ORDER

Dr. Rafi' ud-Din Hashmi

The poet-philosopher Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) lived in the first half of the twentieth century. Now, we stand on the threshold of the 21st century. The present day world is a fast-changing world and each moment an entirely new situation arises. This ever-changing scene poses a difficult challenge to the big powers of today. They have to make constant changes in their policies and formulate new strategies in order to cope with each new situation.

It was as long back as April 21st 1938 that Iqbal died. His times are past, and his era seems to be over, yet his thought, his poetry and his concepts are as fresh as ever. They are quite meaningful with reference to our contemporary world and have full potential of meeting the challenges of our times as well. Iqbal, not only possessed an unusually deep insight into the social, economic, political and human problems of his own time, but he also combined with it such a unique philosophical and sagacious appraisals of the future that we can, without any exaggeration, call him a poet of the times yet to come.²⁹

Iqbal had to live under the yoke of colonialism and the British had not only colonised Iqbal's homeland India, but had also subjugated the major parts of Asia and Africa. The free soul of Iqbal could never reconcile with this Western subjugation. His intellect could not be arrested by the shackles of slavery and soared high. Since he had a unique outlook towards life and universe, quite different from the prevalent, he always felt restless in his contemporary surroundings. Naturally, he never felt satisfied with the society he lived in, the prevailing world order and the situation faced by the humanity as a whole.

From the very beginning, we find in Iqbal, a strong desire for a radical change. India was his homeland³⁰ and the life of Indians, under the British

²⁹ In the *Asrar-o-Rumēz*, Iqbal says: "I am the voice of the poet of Tomorrow", *The Secrets of the Self* (Trans. R.A. Nicholson), Lahore, 1975, p. 4.

³⁰ Iqbal's ancestors belonged to and lived in Kashmir. Originally they were Barahmins of Sapru Clan. Referring to his ancestral home, he says in *Payam-i-Mashriq*:

rule, always made Iqbal worried with a sense of pain.³¹ What particularly shocked him was the fact that the Indian Muslims were lagging much behind the Hindu majority in respect of education, employment and the amenities of life, in general. On another level, Iqbal belonged to Muslim Ummah, which was in a state of decline. Most of the Muslim lands were under the British, the Russians or the French colonialism. Since Turkey was known as “the sick man of Europe”, Iqbal had to watch the painful disintegration of the Ottoman caliphate (1924). The Muslim Ummah suffered not only political subjugation, but also economic backwardness and poverty. More than everything, there was an overall civilizational and moral decadence. The colonial powers had descended on them with all their nationalistic prejudices, selfishness and thus perpetuated injustice on a global scale to safeguard their vested interests. Their own conflicting interests brought these materialistic groups to the First World War (1914-18), a “catastrophe which destroyed the

*My body is a flower from
A flowerbed in Kashmir's paradise.
My heart is from sanctum of Hijaz,
My song is from Shiraz.*

(*A Message from the East*, (Trans. Hadi Hussain) Lahore, 1977, p. 146.)

Iqbal's ancestors migrated from Kashmir in the beginning of 16th century and settled in Sialkot, now in Pakistan. Iqbal was born and educated here upto Intermediate. For details, See: Javid Iqbal, *Zinda Rēd*: Lahore, 1979. pp. 1-16.

³¹ Iqbal's Urdu poem ‘Tasweer-i-Dard’ composed in 1904, gives a true picture of his anxiety and worry about his homeland, as he says:

*Is it a rule of assembling thine.
That all be tongue-tied here?
I pine so much for just a chance
To have a work with thee!*

*O thou, unknowing one! Think at
Calamities to come:
For thy destruction in the skies
Are consultations on!*

*If you would fail to understand,
Men of sub-continent!
Not even just a tale of yours
Amongst the tales shall be!*

Iqbal's Call of the Caravan, (Trans. by S. Rehmatullah) Lahore, 1977.
P. 7.)

old world order in almost every respect”³² and which resulted an unprecedented bloodshed and destruction. The League of Nations was formed (1920) for averting a similar situation again. Iqbal’s insight was keen enough to see through these spurious designs. He could see that the actual role of the League was nothing more than that of an instrument to fulfil the imperialistic desires of the super powers. So, he called the League ‘a band of shroud thieves.’³³ Iqbal saw that in spite of the League’s apparent good-will to improve the world order, man continued to moan under the yoke of man; aggression, injustice and plunder continues unabated and ethnic, linguistic and religious chasms increased.

In Iqbal’s view the ideology of nationalism adopted by all the imperialist powers of Europe was mainly responsible for this deplorable situation. It was this national aggrandisement, which he though, gave them an insatiable hunger of expanding their colonial clutches. Iqbal started his career, as a “zealous nationalist”³⁴, but during his stay in Europe (1905-1908), he underwent what he called “*Inqilab-i-‘Azâm*” a complete metamorphism. He tells us that the confrontation with the milieu of Europe, made him firm to Islam,³⁵ a way of life based on the unity of God and the unity of mankind. Iqbal believed that ‘the idea of modern nationalism created a great deal of misunderstanding of international motives and it has opened up a vast field for diplomatic intrigues and tends to ignore the broad human element in art and literature.’

Many painful events, such as invasion of China by Japan (1931) Italy’s aggression against Abyssinia (1935), the unrest in Palestine and the Spanish civil war etc, that followed First World War in Iqbal’s time, were also the offshoots of the same secular nationalism.

³² Iqbal: *Payam-i-Mashriq* (Preface) Lahore, 1973. P. 12.

³³ In his Persian poem ‘The League of Nations’, Iqbal says:

*All I know about it is that a few thieves of the shrouds of the dead
Have set up an association for dividing the world’s graves.*

A Message from the East: (Trans. Hadi Hussain) Lahore, 1977, p. 160.)

In a letter to Miss Farquharson, (20.7.1937) Iqbal writes:

“Muslim Asia is now learning to regard [The League of Nations] as an Anglo-French institution invented for the purpose of dividing the territories of weaker Muslim peoples.” *Speeches, Statements and Writings of Iqbal*, (Ed. Latif Ahmad Sherwani) Lahore 1977, pp. 244-245.)

³⁴ Iqbal: *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, (Ed. B.A. Dar) Karachi, 1967, p. 58.

³⁵ Iqbal: *Annur-i-Iqbal*, (Ed. B. A. Dar), Karachi, 1976, p. 176.

Communism gained much popularity as an ideological force of Iqbal's age. The red revolution dawned in Russia (1917) before Iqbal's eyes and we can feel a note of welcome for the October Revolution in some of his poems. 'Khizar-i-Rah' (1921) and several Persian poems contained in 'Payam-i-Mashriq' (1923) may be quoted as an example. In 'ñulë'-i-Islam' (1923) he expressed disgust over the lamentable corollary of a civilization based on capitalism.

*Upto now man is a weak prey to Imperialism
 What a havoc man is the Hunter of Mankind in this age!
 The glare of the present civilization dazðles one's sight,
 Yet this craftsmanship is the cutting of false stone.
 The Diplomacy of which were proud the wise men of the West,
 Is but a slaying sword in the bloody hand of greed.
 Merely the magical work of thinking cannot make a culture strong and stable,
 Especially when it is based on Capitalism!*³⁶

Iqbal's optimism about the Communist Revolution however was quite short-lived, as he saw through the inherent evils of Communism. USSR did emerge as a global power but in Afghanistan, she has been beaten back in humiliation. Iqbal could see, even when Communism was at its prime, that deep down, it was carrying the germs of its own destruction. He saw that Communism only added to human miseries and could never alleviate its problems. Iqbal considered the Russian Bolshevism a reaction against the myopic, selfish of European capitalism. Capitalism and Communism in his mind were both based on extremist tendencies and were nothing more than the two faces of the same coin.³⁷ in 'Javaâd N«mah', Iqbal puts the following words in Jam«d-ud-Dân Afgh«nâ's mouth:

*Communism and Imperial Kingship are both characterized by a dissatisfaction and impatience with the conditions of life:
 Both fail to perceive God, and both work a gigantic fraud on mankind.*

³⁶ Iqbal: *The Renaissance of Islam*, (Trans. by Abdur Rahman Tariq and Aziz Ahmad Sheikh, Lahore, 1966, pp. 29-30)

In the preface to his Persian poem *Payam-i-Mashriq*, Iqbal writes:

"Europe has seen with its own eyes the horrible consequences of its intellectual, moral and economic objectives and has also beard from Signor Nitti (A former prime minister of Italy) the heart rending of the West's decline.) p. 12).

³⁷ Iqbal: *Khuçit-i-Iqbal* (Ed. Rafi-ud-Din Hashmi), Lahore, 1976, pp. 155-156.

For one life means conquest and expansion; for the other extraction of tributes and fees under various pretexts:

Ant between these two stones, poor Adam is like glass!

One brings ruin with Knowledge, and Science; with Religion and Art

While the other snatches life from the body, and bread from the hand.

I see them both floundering in an exaggerated sense of the importance of material means.

Both have a sleek and shining body, but of both the heart is black.³⁸

On this juncture, Iqbal had started feeling disgusted with the contemporary scene. He dubbed the last collection of his Urdu poems, published just two years before his death as *Zarb-i-Kalâm* or as 'Proclamation of War Against the Contemporary Age.' Earlier, he had chanted in *B«l-i-Jibrât*:

The magic old to life is brought by means of present Science and thought:

The path of life cannot be trodden without the aid of Moses' Rod.³⁹

Towards the end of his life, Iqbal's disgust grew very strong.⁴⁰ Four months before his death, in his New Year's Message on Jan. 1, 1938 broadcasted from the Lahore Radio Station, he mourned over man's moral decline the degradation of humanity and the havoc wrought upon the world under the grip of the imperialistic oppression everywhere on the earth, in the following words:⁴¹

The tyranny of imperialism struts abroad, covering its face in the masks of Democracy, Nationalism, Communism, Fascism and

³⁸ *Iqbal's Javâd Nama*, (Trans. A.Q. Niaz,) Lahore, 1984, p. 102.

³⁹ *Gabriel's Wings*, (Trans. Syed Akbar Ali Shah), Lahore, 1984, p. 181.

⁴⁰ In his poem "The Man of Present Age", he says:

Though man aspires to find the track

Of stars that roam in sky and tread:

Alas! Man has completely failed

To map the world of mind or head.

In intricacies of his thought

He is embroiled; is clear and plain,

So he is not as yet aware

Of what is loss and what is gain.

Man has harnessed rays of the Sun.

Much gain from them he has drawn,

But he can not transform the dark

And dismal night of life to dawn.

(Iqbal: *The Rod of Moses*, (Trans. Akbar Ali Shah), Lahore, 1983, p. 40).

⁴¹ Iqbal: *Speeches*, p. 250.

heaven knows what else besides. Under these masks, in every corner of the earth, the spirit of freedom and the dignity of man are being trampled under foot in a way of which not even the darkest period of human history presents a parallel. The so-called statesmen to whom Government and leadership of men was entrusted have proved demons of bloodshed, tyranny and oppression. The rulers whose duty it was to protect and cherish those ideals which go to form a higher humanity, to prevent man's oppression of man and to elevate the moral and intellectual level of mankind, have in their hunger for dominion and imperial possessions, shed the blood of millions and reduced millions to servitude, simply in order to pander to the greed and avarice of their own particular groups. After subjugating and establishing their dominion over weaker peoples, they have robbed them of their religions, their morals, of their cultural traditions and their literatures. Then they sowed divisions among them that they should shed one another's blood and go to sleep under the opiate of serfdom so that the leech of imperialism might go on sucking their blood without interruption.

This plight of humanity saddened him quietly. He had a powerful inner personality. He was so full of life. He possessed so strong will and so highly charged qualities of head and heart that he intellectually never surrendered even under the worst of circumstances. No doubt that the natural romantic vein of the poet did make him gloomy sometimes, but his strong will, purity of soul and sincerity of heart always saved him from getting disappointed. He always remained optimistic and hopeful about the future of man and the mankind as a whole. His philosophy of *Khudâ* (Ego), concept of *Isbq* (deep involvement) impart courage to man and make him struggle through life with confidence. He reminds man of his status as being the vicegerent of God on earth. In short, he felt anxious about the contemporary world without ever losing hope. He always continued thinking and contemplating and chalking out plans for the future. Betterment of man's lot was always at the centre of his thoughts. He constantly thought about the reconstruction of the human world. Obviously, it was only possible (and so even today) if a new world order evolved on fresh grounds. He wrote to Syed Sulaiman Nadvâ, one of the leading scholars of his times and his friend on 15th Jan. 1934:

There is a strange struggle going on all-over the world. Democracy in dying out, and dictatorship is replacing it. Material power is being

deified in Germany. A new war is being waged against capitalism. Civilization, especially in Europe, is on its deathbed. To be brief, the whole world order needs a reshuffling. Under these conditions, I would like to know to what extent, in your opinion, can Islam help to formulate a reconstruction? Kindly let me know your point of view on this topic.⁴²

It must be borne in mind that Iqbal has returned from a tour of Europe just one year prior to this script. The impressions of what he saw in Europe was quite fresh in his mind.⁴³ His masterpiece poem, *The Mosque of Cordoba* bears testimony to his unusual experience. 58 years ago, as Iqbal stood in this city of Cordoba, revitalizing his ideals, his great mind flashed back into centuries that had passed, but his clairvoyance was peeping into the future. He was watching what was yet to come in the perspective of what had been. He was experiencing a wakeful dream.

*O Guadalquivir! O thou waters eternally flowing
On thy bank a dreamer stands and dreams of an age to be.
The coming times though lie hid in the womb of destiny
To my gaze laid bare and exposed in its nascent dawn.*⁴⁴

Seen in the proper context of the poem, there remains no doubt that this dream was about the re-awakening of the Muslim Ummah, for the sake of welfare of humanity as a whole and about forging a new order for the world. Iqbal found all the three interconnected. After the failure of Communism and Capitalism, the Muslim Ummah could play a key role in formulating a new world order and rehabilitating the human dignity. Because this Ummah possesses a moral code of life based on divine revelation instead of human conjectures. As a result of a life-long contemplation and philosophical research, Iqbal had concluded that Islam possessed the potential to guide the

⁴² Iqbal: *Iqbal Nama* Vol. I, (Ed. Sheikh Ata-ullah), Lahore, 1944, p. 181. See also, Iqbal: *Iqbal, Jabon-i-Dagar*, (Ed. Muhammad Faridul Haq,) Karachi, 1983, pp. 67-71.

⁴³ After attending the Third Round Table Conference at London, Iqbal visited Spain (Jan. 1933) and went to Madrid, Toledo, Granada, Cordoba and Seville. While in Spain, he wrote to his son, Javid Iqbal:

Thank God that I happened to see this one of the best mosques. I wish you also could see it.

(Iqbal: *Gulfar-i-Iqbal*, (Ed. M. Rafiq Afzal), Lahore, 1977, p. 165. To the editor of *Inqilab* he wrote, "Do see Cordoba, at least once". (*Ibid*: p. 165. For more details, See: *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, pp. 77-79.

⁴⁴ Iqbal: *The Mosque of Cordoba*, (Trans. Muhammad Abdul Haleem) Hyderabad, n.d.

wandering humanity towards its goal.⁴⁵ The acute problem facing him however, was the fact that the Muslim Ummah, in most parts of the world, was not only under the subjugation of colonialism, but also suffered from an overall moral decline.

Although Iqbal left behind no clear-cut outline of any plan for a new world order, yet one is astonished to observe that the changes that have taken place during the second half of the twentieth century in Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Eastern Europe, indeed all over the world, which are still continuing, reflect to a great extent Iqbal's hopes and dreams.

Through his prophetic poetry, Iqbal struggled for the fulfilment of the Muslim destiny, which is the key to human destiny. It was he, who suggested the concept of an independent state in the northwest of the sub-continent, which could serve as a centre for Islam in India. In a letter to Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Iqbal stated that the solution to the problems of Indian Muslims lay in the implementation of the Islamic *Sharâ'ah*, which could only be done in a free Muslim state.⁴⁶ With the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on 14th August 1947, one of Iqbal's dreams was fulfilled. His vision however, was not confined to the Indo-Pak subcontinent. In the northwest he pinned his hopes on Afghanistan as well. Just a year after his return from Spain, he had a chance to spend a few days in Afghanistan, where he felt a re-awakening. Afghans, to his mind, were a valiant nation who unfortunately lacked discipline and a powerful centre.⁴⁷ He considered Afghanistan to be the Balkans of Asia and believed that a strong Afghanistan could be a source of strength for Muslims in India and Central Asia.⁴⁸

In *Javâd Namah* Iqbal says:

Asia is like a human body, made of Water and Clay,

⁴⁵ In one of his last poems, he clearly says that: It is Islam, not Communism, which has the real role to play in the future world order. *Armughan-i-Hijaz* included in *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal*, Urdu, Lahore, 1973, p. 650.)

⁴⁶ Iqbal: *Letters of Iqbal* (Ed. B. A. Dar) Lahore, 1977, p. 254.

⁴⁷ In October 1933, at the invitation of the Afghan King Nadir Shah, Iqbal visited Afghanistan. His book *Musfir* (sub-title: Brief Travel through Afghanistan) was composed after coming back from Afghanistan. For Detail of Iqbal's journey, see: Syed Sulaiman Nadvâ, *Sair-i-Afghanistan*: Hyderabad Deccan. *Musfir* has been translated into English by Maqbool Ilahi (A combined publication under the title: Iqbal's *Pas Cheh Beyad Kard* by Sheikh Hasan Din (and) *Musfir*), Lahore, 1988. Another Translation by Jamil Naqvi, *The Traveller*: Karachi, 1991.

⁴⁸ Iqbal: *Letters of Iqbal*, p. 93.

*And the Afghan nation in that body is like the heart!
If there is in Afghanistan, it means for the whole of Asia!
But if Afghan prospers, it would bode well for the entire
continent!*⁴⁹

To best wishes of Iqbal, an in total in conformity with his expectations, the Afghans rose against the Russian invasion (Dec.1979) and succeeded through an unprecedented and epoch-making resistance to drive the Russian back across the river ĵmē. Is it not a fact that the failure of the Communism in Russia, the cessation of the Baltic States from the USSR, the independence of the Eastern Europe, the removal of the Berlin Wall, the Union of Germany and the changes that ensued consequent upon the shameful retreat of Russia from Afghanistan? It is these epoch-making changes which are now forcing upon the United States the urgent need of a new world order. All these are nothing but the offshoots of the Afghan Jihad (struggle). Afghanistan has successfully crossed the turbulent waters and is reaching the tranquil shores.

Further, Iqbal had been fixing his gaze upon Central Asia. Even after the Communist occupation the people of Samarkand and Bukhara, continued putting resistance against it. Anwar P«sh« marched all the way from Turkey to participate in this struggle for freedom. Iqbal also showed keen interest in it. Consequent upon a news (which proved a rumour) that Anwar P«sh« had reached Bukhara and the Turkistan had become independent, Iqbal expressed great pleasure.⁵⁰

Actually, Iqbal had a deep emotional attachment with the Turks. He considered Turkistan to be the heart of Asia, and expressed the hope that: “If the heart gains independence, the rest of the limbs too will be able to shake of their change gradually”.⁵¹ This hope of Iqbal may better be seen with the perspective of present day situation in the Muslim States of Central Asia, where on the streets Iqbal’s verses are echoing as slogans and these states are on their way to gain independence from the USSR.

⁴⁹ Iqbal: *Iqbal's Javād Nama*, p. 281.

⁵⁰ Saqib Nafees: *Chaudbry Muhammad Hussain aur Allama Iqbal*. An unpublished M.A. dissertation, Punjab University Lahore, 1984, p. 65.

⁵¹ *Ibid*: p. 65.

In the Iranian revolution (1979),⁵² the Afghan resistance (1979-1989) and the re-awakening in Central Asia a certain amount of influence exerted by Iqbal's poetry can easily be traced. The same influence is now manifesting in itself in the resistance in Kashmir too, where Iqbal's dream can be expected to come true. India is trying hard to crush the struggle in Kashmir militarily. It is an eternal tragedy that almost no lessons are ever learnt from history by individuals as well as the nations.⁵³ India is no match to the military power of Russia based on her nuclear technology and an inexhaustible store of weapons. But even with all that might of arms Russia had to pay very heavily for its imprudent use of force in Afghanistan.

The withdrawal of colonial rule from Asia and Africa, the independence of the Muslim states in both these continents, the breakdown of Communism in Russia, the failure of the Communistic hegemony in Eastern Europe, the resurgence of the Muslim world all bear out Iqbal's optimism to be far from hollow idealism. In 1923 Iqbal said: "The internal unrest of world's nations is the fore-runner of a great spiritual and cultural revolution".⁵⁴ Now, half a century after his death, the circumstances have come closer to a world order, Iqbal would have proposed. The Palestinian issue, and the stubbornness of Israel on this issue is, however, the major obstacle in the way of translating into reality a new world order, based on true justice. Iqbal was keenly interested in this issue. It is interesting to note that as far back as the thirties, he observed that the issue is not going to be solved easily and it will take time. However, he hoped that ultimately solution must emerge.⁵⁵ As seen in his poetry, Iqbal's attitude towards West was

⁵² He hinted at re-awakening in Iran and wished to visit the country. *Iqbal Nama* Vol. II (Ed. Sheikh Ata-Ullah), Lahore, 1952, p. 165.

⁵³ In his letter (20.7.1937) to Miss Farquharson, Iqbal writes:

"Through wisdom alone, comes power; and when power abandons the ways of wisdom and relies upon itself alone, its end is death." (*Speeches*, p. 244.)

⁵⁴ *Payam-i-Mashriq*, pp. 11-12.

⁵⁵ Iqbal believed that Palestine does not belong to the Jews, because they abandoned it of their own free will long before its possession by the Arabs.

In a letter to Miss Farquharson, he writes:

"Zionism as a movement was deliberately created, not for the purpose of giving a National Home to the Jews, but mainly for the purpose of giving a home to British Imperialism on the Mediterranean littoral." (*Speeches*: p. 245.)

generally of vehement criticism with a note of disappointment and it was quite natural. For example, on the Palestinian issue, the West in general, and America in particular, showed unmistakable partiality. In life manner, the West tried to keep the East and particularly the Muslim community from all developments through a very unfair political game and colonial subjugation. Iqbal, however also had a reconciliatory mood towards the West. He believed in the following saying of the Prophet of Islam Muhammad (Peace be upon him): ‘Wisdom is the lost property of the believer’. He saw no harm in availing the Western advancement in learning and its technical superiority, without succumbing to its external glamour.⁵⁶ This attitude shows an extraordinary balance of mind.

But what is the role of the West today? The USA which is considered to be the representative of the world civilization and the so-called sole super power of the contemporary world is bent upon imposing a new world order serving nothing except the American interests on the global level and also the interests of Israel in the Middle East. That is why this New World Order has been quite aptly been called the Jew World Order. In this perspective, Iqbal

Now, the Americans have replaced the British. For further details about Iqbal’s viewpoint upon the Palestinian problem, see: Letters to Miss Farquharson and a statement on the Report Recommending the Partition of Palestine by Iqbal: (*Speeches*, p. 244-48)

⁵⁶ In *Javād N◀mah*, Iqbal warns the East not to imitate the West, as it will take away the East from itself. Instead of a blind imitation, Iqbal insists, tht the oriental people should make a critical appraisal of the West. To quote him:

*The Power of the West does not lie in its orchestras;
 Nor does it lie in its dances; nor even in its daughters going about without veils.
 It is not due to the magic of faces radiant like tulips;
 Nor from the bare legs of the women; nor from the shaven faces of its males.
 Its greatness and strength does not lie in Irreligion;
 Nor is its rise due to the Latin script.
 The glory of the West springs from its knowledge,
 And its mastery of the various techniques.
 Its wisdom does not lie in the cut of its clothes;
 Nor is the oriental turban any kind of bar to the acquirement of the sciences and the technical skills,
 O Thou Smart Young man! to gain mastery of science and the technical skills
 What is needed is brain, not the European style of dress.
 On this path, the utmost essential is a proper vision;
 And this kind of headgear, or that, makes no difference.
 If thou be blessed with an active and an alert mind, that is all thou needst;
 If thou have a temperament that can perceive things and get straight to the point, that is quite enough.*

(Iqbal’s, *Javād N◀mah*, pp. 282-283.)

is justified to concentrate all his hopes on the East. Actually what he wanted was that the Eastern nations in general, and the Muslims in particular, should come forward to play their role in formulating a new world order.⁵⁷ This amounts a grave responsibility resting on the shoulders of the Muslim community. Notwithstanding a certain wave of reawakening amongst the Muslims, they have also shown signs of further decadence in certain aspects during the twentieth century. This decadence has been discussed by Iqbal quite frequently and he has tried to suggest plans to overcome this dilemma. He emphasized the need of *Ijtihād* (exercise of discretion) and a reconstruction of the Islamic Jurisprudence in order to meet the intellectual challenge of the present day world. He wished an intrinsic change in the Muslim community that could lead it to a self-consciousness and self-reliance.⁵⁸ The biggest difficulty is that without developing and understanding Islam, Iqbal's concept of a world order cannot be comprehended. The influence of clergy, inherited from the medieval age, the heritage of crusades and the confusions created by some Orientalists have been keeping the West from acquiring a true understanding of Islam. To quote Iqbal: "Islam, has not been introduced properly as yet"⁵⁹ meaning thereby that the curtain between Muslim and non-Muslim world has to be raised. Iqbal visualises Islam as a very vast religion. In one of his lectures he says:

The spirit of Islam is so broad that it is practically boundless. With the exception of atheistic ideas alone it has assimilated all the

⁵⁷ In his Urdu poem '*Jam'āat-i-Aqwaṁ-i-Mashriq*', Iqbal says:

*If Tebran is made
The Geneva of the East
The fate of Earthly globe
May have some change at least!*

⁵⁸ The East, and especially the Muslim East, has opened its eyes after a centuries-long slumber. But the nations of the East should realize that life can bring about no revolution in its surroundings until a revolution takes place in its inner depths and that no new world can take shape externally until it is formed in the minds of men. This ineluctable law, which has been stated by the Qur'an in the simple but eloquent words: "Verily, God does not change a nation until it changes itself" [sūii.1] governs both the individual and the collective spheres of life

A Message from the East, p. xviii.

⁵⁹ Iqbal: *Iqbal, Jabān-i-Dāgar*, p. 91. In a letter he writes: "he cultural and philosophical side of Islam is ought to be worked." *Letters of Iqbal*, p. 117

attainable ideas of surrounding peoples, and given them its own peculiar directions of development.⁶⁰

To Iqbal's mind a new world order can attain meaning and success only if it is honestly based on truth and justice, away from all ethnic, linguistic or geographical compartmentalization.⁶¹ According to him:

National unity too is not a very durable force. Only one unity is dependable and that unity is brotherhood of man, which is above race, nationality, colour or language.⁶²

The glory of man occupies important place in the World Order as conceived by Iqbal. He believed that the whole world is the family of God,⁶³ so man can be maintained on this earth only by honouring mankind.

The Question remains how, under the existing circumstances, can it be possible to formulate a world order reflecting the aspirations of Iqbal? Looking around us today we do not feel much encouraged. The very concept of veto for the big powers is itself a partiality. Through this, UNO betrays justice. The fascinating dreams which Iqbal had about a happy and contented life and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity cannot possibly be materialized in any so-called New World Order which ignores the aspirations of the bigger world community and enforces itself through nuclear threat, military power and the superiority of weapons in order to safeguard certain vested interests.

The failure of such a based order is quite obvious. Towards the end of his years, Iqbal has posed a question in one of his statements asking how many centuries would it take humanity to come out of these ills and to reach the apogee of human possibilities.⁶⁴ It is for us to furnish the answer of this question and especially for those who are at the helm of affairs in today's world. We may sum up with a verse from Iqbal that needs much contemplation in the present day world order.

The essence of humanity is respect of man.

And thou shalt do well to make careful note of this important point.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Iqbal: *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore, 1986.

⁶¹ Iqbal: *Speeches*, p. 25.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁶⁵ *Iqbal's Javād Nama*, p.

This may as well be considered a motto of the world order Iqbal could have possibly proposed. We may conclude our discussion with Iqbal's own words.

Let us pray that God Almighty may grant humanity to those, who are in places of power and government and teach them to cherish mankind.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Iqbal: *Speeches*, p. 251.

IQBAL AND SARTRE ON HUMAN FREEDOM AND CREATIVITY

Dr. Latif Hussain Kazmi

Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) a renowned poet-philosopher of the East and Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980), a famous existentialist thinker and litterateur of the West, are the two influential thinkers who placed human freedom and creativity at the heart of their value system and dealt with the problem from an existentialist perspective on human life.

Both Jean-Paul Sartre and Muhammad Iqbal occupy a unique place in their respective areas of influence in the modern Western and Eastern philosophical worlds. Sartre is a prominent champion of existential philosophy, while Iqbal's greatness lies in reviving and reconstructing Islamic thought. It would be an interesting study to compare and contrast their positions regarding freedom, an issue that has acquired new dimensions in the context of the present historic situation in which individual's identity and freedom have been threatened by bureaucracy, technology and an all-embracing collectivism. This study becomes all the more interesting in view of their contrasting beliefs —Sartre is a declared atheist, and Iqbal is firmly committed to the Islamic faith —as one of them rejects God in order to safeguard human freedom, while the other reaffirms his faith in God so that man can exercise his freedom fully. Yet both of them are the champions of human freedom. Furthermore, both of them are creative writers of the highest calibre. Sartre is a great fiction writer of our age and Iqbal is universally acclaimed as one of the greatest poets of Indo-Persian tradition in the 20th century.

The similarities and dissimilarities in their philosophical outlooks are equally glaring. There are some areas in which both are in agreement and some in which they disagree. Their difference seems prominent due to Sartre's tackling of the metaphysical notions on an atheistic basis; conversely Iqbal's system of thought is rooted in the intensive faith in God, and his approach is a theistic one. The main question is how far does belief or unbelief in God make a difference in relation to a philosopher's views on freedom. Does it make a fundamental difference or give rise to only secondary and minor differences? Here in the following pages we shall discuss these questions.

Existentialism is a point of departure, insofar as it provides an alternative approach to the understanding and living of life and consequently changes one's entire outlook by creating new attitudes, values and ideals. The central contention of existential philosophy—in the words of Sartre—"existence precedes essence"⁶⁷ is a revolutionary one and shakes the hitherto dominant essentialist philosophy to its foundations. It provides a new conception of man, and a new outlook by making "human existence" the real frame of reference. For Sartre human reality or human subjectivity is the foundation of all thought and action. He says that man first of all exists, encounters himself, surges up in the world and consequently defines himself afterwards.⁶⁸

Iqbal, whose thought is a synthesis of Eastern religious insight into reality and Western intellectualism, has crucial existential insights to offer. He dwells upon certain important existentialist themes without calling himself an existentialist. However, he is not in full agreement with the exponents of the slogan - Sartre's dictum—"existence precedes essence" and its implications. Nevertheless, he emphasises the main themes current in contemporary existentialist philosophy such as:

- (a) Man's existence and his personal involvement;
- (b) Anti-intellectualism and anti-personal functionalization;
- (c) Alienation and authentic existence; and prominent among all
- (d) Freedom and creativity.

These concepts he certainly shares with the continental existentialist thinkers such as Kierkegaard, Jaspers, Marcel, Heidegger and more prominently with Sartre. At present, we shall take up the issue of 'freedom and creativity' and expound briefly some common views put forward by the existential exponent Sartre and the Muslim philosopher Iqbal. We shall also compare and contrast Sartre's and Iqbal's approaches to such conceptions as well.

II. THE CONCEPTION OF FREEDOM AND CREATIVITY

The conception of freedom in the philosophy of Iqbal and Sartre is interesting from various angles. The *Weltanschauung* of the two is apparently radically opposed; that is, one is a theist while the other is an atheist.

⁶⁷ Sartre, J.P., *Existentialism and Humanism*, Tr. Philip Mairet, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.), 1970, p. 28.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

Moreover, Sartre's philosophy is the culmination of the anti-intellectualistic tradition of the Western philosophy, particularly representing a revolt against the Platonic-Christian world-outlook, while Iqbal's philosophy is a radical point of departure within the framework of the Eastern thought, particularly the Islamic tradition of philosophy. Despite their different historico-religious backgrounds, there are many common elements in their thought systems on various issues such as man's existence, freedom and creativity, alienation, authenticity, materialism and its various forms etc.

As indicated earlier, existentialism being a philosophy of 'freedom' and 'creativity' is anti-deterministic. The emphasis of the existentialists on personal existence and subjectivity has led to a new stress on man's freedom and responsibility. According to the existentialist thinkers determinism, whether genetic, social or environmental, does not offer adequate explanation of man's inner potentialities and capabilities. The existentialists say that man brings out his unique inner potentialities and creative skill only because of his freedom. Their viewpoint insists that, first of all, man exists in the world and with his utmost freedom creates himself through each of his actions. He is the maker of himself and "by virtue of his freedom, originally creates himself".⁶⁹ Man is the project which possesses subjective life. Apart from this projection of self, nothing exists. The existentialists hold that man fulfils his project only due to his freedom. He is responsible for whatever he does and, in this way, the whole responsibility of his action falls on his own shoulders. Man has considerable freedom within his own being in case he wills to express it. According to Karl Jaspers, the dignity of man is in his freedom:

To see the essence of man in his freedom, however, is to see him in his dignity. All individuals, myself included, are irreplaceable under the same high obligations.⁷⁰

Freedom is a unique quest which lies in working out the demands of one's inner nature and expressing one's genuine or authentic self. Freedom means facing conflicting choices, making decisions and accepting them.

Jean-Paul Sartre alone among all the existentialist thinkers elaborated a systematic and detailed theory of freedom. He approaches the problem from

⁶⁹ Jaspers, K., *Existentialism and Humanism*, (ed.) Hanns E. Fischer & (Tr.) E.B. Ashton, (New York: Russell F. Moore Co. Inc., 1952), p.69.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p.69.

the atheistic viewpoint totally denying the existence of God. Man is completely free to do whatever he likes. To him there is no God and hence “everything is permitted”⁷¹. Sartre says:

Nothing will be changed if God does not exist;... and we shall have disposed of God as an out-of-date hypothesis which will die away quietly of itself.⁷²

In case, God does not exist, Sartre points out, there is only one being whose existence comes before its essence and that being is ‘man’. Man is indefinable, because to begin with he is nothing:

Freedom is precisely nothingness which is *made-to-be* at the heart of man and which forces human reality to make *itself* instead of *to be* ... for human reality, to be is the choose *oneself*; nothing comes to it either from outside or from within which it can receive or accept Thus, freedom is not *a being*; it is *the being* of man—, i.e. his nothingness of being.⁷³

Human individual will not be anything unless and until he will be what he makes of himself. Hence, there is no human nature, because there is no God to have an idea of it:

For indeed existence precedes essence, one will never be able to explain one’s action by reference to a given and specific human nature; in other words, there is no determinism.⁷⁴

Man is not what he conceives himself to be, but he is what he wills, what he chooses and “what he makes of himself”⁷⁵ through freedom, and “that is the first principle of existentialism”.⁷⁶ Moreover, freedom, according to Sartre, is the only ground of all values.

On the contrary, regarding freedom and creativity, Iqbal has referred to various Qur’anic verses in his Urdu and Persian poetry and particularly in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* affirming his faith in Allah. In the fourth lecture in the *Reconstruction*, he presents three significant themes from the Qur’^{an} reaffirming the Islamic view of man’s being a Vicegerent

⁷¹ Sartre, J.P., *Existentialism and Humanism*, *op. cit.*, pp.33-4.

⁷² *Ibid.* p.33.

⁷³ Sartre, J. P., *Being and Nothingness*, (Tr.) Hazel E. Barnes, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1957), pp.440-1.

⁷⁴ Sartre, J. P. *Existentialism and Humanism*, *op. cit.*, p.34.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 28.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p. 28.

(*Khalâfah*) of Allah, a chosen entity and a trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril.⁷⁷ “The perfect Muslim is, for Iqbal, nothing but the realization of the Qur’anic sentence according to which Adam was ordered to be the *Khalâfah*, the Vicegerent of God on Earth”.⁷⁸

Iqbal argues that man’s freedom and creativity, in the sphere of ethics, must be under the direction of the Highest Good and Absolute Freedom i.e. God. The greatest of all obstacles, says Iqbal, in the upward life of the ego, is Matter or Nature, yet it is not evil, since it enables the latent powers of life to unfold themselves. According to Iqbal, the Ego attains freedom by the removal of all the obstructions in its way. “It is partly free and partly determined; and reaches fuller freedom by approaching the individual who is the most free, termed ‘God’”.⁷⁹

Iqbal points out that it is man’s firm faith in *Taw’Âád* (Unity of God) which makes him believe that this principle is the foundation of every aspect of human life. He says in his *Rumëz i Bekbudî*:

What is it that infuses one breath in a hundred hearts?

It is one of the secrets of faith in Taw’Âád!

Be united and thus make Taw’Âád visible;

Realize its latent meaning in action!

Faith and wisdom and law all spring from it,

It is the source of strength and power and stability!

“There is no god but God” is the capital of our life!

Its bond weaves our scattered thoughts together.⁸⁰

Conversely, Sartre holds that there is no God and man is condemned to freedom:

Everything is permitted (because of the fact that) God does not exist
... One will never be able to explain one’s action by reference to a

⁷⁷ Iqbal, M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1944, p. 95.

⁷⁸ Schimmel, A., *Gabriel’s Wing*, E. J. Brill, Leiden (Netherlands), 1963, pp. 111-2.

⁷⁹ Nicholson, R. A., *The Secrets of the Self* (English translation of Iqbal’s *Asrar-i-Khudâ*), MacMillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1920, (Introduction), p. XXI.

⁸⁰ *Divan-â-Iqbal Lâhori* (Persian Collection), Intishâr-i-*Pageh*, Tehrân, Irân, 1361 (Shamsi), pp. 126-6, (Tr. K.G. Saiyidain: *Iqbal’s Educational Philosophy*, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1954, pp. 165-6).

given and specific human nature; in other words there is no determinism - man is free, man is freedom.⁸¹

His position is not like that of Iqbal who maintains that man in some spheres of activity is free, and in some other spheres has to follow the Divine Commands. Sartre emphatically asserts in *Being and Nothingness*:

Freedom is not a being; it is *the being* of man - i.e., his nothingness of being. If we start by conceiving of man as plenum, it is absurd to try to find in him afterwards moments or psychic regions in which he would be free Man cannot be sometimes slave and sometimes free; he is wholly and for ever free or he is not free at all.⁸²

This is, in fact, the major difference between the approaches of the two thinkers. Sartre's existentialistic outlook is labelled as humanistic because he saves man's freedom at the cost of God. Iqbal's existentialism - if the term may be applied to his approach - is also humanistic despite his firm faith in God, because God in his philosophical *Weltanschauung* does not deprive man of his freedom but rather guarantees it.

However, in spite of some differences, what both the systems have in common is the doctrine of freedom through which human existence can translate its authenticity into actions. For Iqbal, as for Sartre, man is a self-contained centre of activity, self-conscious, creative and self-evolving being. Human self is free in the sense that it is not determined by anything outside it.⁸³ Freedom is its own architect and the very laws governing its mode of operation in the world are of its own making. Above all, according to Iqbal, man is the architect of his own life and is the sole sovereign in the scheme of creation and the undisputed master of his destiny. In this connection Iqbal says in his *Jawād Nāmāh*:

*'O lover of Truth! Be conclusively final like a glittering sword,
Be thy self the destiny of thine own world.'*⁸⁴

According to Sartre freedom reveals itself in dread that compels man to seek refuge in the in-authenticity of existence. To him overcoming dread leads to authentic existence and that is moral, and flight from it is inauthentic and immoral. In Iqbal's philosophy, when one realizes what is freedom, it

⁸¹ Sartre, J. P., *Existentialism and Humanism*, op. cit., pp. 33-4.

⁸² Sartre, J. P., *Being and Nothingness*, op. cit., p. 441.

⁸³ Kazmi, S. Latif H., *Philosophy of Iqbal (Iqbal and Existentialism)* A. P. H. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1997, p. 74.

⁸⁴ *Divān-i Iqbal Lāhorī*, op. cit., p. 411.

seems to be the source of all values. According to him, life of the ego is possible in freedom only:

*Life is reduced to a dried rivulet when it is imprisoned within confines;
In freedom, life embraces boundlessness like an ocean.*⁸⁵

Iqbal maintains that there are only ego-sustaining and ego-dissolving acts.⁸⁶ Freedom sustains the ego, while slavery dissolves it into nothingness. Man's first act of disobedience to God, which caused his expulsion from heaven, was an act of freedom meant to sustain the ego. Escape from freedom, according to Iqbal, is an ego-dissolving act that negates all future for human existence. He asserts that when a person gives up his freedom, he falls down from the high pedestal of human existence, into the state of inauthenticity. Iqbal, in his poems, calls all the acts of the slave devoid of morality; according to him even his prayer is not authentic, because it negates the freedom of ego, it is not a bold "yearning for a response in the awful silence of the universe".⁸⁷ A slave's prayers deepen and thicken this silence. To accept slavery and to remain contented with this state is the death of ego. Real man can only be brought up in the spirit of freedom, while slavery distorts characters, degrades human nature and finally lowers man to the level of beasts.⁸⁸ On the one hand, God refuses to respond to the prostrations of the slaves, and, on the other, the earth refuses to accept the dead body of a slave:

*O the heartless being! Thou hast been a slave in the world;
Because of thy surrender to slavery my heart is burning like bell-fire.
Thy corpse has made my darkness even darker;
Thy corpse has torn into shreds my veil of modesty.
Beware of the corpse of a slave, Beware a hundred times!
O Isrāfāl, O the Creator of the Universe! pure soul, Beware!*⁸⁹

For Iqbal, freedom is the highest religious, social, moral and political value. He gave a philosophical orientation to his attempt to reconstruct the religious ideas according to the historic necessity of his times. Like Sartre,

⁸⁵ *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu Collection), Educational Book House, Muslim University Market, Aligarh, 1992, p. 259.

⁸⁶ Iqbal, M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, op. cit. p. 119.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p.92.

⁸⁸ Akhtar, S. Waheed, *Iqbal in Modern Perspective*, (Aligarh/Calcutta: Naurose Publications), 1986, p. 41.

⁸⁹ *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal*, op. cit., pp. 662-3.

Iqbal accorded the highest position to freedom in the hierarchy of values. No doubt, freedom occupies a similar position in the existentialist philosophy in general, but Iqbal's concept of freedom seems far more comprehensive than that of all the existentialist thinkers including even Sartre. Sartre's views are in conflict with those of Iqbal when he (Sartre) proclaims that there is no God and "we are left without excuse"⁹⁰ and that "man is condemned to be free."⁹¹ Iqbal says that there is *God* — Who is the Most Free and is the Creator of the heavens and the earth. The human ego attains highest freedom by removing all the material obstacles in its way, though matter is not a bondage, it rather paves the way for attaining freedom. And attaining supreme freedom does not mean that human *self* or Ego has to annihilate itself for the sake of being absorbed in God. Man remains man and does not lose his *Khudâ* or egohood. The Prophet of Islam, the ideal and the most perfect of all the prophets, has to ask his followers to proclaim: "We bear witness that Muhammad ﷺ is the slave and the messenger of Allah".

It reiterates that man is first of all 'a man' howsoever high a position he may attain. The obedience to Allah ensures the life of human ego and strengthens his *Khudâ*, which is life of freedom. For Iqbal, freedom is not a value or mode of human existence. It is the very life of *Khudâ* (egohood).

Iqbal points out that the purpose of Prophet Muhammad's mission was to infuse freedom, equality and brotherhood among all mankind. He says in his *Rumæz-i Bekhudâ* (The Mysteries of Selflessness):

*Believers all are brothers in his heart,
Freedom the sum and substance of his Flesh.
Impatient with discriminations all.
His soul was pregnant with Equality.
Therefore his sons stand up erect and free
As the tall cypresses, the ancient pledge
In him renewing, Yea, Thou art our Lord.*⁹²

Iqbal seems to be in agreement with Heidegger and Sartre who hold that it is the fact of 'consciousness' which radically distinguishes man from other beings and all other creatures. The issue assumes central importance in the

⁹⁰ Sartre, J. P., *Existentialism and Humanism*, op. cit., p. 34.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 34.

⁹² *Dimæn-i Iqbal Labori*, op. cit., p. 140, (Tr. A.J. Arberry: *The Mysteries of Selflessness*, John Murray, London, 1953, pp. 21-3).

thought system of Iqbal. For Iqbal, the realization of freedom is the core of human consciousness. According to him it is not something static, rigid, given and complete, but it is a dynamic process, and because of freedom it is a self-creative process based on an act of improvisation and rejection of what has been (its bondage). Like Iqbal, both theistic and atheistic versions of the existentialistic philosophy maintain that man is incomplete, indefinable and unpredictable. As Karl Jaspers says:

Nobody can conceive all human potentialities. Man is always capable of doing more and other things than anyone expected. He is incomplete, he cannot be completed, and his future is never sealed. There is no total man, and there never will be one.⁹³

Similarly, atheist Sartre asserts that:

[man] is not definable, it is because to begin with he is nothing. He will not be anything until later, and then he will be what he makes of himself.⁹⁴

For Iqbal, human consciousness is the basic and central subject of discussion. According to him, it is only this unique faculty of consciousness which makes man radically distinct from other worldly objects, so that he can participate in the creative act of God. Here Iqbal differs from Sartre, according to whom there is no other creator but only human individual. He says that God is the Supreme Creator (*Khalq*) of everything and man with his consciousness and other capabilities participates in the creative act of Allah. Iqbal says:

Man, therefore, in whom egohood has reached its relative perfection, occupies a genuine place in heart of the Divine creative energy and thus possesses a much higher degree of reality than things around him. Of all the creations of God, he alone is capable of 'consciously participating' in the creative life of the Maker.⁹⁵

According to Iqbal, this universe is a Divine creation but it is not a complete act of creation. In the light of the Qur'an, this universe is liable to develop further:

The process of creation is still going on, and man too takes his share in it, in as much as he helps to bring order into at least a

⁹³ Jaspers, K., *Existentialism and Humanism*, op. cit. p. 72.

⁹⁴ Sartre, J. P., *Existentialism and Humanism*, op. cit., p. 28.

⁹⁵ Iqbal, M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, op. cit. p. 72.

portion of the chaos. The Qur'an indicates the possibility of other Creators than God.⁹⁶

He again, puts it more unambiguously in the following verses:

*The universe is still incomplete perhaps,
For one may respond to an ever-recurring command of
'Be! and it became.'*⁹⁷

*There are other worlds unseen,
And the essence of existence is not yet void!*⁹⁸

It is man, in view of Iqbal, who is destined to complete the process of creation. In a long poem *S«qâ N«mah*, he writes:

*Every one of the them waiting for thy conquest,
For the unbridled play of thy thought and action.
The object of the passage of time is but one;
To reveal to thee the possibilities of thy ego!*⁹⁹

According to Iqbal, man creates his own world and ideals as he likes. If the present or given world does not provide any meaning and importance to human existence, it should be destroyed and reshaped according to the human needs and aspirations. In the poem *Zindagâ* (Life) he says:

*Burn up this borrowed earth and sky,
An raise a world of your own from the ashes.*¹⁰⁰

Again, in this connection, he emphatically asserts in his *Zarb-i- Kalâm*:

*Only he overcomes the revolution of Time,
Who creates an eternal life with every breath.*

Iqbal lays great stress on man's creative activity and refers to the Qur'«n, which expressly mentions creators besides Allah. For instance, one of the following verses of the Qur'«n indicates: 'Blessed is God, the best of those who create.'¹⁰¹

Such a reference to the Qur'«n indicates how Iqbal conceives the act of human 'creativity'. One will not find in Sartre or other atheistic existentialists this view of human creativity. And it is in this unique interpretation of

⁹⁶ Nicholson, R.A., *The Secrets of the Self* (Introduction) p.XVIII.

⁹⁷ *Kulliy«t-i Iqb«l*, *op. cit.* p. 320.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 420.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 420.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 260.

¹⁰¹ *Al-Qur'an*, (English Translation from *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an* by Marmaduke Pickthall, Taj Company, Delhi, 1983), Ch. XXIII: 14.

human freedom and creativity that Iqbal goes beyond existentialist philosophy and surpasses its conception of freedom.

This comparative study undertaken by us needs further elaboration by comparing and contrasting various philosophers having divergent ontological, political, ethical, social and psychological world-outlooks; and views regarding the nature of human being and his capacity for *freedom* and *creativity*. We feel that such a study is indispensable in the contemporary situation, which threatens to deprive human individual of his *freedom* and endeavours to submerge all differences within an all-embracing materialism and technocracy, wrongly called pan-humanism, a modern atheistic version of pantheism. Iqbal revolted against the Sufis' pantheism just as Kierkegaard developed a powerful critique of conventional Christianity; while Sartre's revolt has been against the modern pan-physicalism. Both Sartre and Iqbal revolted with a view to affirm and assert the right of individual beings to freedom, for without freedom human existence becomes absurd and meaningless.

CRYPTO -MANICHEISM IN THE 'ABBASID EMPIRE

Cyril Glassé

In 1908 in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, E.H. Whinfield quoted a version (from the *ManÇiq al-ñair*) of one of the many statements attributed to ʿĀllāqj before his execution in Baghdad in 857/922 and asked if anyone could explain the meaning of the “seven-headed dragon” (seven-headed because stretching across seven constellations). In 1910 Whinfield printed in the journal the result of suggestions he received and his own research. He thought that the dragon was not the Babylonian Tiamat, but the Iranian Azhi Dahhaka. In keeping with the times, the suggestions centered around Biblical and Hebraic allusions; without the benefit of research that has since taken place in Manicheism, he sensed a profound secret hidden in the words but missed the greatest clues: the drinking of a cup offered by the Host, and the real meaning of Tammēz, not only as a lamented god, but a god *who returns to life after his death*. Looking at a somewhat fuller quotation than that accessible at the time to Whinfield we find:

The account of Abē ʿl-ʿĀsan al-ʿĀlw«nâ who says:

I was present that day which was the downfall of al-ʿĀllāqj, when he was brought bound in chains. And he walked happily under the chains, and he laughed, and I said to him: “Master, whence comes this state? - This is the coquetry of the Beauty, which draws its elect to meet it”, and then he said:

My drinking companion is beyond all suspicion, As to his intention to betray me:

He invites, and greets me, as the host does to his guest;

But as soon the cup will go around, he calls for the mat and headsman....

This is destiny of he who drinks the wine in summer with the dragon.¹

Massignon says Karaus emphasised the line: “He gives me to drink the cup from which he [the host] drank himself”. Or, in the translation of Eric Shroeder:

A crowd beyond counting was assembled. I was there (says Abē Hasan of ʿĀlw«n) the day they executed ʿĀllāqj. They brought him

from his cell bound and chained; but he was laughing. Master, said I, why are you like this? He answered only with a verse:

*My Host, with His own ruthless courtesy,
Passed me His Cup, and bade me drink. I drank
Round went the wine: sudden I heard Him cry:
Headsmen! the Mat and Sword! This is the end
Of drink with Liödragon [tinnân] in July [tammëz]*².

Tammëz, besides meaning July, is the Canaanite vegetation god, like Adonis, who dies and comes back to life. *Tinnân* is a sea monster, and a venomous dragon, according to ‘Attar, a blasphemous image used for God, also quoted in some texts as *nathrayn*, the two stars of the constellation of Leo³.

The drinking of the cup offered by the host, from “which he drank himself” is martyrdom, as Mani himself was martyred, and then returned to life and became the “host” of the Bema feast, the main ritual celebration of Manicheism. By referring to Tammëz Åalkj thus also expects to return to life again, in the invisible, as does Mani in the Bema. “Kill me”, Åalkj is quoted, “for my death will be life”, as indeed Manicheism means “Mani lives”⁴. Also it should be noted that in Turkey and Central Asia, there are many Sufi and popular rituals which invoke Åalkj and do so to the chanting of the Divine Name (*al*) *Āyy* (“The Living”).

The coquetry of “Beauty” which draws the “elect” is also comprehensible with the keys of Manichean doctrine: “Beauty” is the emblematic aspect or personification of the “living soul”⁵ and it is also God Himself. The elect of course are one of the two categories of participants in the Manichean church, those who “filter” the food given them. Through the elect the light contained in the special food which constituted their diet, certain “light bearing” vegetables such as cucumbers and lettuce, returns to its source, the Father of Greatness. (We shall see later that the followers of Åalkj were vegetarians who ate lettuce.) “Beauty” is the “living soul” or light particles lost in creation seeking to return to God Himself who is also light and can also be designated as “Beauty”. Beauty is the common denominator between the soul (in Zoroastrianism the *dæen* of the saved is beautiful), light, and the Creator. Perhaps this doctrine is the source of the *hadith* which says “God is beautiful and loves beauty”.

*On the gibbet, Shiblâ [a close disciple and intimate] called to him and asked
“What is Sufism?” He [Åalkj] answered: “the lowest degree one needs for*

attaining it is what you behold” [i.e. martyrdom]. Shiblâ asked further: “What is the highest degree?” Àalkj responded: “It is out of reach for you: but tomorrow you will see; for it is part of the (divine) mystery that I have seen it and that it remains hidden to you” .⁶

This is probably the return of the martyr to life in the invisible, not accessible to all, nor even visible to all, but like the Emperor’s new clothes, only to the elect. It was of course widely rumoured that Àalkj did return after his death, and sightings of Àalkj were reported with pride. Elsewhere, according to the Àalkjian tradition, Àalkj used the symbolism of the burning of aloes wood (*aquilaria muscaria*) for its marvellous incense [the wood from India and Cambodia, called in Arabic *‘ed al-qim‘arâ*, “the wood of the Khmers” and also called *yanjuj*, is the result of a resinous defence on the part of trees attacked by a fungus] to mean something very like the release of light particles liberated by the elect by eating light containing vegetables:

If only because the smallest particle (of my ashes), a grain of aloes (burned in this way to Your glory), assures to the (glorious) body of my transfigurations a more imposing foundation than that of immovable mountains.⁷

Throughout the corpus of utterances attributed to Àalkj there runs a secret thread, at first glance mysterious and enigmatic, but which jumps out at the eyes when the light of Manichean studies shines on them:

We were with al-Àalkj at Nihawand - it was the day of the year (Nawrëz) - when we heard the sounding of the trumpet. Al-Àalkj said: “what is happening?” I told him: “Today is Nawrëz”. Then he sighed and said: “Ah! when will it come, our Nawrëz!” And I said: “What do you mean by when?” He said: “the day when I will be set up on the gibbet”.

Now, the day when he was set up on the gibbet - thirteen years later - he looked at me from the height of the pillory and cried out: “AÁmad, now our Nawrëz has arrived!” And I said: “O master, have you received the gifts of the holiday?” He said to me: “indeed, I have received them: revelation and certitude, so much so that I am shamed! But it is too early for me to rejoice”.⁸

By “our Nawrëz” (“new year”, literally “new light”) Àalkj means the Manichean Nawrëz, different and later than the Zoroastrian Nawrëz; but he also means the day when Manicheism would be able to arise from its outcast state, its need to disguise itself and hide from Muslim banning and persecution. He also alludes to this need to hide in the following: he says

“abnegation is keeping the coals glowing under the vicissitudes of destiny”.⁹ This is not abnegation, but disguise. By this he means keeping the fire from going out while it is being hidden; the sacred fire, of course of Zoroastrianism, but especially, in the light of his other statements, the symbolic fire of Manicheism, preserved as embers under the ashes of the world in the same way that Manichean particles of light themselves are hidden. Islam is the ashes or vicissitudes that covers like a pall what for him is the true religion.

The discerning eye will have no difficulty in seeing what Àallk̅j is driving at here:

Change speech, forsake the phantom world. Use neither measure nor harmony with God! Let passion soar; be lost and follow your love. Follow upward, fly between mount and hill, all mounts of thought and hills of certainty, till at last you are enabled to contemplate what you see. And that will be the Night of Plenty which ends the Fast.¹⁰

The “Night of Plenty” which ends the fast, is of course nothing other than the Bema, the central ceremony of Manicheism which ends the Manichean month of fasting; the Muslim fast ends in a feast by day. Fasting, it has often been pointed out, symbolizes the keeping of a secret; this is the interpretation of the meaning of Fast as pillar of the faith by Ism̅k̅âlās (namely keeping the secret of the divinity of the Imam). The declaration of the ‘Abbasid revolt by Abu Muslim was symbolized by the breaking of the fast of Ramadan, the dropping of pretence of being Muslims by the Ism̅k̅âlās of Alamut in 1164 was a feast which interrupted Ramaâk̅n in the middle, which they called the “Festival of the Resurrection”. What Àallk̅j is saying is be the “son of the moment” (*ibn al-waqt*, a term perhaps coined by BisÇ̅mâ, who belongs to the school of “drunken Sufis”) and in disguise be yourself. The fast of disguising one’s Manicheism will lead to its fulfilment more surely than not hiding it or not disguising it. In other words, that the disguise is freedom to practice Manicheism under the noses of those who persecute it. He also says:

*I climbed a peak without setting my foot down; I plunged into the ocean to the bottom without putting my foot in it ... I am an orphan, but I have a Father in whom I have a recourse; ... Blind, I am seeing; simple of spirit, I am wise (QaĀdah, Li ’l-’ilmi ablu).*¹¹

Plunging to the bottom of the ocean is a reference to Gilgamesh, but the main points of interest here are: “I am an orphan but I have a Father in

whom I have a recourse”. Being an orphan (like the frequent claim he made to being an apostate) means being a Manichean cut off from his church and from openly practicing his religion, by virtue of being forced to pretend to be a Muslim; the Father is the “Father of Greatness” who looked after the Manichean Adam cast off into the despised “clothing” and disguise of manifestation in creation. The orphan theme will show up also in his trial, which will be quoted shortly.

Àallkǰ celebrates this hiding of secrets on his sleeve where anyone who has eyes can see:

O secret d'un coeur, secret si tenu [in an earlier edition: si fin]

Qu'il échappe à la perception de tout vivant!

A la fois apparent et caché, et qui se manifeste

A toute chose en toute chose!¹²

“Secret of a heart held so close that it slips past the sight of all the living; at once apparent and hidden it shows everything in everything.” But of course, some people, whom Àallkǰ did not want to see, did see:

Àallkǰ went to Ispahan while 'Alá ibn Sabl was in favour with the inhabitants.

'Alá ibn Sabl was discoursing on Knowledge when al-Àusayn ibn Man-Àër said to him: “impudent one, you allow yourself to speak of Knowledge while I am alive!”

'Alá ibn Sabl cried out: “that is a dualist!” A crowd soon gathered around and he was chased out of town.¹³

Hujwârâ, speaking of al-Àallkǰ, does not wish to damn him too categorically so as not to stir up enmity, but he damns Àallkǰ by mixing praise with scorn. In the process he also fingers the physician Abë Bakr Mu-Àammad b. Zakariyya al-R«zâ as also being a Manichean in disguise, something which one could guess by R«zâ's extreme rationalism and avoidance of Islamic protocols in his writings:

... But of all these Shaykhs only a handful deny the perfection of his [Àallkǰ's] merit and the purity of his spiritual state and the abundance of his ascetic practices. It would be an act of dishonesty to omit his biography from this book. Some persons pronounce his outward behaviour to be that of an infidel, and disbelieve in him and charge him with trickery and magic, and suppose that Àusayn b. Man-Àëur Àallkǰ is that heretic of Baghdad who was the master of Mu-Àammad b. Zakariyya and the companion of Abë Sa'âd the Carmathian; but this Àusayn whose character is in dispute was a Persian and native of Bayda, and his rejection by the Shaykhs was due not to any attack on religion and doctrine, but to his conduct and behaviour.

In the end he accuses Ḥallāj quite openly by saying that many others called him a *ẓindāq* (a dualist, a Manichean), and that clearly many of his followers are *ẓindāqs*. Between the lines he lets his own opinion, namely contempt, show through¹⁴. It will be pointed out that being accused of being a *ẓindāq* was a common accusation and even a form of abuse, as much as saying that someone is a scoundrel; but just as it must be pointed out to Freudians that sometimes a cigar is a cigar, sometimes a scoundrel really is a dualist.

So it was not uncommon that Ḥallāj be called a *ẓindāq*, a Manichean, during his lifetime and soon after in public and in private. And, of course, the authorities hounded him and finally executed him. The execution was not, as the spin doctors and propagandists from Central Asia a century later made out to be, a punishment for a philosophical point, a theoretical heresy of saying “I am Reality” but rather because Ḥallāj clearly was linked to a revolutionary underground movement which included the Ism‘ā‘īlīs and the Qarmatians. These revolutionary movements and the attendant persecution on the part of the ‘Abbasids earlier resulted in the Archegos, or head of Manicheism from leaving Baghdad around the year 908. And when the apologists said that Ḥallāj had let out “too much” of an “esoteric” secret, they were not wrong; Ḥallāj’s disguise was too thin and his hints too blatant.

As was noted in the final internment and investigation of Ḥallāj:

By and by, Ḥamid [one of the prosecutors] turned up a letter by Ḥallāj which contained the following passage:

If a man would go on Pilgrimage and cannot, let him set apart in his house some square construction, to be touched by no unclean thing, and let no one have access to it. When the day of the Pilgrimage rites comes, let him make his circuit round it, and perform all the same ceremonies as he would perform at Mecca. Then let him gather together thirty orphans, for whom he has prepared the most exquisite feast he can get; let him bring them to his house and serve them that feast; and after waiting on them himself, and washing their hands as a servant himself, let him present each of them with a new frock, and give them each seven dirhams. This will be a substitute for Pilgrimage.

My father (says Ibn Zanjā) was reading this letter in evidence at the hearing; and as he finished this passage, Judge Abu Omar turned to Ḥallāj.

“Where did you get that doctrine?” he asked.

“From Hasan of Basra’s Book of Devotion”, Ḥallāj replied.

“That is false”, said the Judge. “Outlaw! We ourselves heard Hasan of Basra’s Devotion when we were studying at Mecca, and there is nothing like that in it”¹⁵.

This finding of the thirty orphans (i.e., Manicheans cut off from the open practice of their religion) to invite to a feast, is probably coded instructions on how to hold a Bema ceremony while appearing to be a pious Muslim.

*Àamid now set spies to hunt down Aalkj’s disciples. In their houses were found a great number of documents written on Chinese paper, some of them in gold ink. Some were mounted on satin or silk, and bound in fine leather. Among other papers were curious files of letters from his provincial missionaries, and his instructions to them as to what they should teach, how they should lead people on from stage to stage, how different classes of people should be approached according to their level of intelligence and degree of receptiveness.*¹⁶

These fine Chinese papers (*waraq sánâ*) and documents on silk were due to Àalkj’s travels to the Central Asian centres of Manicheism. As Massignon relates:

*Àalkj’s apostolic method in non-Arab countries was to approach a ruling elite whose attention he could get only through the help of educated translators; thus of the scribal class [who were Manicheans] ... Since Àalkj surely did not go into Turkish lands in search of Christians (he had Christians as neighbours right in Iraq), he must have concentrated on establishing contacts with the Manicheans*¹⁷.

We also know that some of his books were in a very small format (small writing and small books were a hallmark of the Manicheans; this permitted Manichean writings to be easily smuggled where scrolls would have attraction). These were seized in Baghdad in 309 in the homes of his disciples, including among them letters his Turkish friends wrote him “after his journey calling him *Muqât* (=vegetarian provider, a rather Manichean allusion—says Massignon—to some miracle)”¹⁸. But there is no need for allusions to miracles; it is quite enough to take the words here at their face value. Àalkj was a provider in a very real sense for it recorded that “Bahr◀m b. Marzob◀n, a Mazdean” gave Àalkj a large sum of money which he immediately distributed to the poor¹⁹. One could ask, what was a “Mazdean” doing giving large sums of money to ... a Muslim?

Besides his contacts with Manichean Uyghurs, one of Àalkj’s close intimates in Baghdad was Shiblâ, called often a *majdhëb* or holy fool by Sufis, but a common thief by the police authorities of Baghdad; he was a Turk

from Ushrushana, who declared that “Àalkj’s way is the same as mine”. Shiblâ is often referred to as a disciple but in this quote Shiblâ refers to Àalkj as being rather as the same school as himself; in other words, Àalkj’s way is not unique to Àalkj but something a Turk might already be following.

In addition to Àalkj’s travels to Central Asia (which his sympathisers credited him with “Islamicising”), he is also said to have gone to India. In other words, his life imitated Mani’s and his journeys imitated Mani’s journeys. Like Mani, Àalkj also professed to be a healer; he is credited with healing the Caliph (and his mother) of fever attacks— Massignon calls Muqtadir, a hypochondriac and his Greek mother “turbulent” - and, among others, a child in a famous case at a party in Baghdad on the Tigris. The latter event was clearly staged; no one actually saw the small child at death’s door, but everyone saw it cured immediately and in the pink of health. The miraculous healing was accompanied by a staged “retrieval” of a purse of gold from the Tigris, bearing the unmistakable marks of pure stage magic. (The purse which was thrown in the river was similar but had no gold; the purse which was shown as coming out of the Tigris with the gold was another.)

Like Mani, Àalkj also made allusions to the arcane science of astrology and alchemy:

The recall, then the silence, the speechlessness;

And the study, then the discovery, then the committal

The clay, then the firing, then the glowing,

And the grey cold, then the shadow, then sun.

The stony ground, then the meadow, then the desert ...

(Qa’âdah: *Sukëtu thumma Äamtu*)²⁰

Massignon over and over again cites evidence which should convince an objective observer, that if anything, Àalkj was not a sincere Muslim, and that most probably Àalkj was a Manichean or an Ism‘âlâ or a Qarmatian (the latter two being really Manicheans having taken two separating roads of evolution as a result of their need to co-exist with Islam, philosophically being branches which existed within Manicheism already before the advent of Islam). But Massignon is so sympathetic to his subject and his philosophy, that Massignon prefers to believe Àalkj’s lies, and wants the deceit to be true. Not only does Massignon call Àalkj’s fake miracles “innocent sleight of hand”, according to Massignon, Àalkj also used Manichean technical terms “in order to ‘purify’ them”(!).

Massignon speaks of Àalk«jjan “centers” in Khurasan. This would have been quite a feat for someone like Àalk«j, with a very checkered history, including a number of arrests, to have created such a vast network in his lifetime. Massignon also speaks of Àalk«jians from Balkh who “delivered themselves voluntarily to the executioner in the time of ‘Attar’. (Again a vast network and here the martyrdom theme in imitation of Mani.²¹) These far flung and dedicated Àalk«jians, scattered throughout the lands touched by Manicheans, appear to have arisen at the wave of a wand. But they are in fact long established Manicheans who have merely taken on a certain chameleon colouring. But Massignon does not admit to the obvious; and this is because studying Manicheism, the “Black Box” as it was called in the First World Conference on Manicheism, is like studying one’s own unconscious; it’s there, obvious like the statue of Liberty in the harbour of New York, but everyone sees what they want to see. The ego has an innate sympathy with the unconscious which leads to denial rather than to betrayal. For example, there is ample evidence that Àalk«j lived with Qarmatis, visited Qarmatis, sympathized with them, and eventually was pilloried by the police with a sign around his neck which said “A Qarmati Agent”. But for Massignon, who cited the evidence himself, the reaction is shock. Qarmatis? what Qarmatis? This sign, Massignon says, was “dreamed up” by the police²². (This is reminiscent of the myths of communism in which there were only “good” revolutionaries and always “bad” police.)

But Massignon’s net catches all: he sees there are traces of influences on Àalk«j from Abë Nuw«s - who was at one time accused of being a Manichean²³. Massignon says that Àalk«j has a particularly rich vocabulary in Arabic; that he uses technical terms drawn from Aramaic - which was a major language of the Manicheans²⁴; and gives as an example the use of the words *l«bët*, *n«sët*, *h«këil*. He notes that Àalk«j strikes compelling metaphors, such as describing the melody of a melancholic flute as “Satan crying for the loss of the world”; the poet Al-Ma‘arrâ was also admiring in his criticism (although he had, poetry apart, an animosity for Àalk«j, perhaps the animosity of a conservative in regards to an ultra-liberal)²⁵. Al-Ma‘arrâ used similar themes as Àalk«j did, namely the “two sects of mankind” (Al-Àalk«j spoke of two races, one “filled”, and one “deprived”²⁶, in a similar - rather un-Islamic - vein, which would require remarkable stretching to see as an allusion to the saved and damned of Qur’an.) With Al- Ma‘arrâ this is:

The Muslims are mistaken and the Christians are on the wrong road

*And the Jews are all astray and the Magians are in error.
Mankind falls into two classes - the intelligent
Without religion, and the religious without intelligence.*

The two classes are, of course, the Elect and the Hearers. But then Al-Ma'arrâ (d. 447/1057) played the same game as ʿĀllakj, but not as a Sufi, rather as a philosopher and poet. A vegetarian himself (the Manicheans were vegetarians), Al-Ma'arrâ was very anti-Islamic in his teachings and extolled rationalism. And he was very conspiratorial: in his own words:

*Society compels me to play the hypocrite. I raise my voice to pronounce absurdities,
but I only whisper the truth ... Conceal thy thoughts even from the friend at thy side.*

But he used Iranian themes of travel to the next world in the *Risalat al-Ghufrān* where “in paradise the opinions of the *zanadiqab* are discussed”, and toying again with the word, and flirting with danger, he wrote *SaqÇ min az-Zand*, a play on words meaning “Spark from the Flint”. He repeated that human nature was evil, but preached against increasing the “sum of evil” in the world. In his vegetarianism Al-Ma'arrâ not only did not eat meat but he also avoided eggs, milk and honey²⁷.

Massignon, who painstakingly reconstructed the social milieu of Hallaj, says that the ʿĀllakjians were lettuce eaters (which the Manicheans ate as a prime source of light particles) and in his characteristic fashion gives statistics for lettuce production for Baghdad²⁸. He also says that ʿĀllakj habitually disguised himself as the group with which he was dealing:

He [ʿĀllakj] maintains the appearance of an ascetic (nāsik) ... if he learned that the inhabitants of a city or the members of a group professed Mu'tazilism, he became a Mu'tazilite for their sake, and assiduously; if he saw a group inclining toward Imamism, he became an Imamite, telling them how to recognize the signs of the Imam whom they were awaiting; if he saw a group of Sunnites, he became Sunnite...He had practiced medicine; he had experimented with alchemy and with the results that one expects from it...He travelled from town to town.²⁹

So Massignon explicitly found in the “ʿĀllakjians” the Manichean practice of vegetarianism, and that ʿĀllakj was...an impostor who readily took on any appearance and any colouring and became a teacher of any doctrine a given audience was disposed to hear all the while inserting his own ideas under the guise of other teachings. Behind the appearances what we have is a Manichean whose most consistent *persona* is that of a, Muslim under the sign of mysticism. And, as a Muslim, he is a first generation Muslim only.

Manicheism was also known classically by its hallmarks: “The Two Principles and the Three Moments”. Where are these in Àalkj? Bringing in a second principle into the religion of the Divine Unity was a tall order but it was accomplished by absolutizing the role of Satan, essentially making him a partner of God’s in carrying out a divine plan. The end result was that both God and Satan approached the same plane. This remodelling of Islam was begun before Àalkj, in large part by his teacher Sahl Tustarâ, who was also the architect of the whole school which is called “the Drunken Sufis”, that is, Sufis who claimed to be God themselves³⁰. Bringing a second principle into Islam achieved its fullest expression under the Fatimid Ism‘âlâs, who unnoticed by most, demoted God - Allah - to Demiurge, or an emanation out of an unknowable Bythos which they called *al-Ghayb Ta‘ala* - “the Great Abyss”. To this end the Ism‘âlâs created a pseudo-etymology for the Name Allah saying it came from *walaba*, a verb meaning “to lament”. This was because the Demiurge - here Allah - “lamented his exile”. from the Great Abyss. This interpretation was also accepted, it should be noted, by Ibn ‘Arabâ. So Àalkj says:

My Companion is Iblis and my teacher is Pharaoh. Iblis was threatened with the fire and did not retract his allegation. Pharaoh was drowned in the Red Sea without retracting his allegation or recognizing any mediator.³¹

The *nânn*«*sân*, where this appears point blank, may be apocryphal but there are other Àalkjian references, equally strong, to the idea that Iblis is, in reality, a Saint. And then Two Principles also appear in the Àalkjian notion, affirmed in his teachings and at his trial, that there is a God in heaven and a god on earth, the earthly one hidden behind the appearance of phenomena.

Ah! Was that me? or Thee?

Two Gods!

Far be it from me to say there are two Gods!

Yet between me and Thee lies this torment of ‘Tis me.

*Take my ‘Tis me from between Us with Thy ‘Tis Thyself.*³²

In this passage, and it must be remembered that here Àalkj was on thin ice, the paradoxical Àalkjian notion of unity emerges more succinctly:

I came to Àalkj and said to him: “explain the Proclamation of Unity”. He said: “The Proclamation of Unity is beyond the ability of language to express”. “So”, I said, “what does the statement mean: there is no god except God?”— “That” (he answered) “is something which keeps the

vulgar busy so that they can't be mistaken for the true followers of the Proclamation of Unity". Then his cheeks turned red: "You want me to be brief?"—Yes"—"Whoever claims to expound the Unity of God is a polytheist"³³.

There we have it: to truly proclaim the doctrine of Unity, Àall«j says, one has to be a polytheist - on two planes: Divinity lies both in a principle and in matter; and in itself is a plurality. The Qur'anic person of Pharaoh has always been, in the minds of Muslims, the ultimate unbeliever, equivalent to Satan; but Àall«j did not hesitate to defend Pharaoh, or Satan for that matter, over and over again, as also being the truth, equivalent to God:

Recit de 'Othman ibn Mo'awiya lequel dit:

Al-Àall«j passa une nuit dans la grande mosquée de Dinawar avec un groupe de gens. L'un d'eux lui demanda: Matre, que dis-tu de la declaration de Pharaon [Sourate LXXIX: 24: "Je suis votre Seigneur Très-Haut]" - Ce fut une parole de vérité, dit-il - Et que dis-tu de la déclaration de Moise? [Sourate XX 12: "C'est Moi qui suis Ton Seigneur]" - Ce fut une parole de vérité. Car chacune de deux paroles suit son cours dan l'éternité d'après, comme elle suivit son cours dans l'éternité d'avant .³⁴

In this passage the Two Principles are both Pharaoh (= Satan) - "who is Lord" and the God of Moses who is also "Lord". (The God of Moses because Moses' God is already closer to a Demiurge in ancient usage than Muhammad's God.) And here also appear the themes of "post eternity" and "pre-eternity" which are repeated several times in the Àall«j corpus. These along with the present, are the "Three Moments" of Manicheism. But their appearance in Islam was developed by Àall«j's teacher Tustarâ to whom we will come to in a moment. But first a curious element:

Massignon writes about the name "ManÄër" which is usually used to designate Àall«j while his actual name was (Àusayn ibn ManÄër):

on peut se demander si le surnom "ManÄër", sous lequel la poésie a immortalisé Hallaj, n'est pas d'origine initiatique artisanale. Et n'est pas un indice de l'origine ismaélienne de cette "futuwwa" [initiativ guild] artisanale³⁵? Puisque la propagande ismaélienne a utilisé déjà une fois ce nom de "ManÄër" pour désigner un chef de Da'is, de propagandistes 'AQ. Hasan Ibn Hawshab, qui reçut le nom de "ManÄër al-Yaman" et commença la propagande en 268/881 en Yemen (hadj en 266 h.); et fonda ainsi l'Etat Fatimite.³⁶

The name ManÄär (“the Victor”) seems to have a special political or mystical significance for the movements joined by the thread Mukht«riyya-Abë Muslim-Ism«âlâs and Qarmatis, and thereby the Manicheans heralding their hopes of eventual ascendance over Islam or their opponents. As Massignon notes, the name, ManÄär, under which Àall«j is remembered was used by Ism«âlâs for a leader of *D«is* or propagandists; nevertheless, if the police say that Àall«j is a Qarmati agent, they “dreamed it up”. But to turn to Tustarâ. Sahl ibn ‘Abdallah al-Tustarâ was a Drunken Sufi (he too made declarations of his own divinity, at least according to some authors). Indeed, he was the founder of the group which went on to include Abë Yazâd BisÇ«mâ (d.260/874) and Ibn Abi ‘l-Khayr (d.440/1049). He had a school, or a number of followers whom he indocrinated and was the first and probably most significant of Àall«j’s teachers. Tustarâ’s masters were “the ancient masters” (*qadâm«n-i mash«yikh*).³⁷ Since Tustarâ died in 283/896 and was born in the year 203 of the Hijrah, when he studied with these ‘disciples of the ancient masters”, Islam was less than 220 years old. For these masters to have been ancient, they could hardly, therefore, have been Muslims. Tustarâ placed an emphasis on citing the Qur’an; but to this end he wrote the first allegorical, or “mystical” commentary, in which the Qur’an says one thing but was interpreted to mean another to suit Tustarâ’s needs. The difference between Qur’anic Islam and Tustarâ’s interpretation is so radical that anyone with a sense of orthodoxy would have had to declare Tustarâ a heretic. For example, in Tustarâ, man is an emanation out of particles of light. “In his pristine perfection man exists in the form of a particle of light as an atom (*darr*)”.³⁸

But despite these grossly unorthodox theories, Tustarâ apparently kept out of politics and grew old before conflicts between Manicheans and ‘Abbasids came to a head and broke out in general insurrection. It should be noted that his apparently innocuous emphasis on citing the Qur’an, which he also specifically taught to his disciples, of whom Àall«j was one, is curious, not to say suspect; suspect because a Muslim has no need to be taught this as a method; to a Muslim it comes naturally, without thinking. To someone to whom the Qur’an was superfluous it would require an effort to constantly quote the Qur’an and base one’s thoughts on it as an authority. (Let us remember that Àall«j had said once to his teacher Makki that he, Àall«j, could write as well, or better than the book God revealed.)

... Tustarâ names the essence of Muhammad '*amîd al-nër*' (=column of light): this subtle body of faith emanated from God Himself, which had bowed down before Him a million years before the Adamic Covenant, and which has been disseminated in particles of uncreated certitude (*yaqân*) in a certain number of hearts, those of the intimate elect; seeds of certitude that "illuminate" their reading of the Qur'an. Hence, Muhammad "knew the essence of the Qur'an before the first visit of the angel"³⁹.

Tustarâ expounds his conception of the spiritual emanation of the human race from their prophetic ancestors, who, in turn, represent stages in the light emanation from the light of Muhammad. Selecting the Qur'anic term *durriyyah* (seed) and the etymologically related *darr* (atoms, specks; collective plural of *darrab*) as the cue, Tustarâ differentiates between three specks or three seeds: Muhammad, Adam, and the offspring of Adam [or Massignon says of Tustarâ, the creation of two kinds of men: Adamic and Muhammadian].

Muhammad, the Muhammad of pre-existence, was created of divine light. When he had stood as column of light before God for a million years in primordial adoration, "God created Adam from the light of Muhammad" or according to another passage of the *Tafsir*, "He created Adam from the clay of divine might (*Çân al-izâb*) from the light of Muhammad" (*min nër Muhammad*).

Not only Adam is formed from Muhammad's light, but the whole universe participates in this emanation of light: "The light of the prophets (*nër al-anbiy*) is from his (Muhammad's) light and the light of this heavenly kingdom (*malakët*) is from his light and the light of this world (*dunya*) and of the world to come (*«kibirah*) is from his light". The spiritual masters and the divinely-desired (*mur«dun*) and the spiritual disciples and God-seekers (*murâdun*) also take part in this successive light-emanation, though there are two somewhat different parallel passages concerning the source of this emanation of light. In the *Tafsir*, the "Divinely-desired" (*mur«dun*) directly emanate from Muhammad's light, while the "God-seekers" (*murâdun*) issue from Adam's light⁴⁰.

In Tustarâ's symbolism of light, the "theophany of the divine Essence" is the radiation of the Divine Being, in its Essence and attributes, who manifests Himself like the splendour of the sun when it emerges from the horizon, or the beauty of the bride when she unveils. The subject

who is granted this experience of radiation and unveiling is immersed in the divine light which transfigures him. He absorbs the divine light and is transformed by its illumination, so that he reflects and radiates the light like the jewel or the mirror sparkling in the sunlight.⁴¹

Or in other words, matter and divinity are one and this divinity emerges from behind the illusion of manifestation.

In Tustarâ's mystical perspective the course of man's existence is drawn out between two fundamental events antecedent and subsequent to his life in the world of creation. Man's existence in this world is suspended between the Day of Covenant and the Day of Resurrection. On his course from pre-existential infinity (*ibtid*) to post-existential infinity (*intih*) man passes through his phenomenal existence, marked by the moment of his creation and the instant of his death.⁴²

Àallqj, the disciple of Tustarâ, also refers to these two "moments" which, along with the present "moment", are really the "three times" of Manicheism.

Tustarâ claimed to have met "one thousand five hundred righteous (*Àiddâq*), among them forty substitutes (*budak*) and seven pegs (*amt*). Their path (*Çarâqab*) and their way (*madhab*) is the same as mine".⁴³

And at least once he himself is called the *quÇb* or the spiritual pole of the world embodied in a person, something like, say, an archegos. What is essential in all of this is that Tustarâ uses a very Manichean concept, that of the "column of light"; has light particles strewn all over the place, creation by emanation, which is explicitly very, very much at odds with the Qur'anic doctrine of creation that he pretends to base himself upon, and has a theory of three moments, which, for better or for worse, is the Three Times of Manicheism, and he claims that the path of the *Àiddiqên* ("the perfected", a Manichean term) is the same as his own.

Ibn N«dim in his *Fihrist* speaks several times of philosophers who were dualists in disguise, and sometimes of philosophers who, at first considered orthodox, were unmasked as dualists in the course of events. The reason why Àallqj was not unmasked more clearly (if being put to death is not a clear enough indication that the establishment thought something was seriously wrong) is that his disguise was so tightly drawn around him that it had become a part of him; he was what he pretended to be, a new breed of Manichean, a Sufi. Besides the first Sufis, or in any case the Sufis called the

“Drunken Sufis”, the Ism‘âlâs are another more generic case of Manicheans who had taken on a disguise under the pressure of the new world religion. When they tried to take the disguise off in 1164, in the event called the “Feast of the Resurrection” in Alamut, they discovered that the disguise had grown too close and could no longer be removed. This apparently had also happened to the Alawis of Syria who probably had been disguised at one time as Christians and then sometime in the 8th or 9th century on top of that disguised themselves as Muslims. The two layers of disguises produced chaos within themselves; they are aware today of having a great secret but no longer know what that secret is. They claim to be Muslims, but they know perfectly well that they are not; they know that they are related to the Ism‘âlâs and the Druzes but they do not know how.

An interesting discussion arose in our times over BisÇ«mâ who is a figure in the same stream as Àall«j and Tustarâ. A classical Sufi author, Sarr«j, in the *Kitâb al-Luma‘* says that BisÇ«mâ taught a certain Abë ‘Alâ Sindâ how to pray as a Muslim, and Abë ‘Alâ Sindâ taught BisÇ«mâ metaphysics. Zaehner thought that this showed an influence of Vedanta into Sufism:

...this Abë ‘Alâ was a convert to Islam from another religion, for Abë Yazâd [BisÇ«mâ] says of him: “I used to keep company with Abë ‘Alâ Sindâ and I used to show him how to perform the obligatory duties of Islam, and in exchange he would give me instruction in the divine unity (*tam‘âd*) and the ultimate truths (*‘âq‘iq*)”.⁴⁴ Abë Yazâd, then, represents himself as learning the ‘ultimate truths about the divine unity from a man who did not even know how to perform the obligatory duties of a Muslim. It seems, then, fairly clear that this man, Abë ‘Alâ Sindâ, was a convert from another faith⁴⁵.

Or no convert at all. Zaehner thought that Sindâ came from Sind in India. Nicholson also held that Sindâ was from India, but Arberry, basing himself on an ancient geographer found a village named Sind in Khorasan. For Zaehner this Sindâ would have been a Vedantist and this would explain why there is a version of “*Tat Tvam Asi?*” among the Sufis. But this Sufi version which is *ant« takëna dh«ka* (“thou art that”) was so widespread among heretical movements in the Near East that it could really be considered as local and well established before BisÇ«mâ’s time. However, Sindâ could indeed have been from India, and could indeed have taught BisÇ«mâ, but not as a Vedantist teaching a Muslim, but as an Indian Manichean teaching a Persian Manichean. BisÇ«mâ is described as a convert from Zoroastrianism,

or more exactly from the Majës, a term which in Islam could mean any Iranian religion. As “former” Majës, or children of former Majës, Àallkj, Bistami, Tustarâ could have been Manicheans pure and simple, or Manicheans cloaking themselves as Zoroastrians. But their doctrines should leave no doubt on the matter.

Both BisÇ«mâ and Ibn Abâ 'l-Khayr were accused of practising “backwards prayer” (*Āalkt maqlëb*), that is, prayer directed towards themselves as the Divinity. BisÇ«mâ is quoted as having said, because he claimed to be God, *subĀ«mâ* or “Glory to myself”. Apologist spin-doctors seeking to neutralize this along with other scandalous accusations against these figures, explained backwards prayer, ludicrously, as an ascetic devotional practice which consisted of reciting the Qur’an while suspended upside down in a well. For good measure, the subjects were supposed to have done this for several years! And for many, this explained it all, dispelling all doubts as to what these two were really about. (In all fairness, it should be said that the spiritual effects of reciting the Qur’an upside down suspended in a well have yet to be studied thoroughly.)

BisÇ«mâ originated the well known Sufi formula *ibn al-waqt* (“son of the moment”). Although it does have a very respectable spiritual meaning today, for BisÇ«mâ its utility is best illustrated by a play which appeared in Muslim India some fifty years ago. This play was entitled “*Ibn al-Waqt*” and in it a young Muslim gentleman dresses and acts like an Englishman. In BisÇ«mâ’s own time, and to BisÇ«mâ’s familiars being an *ibn al-waqt* meant that the way of the future lay through Islam and one had to adapt; which is why he taught his co-religionist Abë ‘Alâ Sindâ, how to perform the Islamic prayer. BisÇ«mâ was, like Àallkj, a first generation Muslim, having been a “Majës”.

Apropos of the figure of ‘Alâ, the movements which represented the adaptation of Manicheism to Islam, had early on made ‘Ali a code word for Mani. In Twelve Imam Shâ‘ism, as a less radical by-product of the power struggle between Manicheism and Islam, there is also an ambiguity about who ‘Alâ is. Allama ñab«tab«â, the Persian Shâ‘ite scholar, was heard to say once: “Our ‘Alâ is not the same as the Caliph”. He was responding to an objection raised by his cousin Seyyed Hossein Nasr that the historic ‘Alâ could not have composed the *Nahj al-Bal«gha*. Along these lines it is hard not to think that the Mausoleum of “‘Alâ” in Mazar-i Sharif (Balkh) in Afghanistan is really the tomb of Mar Ammo. (It is impossible that ‘Alâ who

died in Kufa is in Afghanistan; the tomb in Mazar-i Sharif, of pre-Islamic origin, has a curious history in which Sind also plays a role.)

The movement of the “Drunken Sufis”, which included Tustarâ, BisÇ«mâ, Âalkj, Ibn Abi 'l-Khayr, was that of Manicheism penetrating Islam in the form of a mysticism. There can be little doubt that the Sufi notion of *QuÇb* was derived from that of the Archegos, and that many Manichean Khaniqahi became Sufi ones. As a result, there are invisible Sufi spiritual hierarchies, to this day, which resemble the description of the Manichean hierarchy found in Mas'udâ: from the *Murëj al-Dhabab* (Prairies of Gold).⁴⁶

This of course is also similar to the description of the Fatimid organization of *D«'âs*, as well it might be since the *Ism«'âlis* are another, less esoteric, adaptation of Manicheism to the new climate created by Islam.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. L. Massignon, *Akbb«r al-Âalkj*, Paris 1957, p. 117. Massignon reconstructs this from several different sources. The reference to *Tammëz* is in the *ManÇiq al-nâir* by 'AÇÇ«r.
2. E. Schroeder, *Muhammad's People*, Portland (ME) 1955, p. 552.
3. L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Âalkj*, Princeton 1982, vol. I, p. 16.
4. L. Massignon, *Akbb«r al-Âalkj*, p. 92.
5. I. Gershevitch, *Beauty as the Living Soul in Iranian Manicheism*, in *From Hecataeus to al-Huwarizmi*, ed. J. Harmatta.
6. L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Âalkj*, vol. I, p. 17.
7. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 15. The image of a temple destroyed and rebuilt; after his execution Âalkj would be burned, as were those formally accused of Manicheism such as Ibn Muqaffa.
8. L. Massignon, *Akbb«r al-Halkj*, p. 121. Massignon says in a note that this pillory is not the one of the year 309/922 but of 301/912 where he was exposed for three days while children made fun of him and his brother-in-law.
9. L. Massignon, *Al-Âalkj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, Paris 1922, vol. II, p. 905.
10. E. Schroeder, *Muhammad's People*, p. 526.
11. L. Massignon, *Al-Halkj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, p. 909.
12. L. Massignon, *Akbb«r al-Halkj*, p. 155.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
14. Abë 'l-Hasan al-Hujwârâ, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 150 & 151-153.
15. E. Schroeder, *Muhammad's People*, p. 548.
16. *Ibid.*, p.544.

17. L. Schroeder, *The Passion of al-Àalkj*, vol. I, p. 184.
18. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 185.
19. L. Massignon, *Akbb«r al-Halkj*, p. 131.
20. E. Schroeder, *Muhammad's People*, p. 527. It would be reasonable to think that this is meant to be alchemical. But as it is not systematic, to say the least, it is also reasonable to conclude that it is alchemy for literary or rhetorical purposes, that is, to produce an effect upon the reader, or for show, rather than to convey a real method.
21. L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Àalkj*, vol. I, p. 170.
22. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 30.
23. L. Massignon, *Al-Àalkj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 917.
24. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 904
25. *Ibid.*, p. 906
26. *Ibid.*, p. 909.
27. From R. A. Nicholson, art. *Al-Ma'arrâ*, in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hashtings.
28. L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Àalkj*, vol. I, p. 234. He also mentions that the early Ism«âlâ sects around Wasit (near Kufa, the former Hira) were also vegetarians (p. 60). It is in these Isma'ili centers in Wasit that Àalkj first studied. Hira was center of Arab Manicheism before Islam. It disappeared with the Arab conquest and was replaced by Kufa which is nearby. To this day in Armenia and Iran, the eating of cucumbers and other "white" vegetables is recommended for their "light" content.
29. L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Àalkj*, vol. I, p. 192.
30. See P. J. Awn, *Satan's Tragedy and Redemption: Iblis in Sufi Psychology*, Leiden, 1983.
31. Al-Àalkj, *The Tanw«sân*, pp. 46-47.
32. E. Schroeder, *Muhammad's People*, p. 527.
33. L. Massignon, *Akbb«r al-Àalkj*, p. 136
34. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
35. Massignon has written that the Western craft guilds originated with the Ism«âlâs; probably he had in mind the Freemasons as originating from Ism«âlâ influence upon the Templars.
36. L. Massignon, *Akbb«r al-Aalkj*, p.204. The family origin of the D«i known as the ManÄ«r al-Yaman, a supporter of the Fatimids, was from Kufa, the city which replaced Hira, a known center of Arab Manicheism. The 'Abbasid called ManÄ«r was involved in a strange incident: in 758 a group of

the followers of Abu Muslim from Rawandah surrounded the Caliph al-ManÄër at his camp at Hashimiyyah and declared that they knew of his divinity and demanded that he gives them food and drink. Some threw themselves to their death from a building in the hope that they would be reborn in a better state by dying in his presence. Al-ManÄër had them killed; presumably they were an embarrassment, even though they were fanatical followers. The Persian scholar Bihruz claimed that al-ManÄër was a secret member of a Manichean cell.

37. G. Bowering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: The Qur'anic Hermeneutics of the Sufi Sabl at-Tustarâ*, Berlin 1980, p. 46.

38. G. Bowering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam*, p. 195.

39. L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Äalkj*, vol. III, p. 284.

40. G. Bowering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam*, p. 153.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 237. This is a quotation from the *Tafsir* of Tustarâ.

44. Abë NaÄr al-Sarr«j, *Kit«b al-Luma' fi 'l-TaÄÄannuf*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, p. 177.

45. R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism*, New York 1969, p. 94.

46. G. Monnot, *Matoridi et le Manichéisme* (Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales di Caire, Mélanges n° 13).

DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN PERSONALITY

Muhammad Suheyl Umar

Let us start by asking ourselves the most fundamental and inevitable question about the development of human personality; what does it mean to be human? “What is Man”? The other inevitable question, which dovetails the earlier one, lurks in the wings, “What is the cosmos”? We have two models of the macrocosmic as well as the microcosmic reality of the human self. The macrocosmic reality is either a multistoried building or it is a mansion that has no upper story. The perspective, to which we have always adhered to, presents the cosmos as a reality arranged in hierarchy. On the other hand the human self is regarded as the point of intersection where the Divine touches the human realm, in which case the human microcosm is situated in a hierarchical relationship with other levels of being.

This model and its governing concept of reality are the shared heritage of all the known spiritual, metaphysical and religious traditions of mankind. Lord Northbourne summarizes the two approaches to the question, “What is Man?” in a simple and straightforward manner:

Are you in fact a being created by God in His own image, appointed by him as his representative on earth and accordingly given dominion over it, and equipped for the fulfillment of that function with a relative freedom of choice in thought and action which reflects the total absence of constraint attributable to God alone, but at the same time makes you liable to err? Are you essentially that, and only accidentally anything else?

Or, alternatively, are you essentially a specimen of the most advanced product so far known of a continuous and progressive evolution, starting from the more or less fortuitous stringing together of a protein molecule in some warm primeval mud, that mud itself being a rare and more or less fortuitous product of the evolution of the galaxies from a starting point about which the physicists have not yet quite made up their minds?¹⁰²

¹⁰² Lord Northbourne, *Looking Back on Progress* Lahore, Suhail Academy, 1983, 47.

In other words, the two models suggest that man could either be a Viceroy, Vicegerent or Pontiff or else a cunning animal with no destiny beyond the grave.¹⁰³ Regarding the former model, S. H. Nasr says: The concept of man as the pontiff, bridge between Heaven and earth, which is the traditional view of the *anthropos*, lies at the antipode of the modern conception of man which envisages him as the Promethean earthly creature who has rebelled against Heaven and tried to misappropriate the role of the Divinity for himself. Pontifical man, who, in the sense used here, is none other than the traditional man, lives in full awareness of the Origin which contains his own perfection and whose primordial purity and wholeness he seeks to emulate, recapture, and transmit He is aware that precisely because he is human there is both grandeur and danger connected with all that he does and links. His actions have an effect upon his own being beyond the limited spatio-temporal conditions in which such actions take place. He knows that somehow the bark which is to take him to the shore beyond after that fleeting journey which comprised his earthly life is constructed by what he does and how he lives while he is in the human state.¹⁰⁴

Tremendous is the difference that separates the perspective represented by the foregoing texts and the contemporary paradigm of progress and social development that Tage Lindbom has aptly described as “the kingdom of man.”

From the point of view of the Islamic tradition human life and personality has three dimensions. The *hadâth* of Gabriel provides us with a picture of these three dimensions.¹⁰⁵ The first three questions and their answers suggest that in the Islamic view, religion comprises three main elements.

¹⁰³ On the traditional conception of man, see G. Eaton, *King of the Castle*, Islamic Texts Society, 1993; “Man” in *Islamic Spirituality*, ed. S. H. Nasr, vol. I (New York: Crossroad, 1987, 358-377; Kathleen Raine, *What is Man?* (England: Golgonzoza Press, 1980, S. H. Nasr, “Who is Man...”, *The Sword of Ghosts*, ed. Needleman (England: Penguin, n.d.), 203-217; S. H. Nasr (ed.) *The Essential Writings of Frithjof Schuon* (New York: Amity House, 1986, 385-403. Of special importance in this regard is René Guenon’s *Man and his Becoming According to the Vedanta* (Delhi: 1990), which presents the concept of man in Hindu terminology, which, nevertheless, is shared by the other traditions as well.

¹⁰⁴ S. H. Nasr, *Knowledge and the Sacred*, op. cit., 161-162.

¹⁰⁵ The reason we refer to the Hadith of Gabriel is that any explanation of the beliefs,

The first dimension of Islam is submission, and it comprises a series of activities, such as bearing witness, praying, and fasting. The word for submission is *islām*, the same word that is used to refer to the religion as a whole. *Islam* has other meanings as well but in this context, it refers to the activities that a Muslim must perform.

The second dimension is faith. The Prophet does not tell his listeners what faith itself is, no doubt because he assumes that they already know. Rather, he tells that what the objects of their faith should be.

practices, and institutions of Islam or any other religion can benefit from a model that makes sense in terms of modern scholarship and has a basis in traditional Islamic learning. Our model here is the famous Hadith of Gabriel, the authentic hadith that Muslim thinkers have often employed for similar purposes in classical texts. The Hadith of Gabriel is found in many of the canonical collections of Hadith literature with some variations. Here we have followed the text as given by Muslim in his *Saḥīḥ*. See Muslim, *Ḥamīd*; Bukhārā, *Ḥamīd*. The text reads as follows:

‘Umar ibn al-Khattab said: One day when we were with God’s messenger, a man with very white clothing and very black hair came up to us. No mark of travel was visible on him, and none of us recognized him. Sitting down before the Prophet, leaning his knees against his, and placing his hands on his thighs, he said, ‘Tell me, Muhammad, about submission.’

He replied, ‘Submission means that you should bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is God’s messenger, that you should perform the ritual prayer, pay the alms tax, fast during Ramadan, and make the pilgrimage to the House if you are able to go there.’

The man said, ‘You have spoken the truth.’ We were surprised at his questioning him and then declaring that he had spoken the truth. He said, ‘Now tell me about faith.’

He replied, ‘Faith means that you have faith in God, His angels, His books, His messengers, and the Last Day, and that you have faith in the measuring out, both its good and its evil.’

Remarking that he had spoken the truth, he then said, ‘Now tell me about doing what is beautiful.’

He replied, ‘Doing what is beautiful means that you should worship God as if you see Him, for even if you do not see Him, He sees you.’

Then the man said, ‘Tell me about the Hour.’

The Prophet replied, ‘About that he who is questioned knows no more than the questioner.’

The man said, ‘Then tell me about its marks.’

He said, ‘The slave girl will give birth to her mistress, and you will see the barefoot, the naked, the destitute, and the shepherds vying with each other in building.’

Then the man went away. After I had waited for a long time, the Prophet said to me, ‘Do you know who the questioner was,

‘UMAR?’ I REPLIED, ‘GOD AND HIS MESSENGER KNOW BEST. “HE SAID, “HE WAS GABRIEL. HE CAME TO TEACH YOU YOUR RELIGION.

What is it that they must have faith in? The answer is God, the angels, the scriptures, the messengers (i.e., the prophets), and so on.

The third dimension is doing what is beautiful. The Prophet does not look at the activity itself, but the motivation for the activity. An act cannot be beautiful if it is done without the awareness of God. God is the criterion for the beautiful, the good, and the right.

And what is the human subject that unfolds its potentialities in these three dimensions? We know that the traditional Islamic understanding of the human personality describes it as made in the image of God.¹⁰⁶

Let us see what does this Divine form imply. To put the issue in its larger perspective first of all one has to take into consideration the immense variety of creation and the special position that the human beings hold in the hierarchy of manifestation.

God produces an inconceivably enormous cosmos with an infinite diversity of created things. If we investigate the creatures one by one the task can never be completed but if we speak in general terms, it is possible to classify created things into categories. The cosmos can be divided into two basic worlds, the unseen and the visible, sometimes referred to as “the heavens and the earth”, or “the spiritual world and the bodily world.” We have mentioned during our discussions that there is a third world that is both similar to and different from these two basic worlds, called the “world of imagination”. If these three worlds represent the general structure of the total macrocosm, the human being can be called a microcosm, since three parallel domains are found within each individual: spirit, soul, and body.

When we want to look at other bodily creatures; that is, those physical things that fill the visible universe we find inanimate objects, plants, and animals. What is interesting for our purposes is how these three kinds of creature manifest the signs of God; the divine attributes that become visible through them. Which attributes become visible in inanimate objects? Perhaps the best way to answer the question is to say that more than anything else,

¹⁰⁶ See the note below.

inanimate objects conceal God's attributes instead of revealing them. They tell us what God is not rather than what He is.

In contrast to inanimate things, plants display several obvious divine attributes. It is easy to see that plants are alive, and life is the first of the "Seven Leaders", the seven divine attributes that predominate in creation. Plants have certain knowledge. They certainly have desire: they want water, sunlight, fertilizer, and they trace elements. If you treat them well and give them what they really desire – like nice, rich manure — they even show their gratitude by producing enormous crops; they are not ungrateful truth-concealers. Plants have power and can destroy stones and concrete, but they need time. But all these divine attributes are found rather feebly within plants, so *tanzâh* outweighs *tashbâh*.

In contrast, the divine attributes found in animals are much more intense. Moreover, animals add other attributes that are difficult to find in plants. The knowledge possessed by animals can be extraordinary, though it is always rather specialized. Bees can tell their hive-mates exactly where to find the best honey, but they don't know much about vinegar. Monarch butterflies know the precise location of their valley in Mexico, but they cannot be trusted to take you to New York City. The animal kingdom represents an incredible diversity of knowledge and skills, divided among a vast number of specialized organisms. Desire is also clearly present in animals, but each species desires different things, and thus a great natural harmony is created where, as Rumi puts it, "Everything is both eater and eaten."

Both plants and animals represent a tremendous variety of specific signs. Each plant or animal species is a special configuration of divine attributes that is not reproduced in any other species.

Human beings are a species of animal, and they share many characteristics with them. But there is one remarkable characteristic that differentiates them from all other animals: Each animal is what it is, with little or no confusion. But human beings are unknown factors. Each species of animals is dominated by one or a few characteristics. The human being is infinitely malleable. What then is a human being? What brings about this fundamental difference between human beings and other animals? Muslims answer these questions in many ways. The easiest approach within our current discussion

is to investigate the nature of the relationship between human beings and the divine attributes. Every creature other than a human being is a sign of God in which a specific, limited, and defined configuration of divine attributes is reflected. In contrast, a human being reflects God as God. In other creatures, some divine attributes are permanently manifest while others are permanently hidden. In human beings, all divine attributes are present, and any of them can become manifest if circumstances are appropriate.

The Prophet ﷺ referred to this peculiar characteristic of human beings when he repeated the famous saying found in the Bible — a saying that has also played an important role in Jewish and Christian understandings of what it means to be human — “God created Adam in his own image”¹⁰⁷ خلق الله الأدم صورته لا ④ though we will employ “form” for “image,” in keeping with the Arabic text. Many authorities understand a similar meaning from the Qur’anic verse, “God taught Adam the name, all of them” (2:31). In effect, all things are present in human beings, because God taught them the names or realities of all things.

When it is said that everything is within human beings, this is not meant in a literal sense. The principle here is easy to understand if we return to the discussion of the divine names. God created the universe as the sum total of his signs. The signs explain the nature of God inasmuch as he discloses and reveals himself. What does he disclose? He discloses his attributes, such as life, knowledge, power, and speech. The cosmos in its full temporal and spatial extension — everything other than God — illustrates all God’s manifest attributes. Hence the macrocosm is an image, or form, of God.

The human being was also created in God’s form, embracing all God’s attributes. The difference between the whole universe and the human being is that the signs are infinitely dispersed in the universe, while they are concentrated into a single, intense focus in each human individual. The concentration of the attributes within human being makes people God’s vicegerents, that is, creatures who can perform the same functions as God, with all due respect to *tanzûb*. Human beings manifest all God’s attributes, but in a weakened and dim manner, demanded by the fact that, although they are similar to God in respect of having been created in his form, they are

¹⁰⁷ See Muslim, *Birr*, 115; Bukharâ, *Isti’dbâc* 1.

different in respect of spatial and temporal limitations. God remains infinitely beyond any human being.

God created human beings in his own form, which is to say that he taught them all the names. Adam had an actualized knowledge of these names, but he was still susceptible to temporary forgetfulness. The rest of the human race is born into a heedlessness that is more than temporary. The divine qualities are latent within them, but these qualities need to be brought out from latency and be embodied in people's minds and activities.

God had created Adam to be his vicegerent. Vicegerency is the birthright of his children. However, they will only achieve the vicegerency if they follow the prophets. They must adopt the faith and practice given by God through the scriptures: "God has promised those who have faith and work wholesome deeds to make them vicegerents in the earth, even as He made those who were before them vicegerents" (24:55). To be God's vicegerent means, among other things, to manifest all the divine attributes in the form of which human beings were created. Only by embodying God's own qualities can human being represent Him. But we know that most people do not live up to their potential. Even if they do have faith and work wholesome deeds, they never become dependable servants of God, because caprice and heedlessness often make them ignore or forget their proper duties.

This brings us to consider the other side of the question. What is it that hampers a wholesome development of human personality, a complete and integral manifestation of all the divine attributes in a harmonious manner?

In one word we can say that forgetfulness and heedlessness are fundamental faults because they negate *tawÁád*. One could equally say that to forget God is to forget oneself, since the human being is the form of God. To lose touch with God is to lose touch with one's own reality and hence to fall into unreality, which can only be experienced as painful separation from everything that is real and good.

If forgetfulness and heedlessness mark the basic fault of human beings, *dhikr* (remembrance) designates their saving virtue. Just as forgetting God leads to the painful chastisement of being forgotten by him, so also remembering God leads to the joy of being remembered by him: "Remember

Me, and I will remember you” (2:15). But *dhikr* means much more than simply the proper human response to God, since it also designates the function of the prophets.

This indeed is the most central spiritual practice involved in the development of the human personality and it has been the main concern of Sufism throughout the ages but it has a wide range of signification’s and it operates within the frame work of the *sharâ’ah* in the Islamic tradition. We shall come back to it. For the time being let us see that the wholesome development of human personality is the special domain of Sufism though it has other concerns as well.

It has a vision. This vision sees human beings a imperfect because of *tanẓâh*, and it understands human perfection to lie in the actualisation of all the divine qualities associated with *tashbâh*. To be fully human is to actualise the divine form. In order to achieve this, Sufis follow the *Sunnah* of the Prophet ﷺ and seek to embody the Qur’an. They want the Qur’an to be their character, just as it was the Prophet’s ﷺ character.

Sufis have said that Sufism is all *adab*. The point here is that every activity needs to be correct — that is, based on the prophetic model and that this can only come about when the soul is harmonized and integrated through sincerity, god-wariness, and doing what is beautiful (*iAs’an*). Moreover, doing what is beautiful cannot be forced or affected — that would destroy its spontaneity, which is one element of its beauty. Doing what is beautiful must well up in the soul — our poets might say — as fragrance wells up from the rose. Beautiful activity must be rooted in beautiful being.

To embody the beautiful is to embody the qualities of God. This is Ibn ‘Arabâ’s point when he defines Sufism as “assuming the character traits of God as one’s own.” Ibn ‘Arabâ explains that this is only a manner of speaking. In fact, those character traits are all latent within human beings because of the divine form, but they belong to God, and as long as people remain heedless of their own nature, the divine qualities within them will not become manifest in proper harmony and balance.

Iqbal, commenting on Bedil had said, “The history of man is a stern reality and the glory of human personality consists not in gradual self-

evaporation but self-fortification by continual purification and assimilation. If God, as Bedil seems to teach, is essentially life and movement, then it is not through an intuitive slumber, but through life and movement alone that we can approach Him. If, in any sense, He has chosen to dwell within us and our personality is but a veil that hides Him from us, our duty lies not in demolishing the tiny dwelling He has chosen, but to manifest His glory through it by polishing its clay walls through action and turning them into transparent mirrors.¹⁰⁸

Iqbal's comment brings us back to the central practice that helps man to polish the mirror.¹⁰⁹

The basic meaning of the term *dhikr* can be brought out by answering three questions — what, why, and how. What is to be remembered? Why should it be remembered? How can it be remembered? The object of remembrance is God, whose reality is designated briefly by the first *Shabadah*, “There is no divinity but God,” and in more detail by the whole range of names and attributes mentioned in the Qur'an. This object should be remembered because He has commanded human beings to remember Him and because ultimate happiness depends upon remembrance. The object can be remembered by imitating the Prophet ﷺ whose *sunnah* provides the model for right activity and right remembrance.

In the same way, the Sufis considered all Islamic theoretical teachings to be aimed at awakening remembrance in the soul. In commenting on the Qur'anic teachings, they demonstrate that *dhikr* implies far more than just the ritual activities that go by the name. Full remembrance means actualising all the perfections latent in the original human disposition (*fiṣrah*) by virtue of its being a divine image. Ghazālī and many others speak of human perfection as “assuming the traits of the divine names” (*al-takhalluq bi 'l-asmā' al-ikbīyya*).

The hallmark of the divine image in which human beings were created is the intelligence that sets them apart from all other creatures. Turning to God

¹⁰⁸ See Iqbal, *Bedil in the Light of Bergson*, Ed. Dr Tehsin Firaqi, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, p. 1995, P. 39.

¹⁰⁹ The reference here is to the saying of the Prophet ﷺ which speaks of the “polish” for every thing and mentions *dhikr* (remembrance/invocation) as the “polish” for the hearts.

—remembrance — awakens awareness of God in the heart and actualises the divine image latent in the soul. Ultimate felicity is nothing but the remembrance of the wellspring of our own true nature, and that is God Himself; or, it is the realization of genuine human character traits, which are the traces of God’s names. What then is the “Way” to the development of the human personality; in other words the method that provides the practical means to actualise the image of God within ourselves.

We can start with the idea that the Way is essentially:

- discernment between the Real and the illusory, and
- concentration upon the Real,

The question has to be answered: how to fix in duration this concentration upon the Real?

To be able to fix concentration in duration, we have need essentially of:

- effort, which is of the will and proceeds from without;
- comprehension, which is of the intelligence and proceeds from within.

The result of the persevering practice of effort is the mental art, the technique of concentration. One must subdue the soul, break its natural resistance, and acquire salutary mental habits.

The result of the persevering practice of comprehension — by meditation — is the inward transformation of the imagination or the subconscious, the acquisition of reflexes that conform to spiritual reality. It is all very well for the intelligence to affirm metaphysical or eschatological truths; the imagination — or the subconscious — none the less continues to believe firmly in the world, not in God or the next world; every man is *a priori* hypocritical. The Way is precisely the passage from natural hypocrisy to spiritual sincerity.

One must replace the habitual and involuntary dreaming of the soul by the remembrance of God; one must repose in this remembrance and not in dreams. It is thus that a bird flying reposes in limitlessness and not in heaviness; it is a repose heavenwards, not earthwards. One must replace

natural and passionate repose with a repose that is supernatural and contemplative.

But the fixing of concentration in duration—and the attainment of the mental art and the transformation of the imagination—is only possible with the help of grace توفيق; the intelligence and the will, alone and unaided, are not enough. Now the conditions *sine qua non* for grace are the following:

- the rites
- the virtues

One must perform the rites as perfectly as possible.

The virtues are essentially; spiritual poverty, generosity, intrinsic sincerity, or; humility, charity, veracity, hence logic and impartiality.

The rites refer to man as such and the collectivity, while the virtues refer to each particular man and so to the individual as such. There must be a collective and normative religion, but there must likewise be what might be called a personal religion, namely the spiritual manifestation, not of man or humanity, but of a particular man with his helplessness and his seeds of immortality.

Last but not least, there is always a presence in the soul. The most ordinary presence is that of the world, to the exclusion, alas, of that of God. The presence of the world always implies that of the “I”, but sometimes the presence of the “I” is even stronger than that of the world, to the point of occupying the entire space of the soul.

What is the Remembrance of God? It is to offer the space of our soul to the Divine Presence, by means, precisely, of the Name of God. To allow God to enter into our space, in order that God may allow us to enter into His space; to welcome Him here below, in order that He may welcome us in the Hereafter, and in a certain manner already in the here below.

It depends on man what he makes of the present moment; polishes the mirror and develops his personality by following the Way or let the present moment pass him by, so that the Buddhists could say, ‘Get ye across this stretching mire, let not the moment pass, for they shall mourn whose moment’s past’.

Allama Iqbal
News, Views and Events:

A SURVEY OF THE ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS OF PAKISTAN DURING 1950

Dr. Nadeem Shafiq Malik

I

In addition to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) is rightly regarded as the founding father of Pakistan. Throughout his life span and even after his demise, his indebted community has shown unparalleled respect and admiration for him. The tendency reached its apex after the establishment of Pakistan, when Iqbal Day celebrations used to be observed with great dedication. The English dailies of Pakistan have also contributed a lot in that endeavor. In the series of surveys that follow,¹⁰ an attempt has been made to trace all such functions as reported in the English newspapers of Pakistan during 1950. It is hoped that this endeavor would reveal, at least to a considerable extent, the perceptions of the great seer and statesman found in the Pakistani journalism and the perspectives that underlie these perceptions.

- During 1950, *Dawn* published the first article on Allama Iqbal on January 22 1950, which was a selection made by B. A. Siddiqi from the well-known utterances of Allama Iqbal. It included his views on a model society, dignity of man, immortality of the human ego, perfect man, love and hate, nationalism, the *millat*, faith, perfect submission, religion, prayer, conservatism heaven and hell etc., Siddiqi, however, did not indicate the source of his collection.¹

- *The Pakistan Times* on January 22, 1950 published an English translation of Urdu address of Mian Bashir Ahmed, Pakistan's Ambassador to the Turkey, delivered at the Ankara University on December 17, 1949 on Maulana Rumi with special reference to his influence on Allama Iqbal. In his speech, Bashir argued that Iqbal was fundamentally inspired by Rumi and called him his mentor and guide. He was probably the first thinker who

* This is the first of a series of surveys planned by the author covering the whole gambit of Iqbal Day celebrations for the last five decades or more. (editor)

¹ B. A. Siddiqi, "Famous words that will live for ever—Iqbal," *Dawn*, April 22, 1950.

firmly grasped Rumi's conception that life was a ceaseless activity. Rumi and Iqbal both wanted to strengthen the 'self'. According to them, there was no incompatibility between 'self' and 'selflessness'. The central idea of both is 'love' by means of which the self, successfully surmounting various difficulties, could reach very near to God. The fate, they believed, did not stand in the way of their will and effort. Bashir also pointed out that expressions of devoted allegiance to Rumi could frequently be found in Iqbal's poetry.² Mian Bashir Ahmed's assessment seems to be quite precise. Rumi is one of those scholars who inspired Iqbal the most. There are many common features in both of them. Malik Hasan Akhtar has pointed out that both are the most outstanding thinkers of the Islamic world who interpreted Qura'nic teachings according to the necessities of their times and proved them life saving. Both of them adopted Persian as their medium of expression and their contributions attained world fame and were later translated in different languages. Likewise, both of them influenced the intellectual life and currents of thought of the coming generations.³

- On January 29 and February 5, 1950, two more segments of Mahmud Ahmed's translation of *Javid Namah* accompanied by explanatory notes appeared in *The Pakistan Times*.⁴

- On February 21, 1950, an article entitled "Shiekh Abdul Qadir and Allama Iqbal" contributed by M. A. Harris appeared in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, which surveyed the close relationship that existed between them. The author specially referred to Abdul Qadir's influence in shaping two momentous events of Iqbal's life which proved highly beneficial later on. One was to pursue Iqbal not to give up poetry and other was approval of adoption of Persian by Iqbal for conveying his thought. The author observed

² Mian Bashir Ahmed, "Rumi and Iqbal," *The Pakistan Times*, January 22, 1950.

³ Malik Hasan Akhtar, *Iqbal aur Muslim Mufakkireen*, Lahore, Ferozsons, Lahore, 1992, p.132. Iqbal's devotion to Rumi is perhaps best exhibited in his poem, "Pir-i-Rumi, Murid-i-Hindi" included in *Bal-i-Jibril*. For a detailed study of the said poem, see Muhammad Sharif Baqa, *Pir-o-Mureed*, Maktabah-i-Tamir Insaniat, Lahore, 1988. For a study of portions of Rumi's *Mathnawi* which were used by Iqbal for explanation and formulation of philosophical ideas highlighted in his poetry, see Syed Wazir-ul-Hasan Abidi, *Iqbal Kay She'ri Ma'akbiẓ, Mathnavi-i-Rumi Mein*, Lahore, Majlis-i-Taraqq-i-Adab, 1977. Also see Erkan Turkmen, "Perfect Man in the Eyes of Rumi and Muhammad Iqbal," *Iqbal Review*, Vol. 40, No. 3-4, pp. 95-102.

⁴ Mahmud Ahmed, "*Javid Namah: The Prologue on Earth*," *The Pakistan Times*, January 29 and February 5, 1950.

that the death of Abdul Qadir had removed one of the most luminous stars from the literary firmament of Pakistan and with his end, a bright chapter in the history of Urdu literature had come to a close.⁵

- *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore reported on February 27, 1950 that an 'Iqbal Day Committee' was formed in Karachi at a meeting of a large number of students and admirers of Allama Iqbal, held at the residence of S. A. Vahid with Central Minister for Industries, Chaudhry Nazir Ahmed Khan (1898-1980)⁶ in chair. The report informed that S. A. Vahid was elected the organizer of the Committee, which was authorized to make necessary arrangements for observing 'Iqbal Day'. It was tentatively decided to hold the celebrations on April 21 and 22 during which speeches on the life and philosophy of the poet and recitations from his works would be made. Amongst those present at the meeting were Ilmuddin, Ikram, Mumtaz Hasan, and Zia-ul-Islam.⁷

- On March 3, 1950, news appeared in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore that stated that Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu of East Pakistan had chalked out a three-day programme for April 21, 22, and 23. The programme included among other items, lectures on the life and works of the poet, a debate in Urdu and a *mushaira*. Moulvi Abdul Haq, President of the Pakistan Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu was invited to inaugurate the Iqbal Day programmes.⁸

- On March 4, 1950, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore informed that the Foundation Committee of the Iqbal Academy had decided to extend by one month, the last date for the submission of literary contributions on Iqbal for the prizes offered by the Academy. The paper pointed out that

⁵ M. A. Harris, "Sheikh Abdul Qadir and Allama Iqbal," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, February 21, 1950.

⁶ Chaudhry Nazir Ahmed Khan (1898-1980); lawyer, politician, diplomat, worker of Pakistan movement, started practice at Montgomery, 1921; Secretary, Reception Committee, Punjab Educational Conference, 1923; member Constituent Assembly of Pakistan; Minister for Industries, 1949-51; Vice President International Jurists Conference, Oslo, 1956; President, Pakistan Legal Centre, 1957; International Commission of Jurists, Bangkok, 1962. Attorney General of Pakistan, 1959; Pakistan High Commissioner in Australia, 1952; founder-editor *Al-Ahibba*; Pubs. *Kalam Narm-o-Nazuk*; *Husul-i-Pakistan*; *Dastan-i-Pakistan*.

⁷ "Iqbal Day Committee formed," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, February 27, 1950.

⁸ "Iqbal Day programme in Dacca," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, March 3, 1950. The same news was repeated in *The Pakistan Times* under the caption "Dacca to celebrate Iqbal Day," on March 31, 1950.

contributions were invited from the individuals, societies, and college and school students.⁹

- A report appeared on March 10, 1950 in *Dawn*, which stated various activities of Foundation Committee of the Iqbal Academy. It was informed that pending the establishment of Iqbal Academy, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan had formed a Foundation Committee, consisting of Fazlur Rahman, as Chairman, and I. H. Qureshi and Malik Feroz Khan Noon as members to enhance Iqbal studies in the country. Later, the committee co-opted Moulvi Abdul Haq and Sheikh Abdul Qadir as members and chalked out a comprehensive programme to implement its objectives. For instance, the Committee established branches of academy in the Universities of Sindh, Punjab, and Dacca. Eminent scholars had been invited to translate Iqbal's works into English, Arabic, and Bengali. A. J. Arberry of Cambridge University and Abdul Wahab 'Azzam (1894-1959) were coordinator for taking up the translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Javid Namah* into English and Arabic respectively.¹⁰

- The report further revealed that Iqbal memorial lectures had been instituted at the various Universities of Pakistan and well-known scholars had been invited to deliver those lectures. Moreover, three prizes of the value of Rs.1000, Rs.200 and Rs.100 for original contributions on Iqbal from scholars, learned societies, college and school students had also been introduced. These contributions, when received, would be assessed by a committee of experts and the names of prize winners would be duly announced.¹¹

- *The Pakistan Times* informed on March 22, 1950 that the Bazm-i-Iqbal, Rawalpindi had drawn up an ambitious programme to celebrate Iqbal Day on April 21 and 22. According to report, the first day's gathering would be devoted to discourses on his philosophy and contributions to Muslim India's political awakening and cultural uplift. Several writers of repute were expected to read papers. On the second day, a grand *musbaira* was being

⁹ "Literary contributions on Iqbal: Date extended," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, March 4, 1950.

¹⁰ "Cambridge scholar to translate Iqbal's works," *Dawn*, March 10, 1950. Abdul Wahab contributed several works on Allama Iqbal in Arabic. For instance, see Abdul Wahab Azzam, *Muhammad Iqbal*, (Arabic) Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1985.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

arranged in which many prominent poets were expected to participate. The report further informed that Fatimah Jinnah was being approached to preside over the first day's meeting, while Choudhry Ghulam Abbass was expected to chair the *mushaira*.¹²

- On March 25, 1950, news appeared in *The Pakistan Times* that informed that City Muslim League, Sialkot would celebrate Iqbal Day on April 30. The programme included a *mushaira* and a symposium in which papers would be read on the life, art, and teachings of Allama Iqbal.¹³

- A Reuter's report appeared in *The Pakistan Times* on March 31, 1950 revealed that A. J. Arberry would shortly translate into English Allama Iqbal's poems *Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Javid Namah* into Miltonic blank verse which would also be translated into Arabic by Abdul Wahab 'Azzam. The report further informed that the translations were being made at the instance of the Foundation Committee.¹⁴

- A report filed by the correspondent of *The Pakistan Times*, which was printed on April 4, 1950, disclosed that preparations were going at Narowal to observe Iqbal Day in the Islamia High School. In that connection, a public meeting would be held in the town in which people would be introduced to the teachings of Iqbal. A *mushaira* would also be held in which students would participate.¹⁵

- In a letter written to the editor, *The Pakistan Times*, one Mahmud Hasan Butt expressed his regrets that the Home Ministry of Pakistan had failed to appreciate the significance of the occasion of death anniversary of Allama Iqbal. He pointed out that while government had declared *Dulhandi*, *Dussebra*, *Janam Ashtami*, King's Birthday and Christmas Day as the closed holidays for the offices of the Central Government and the Armed Forces Headquarters all over Pakistan, its offices would remain open on Iqbal's anniversary. The writer stressed that it was hardly necessary to repeat what Iqbal did for Islam and Pakistan. The present state of the nation made ventilation of Iqbal's

¹² "Iqbal Day celebrations: Pindi's ambitious programme," *The Pakistan Times*, March 22, 1950.

¹³ "Iqbal Day to be celebrated in Sialkot on April 30," *The Pakistan Times*, March 25, 1950.

¹⁴ "Translation of Dr. Muhammad Iqbal's Works" *The Pakistan Times*, March 31, 1950. There seems to be a misunderstanding here since *Asrar i Khudi* had already appeared in English during the life time of the poet!

¹⁵ "Iqbal Day to be observed in Narowal," *The Pakistan Times*, April 4, 1950.

message over the land of his dreams all the more imperative. He expressed the hope that April 21, would be declared a closed holiday and the Central government servants be enabled to participate in Iqbal Day celebrations.¹⁶

- A report which appeared in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore on April 9, 1950 informed that Majlis-i-Adab, Lahore would observe 'Iqbal Day' on April 20 by holding two sessions in the Town Hall, Lahore. The morning session would be presided over by Khawaja Dil Muhammad in which prominent writers and poets would read papers and recite poems on the ideology of Allama Iqbal.¹⁷

- On April 11, 1950 *The Pakistan Times* communicated, that Khawaja Nazimuddin would preside over the inaugural session of Iqbal Day celebrations organized by Bazm-i-Iqbal on the afternoon of April 21 at the Governor General House, Karachi. It would be followed by a public meeting on the evening of April 22, at the Jahangir Park, Karachi where eminent scholars were expected to speak on the life and works of Allama Iqbal.¹⁸

- The correspondent of *The Pakistan Times* informed on April 13, 1950 that the District Football Association at a meeting held at Sialkot decided to arrange a tournament under the name Iqbal Memorial Football Tournament at Sialkot from May 10, 1950.¹⁹

- The paper further told on the same day that Habib I. Rahimtoola, Pakistan's High Commissioner to Britain, would preside over a meeting in London on April 21 to commemorate the 12th death anniversary of Iqbal. The news further notified that the meeting would be held at the Islamic Culture Centre, London and would be addressed, among others, by Mohsin Rais, the Persian Ambassador to Britain.²⁰

- On April 14, 1950, the paper gave details about the Iqbal Day celebrations being arranged by the Central Iqbal Committee at Lahore.²¹

¹⁶ Mahmudul Hasan Butt, "Letter to editor: Iqbal's anniversary," *The Pakistan Times*, April 7, 1950.

¹⁷ "Lahore's 'Iqbal Day' programme," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 9, 1950.

¹⁸ "Iqbal Day," *The Pakistan Times*, April 11, 1950.

¹⁹ "Iqbal Memorial Football Tournament: First match to start at Sialkot on May 10," *The Pakistan Times*, April 13, 1950.

²⁰ "Iqbal Day in London," *The Pakistan Times*, April 13, 1950.

²¹ "Lahore to celebrate Iqbal Day," *The Pakistan Times*, April 14, 1950.

- Publishing two separate reports about Iqbal Day preparations at Rawalpindi on April 15, 1950, *The Pakistan Times* informed that the Rawalpindi branch of APWA was celebrating Iqbal Day on April 21, which would be followed by a *Meena Bazar* on the next day.²² The daily added that Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Adab, Rawalpindi would celebrate Iqbal Day at a literary meeting on April 21 in the Gordon College Hall, Rawalpindi.²³

- *The Pakistan Times* informed on April 16, 1950 that Ch. Nazir Ahmed would preside over the ‘Iqbal Day meeting’ in Jahangir Park, Karachi on April 22. Prominent speakers who would address the meeting included Abdul Haq, M. D. Taseer and Mumtaz Hasan.²⁴

- On April 17, 1950 *The Pakistan Times* communicated that the Pakistan Art Council, Lahore would celebrate Iqbal Day on April 23 at a function to be presided over by Justice S. A. Rahman. The programme would include an exhibition of the manuscripts, letters, and some personal effects of Allama Iqbal, speeches on various aspects of his philosophy and recitation from his poetry.²⁵

- Through another report published on the same day, the paper added that the Bazm-i-Iqbal would celebrate Iqbal Day at a literary meeting to be held on April 21 at the local Islamia High School. Sheikh Abdul Majid Asghar, Session Judge was to preside over the function to be attended by prominent poets and literary persons.²⁶

- *Dawn* and *The Pakistan Times* reported on April 19, 1950 that Syed Ali Nassr, the Iranian Ambassador in Pakistan visited the tomb of Allama Iqbal and laid a wreath of flowers on the grave. He was accompanied by Madame Ali Nassr, Iranian Cultural Counselor, Dr. Farayadani and his wife.²⁷

- On April 21, 1950, S. A. Vahid, Secretary of Bazm-i-Iqbal issued an appeal to the nation which appeared in *The Pakistan Times*, *The Morning News* and *The Khyber Mail*. He requested to offer *fatihah* to the memory of Allama Iqbal, “to whom we owe so much and who originally conceived the idea of

²² “Pindi women to celebrate Iqbal Day,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 15, 1950.

²³ “Iqbal Day in ‘Pindi,’” *The Pakistan Times*, April 15, 1950.

²⁴ “Iqbal Day programme for Karachi,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 16, 1950.

²⁵ “Art Council to celebrate Iqbal Day,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 17, 1950.

²⁶ “Iqbal Day,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 17, 1950.

²⁷ “Ali Nassr lays wreaths on Iqbal’s tomb,” *Dawn*, April 19, 1950; “Iranian Ambassador lays wreath on Iqbal’s grave,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 19, 1950.

Pakistan,” after *Juma* prayers on Friday April 21, which incidentally happened to be the 12th death anniversary of ‘the great sage’.²⁸

- At Karachi, an impressive programme for celebration of Iqbal Day on April 21 and 22 was drawn up by the Bazm-i-Iqbal. According to the reports appeared in *The Pakistan Times*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, *Dawn* and *The Civil and Military Gazette* Karachi, the first session was to be held at Governor General House on April 21 to be presided over by Khawaja Nazimuddin. It was notified that Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqi (1908-1998)²⁹ and S. A. Khalid would read papers on ‘Iqbal and the problem of Free-Will’ and ‘Iqbal as a lyric poet’ respectively. The second session was to be held on April 22 in Jahangir Park under the president-ship of Ch. Nazir Ahmed. The speakers include Maulvi Abdul Haq, Aziz Ahmed, Mumtaz Hasan, M. D. Taseer and others. A number of poets including Nazar Hyderabad (1919-1963)³⁰ and Muhammad Jafari were also expected to participate in the evening’s celebrations.³¹

- Among other Iqbal Day functions arranged at Karachi, there was a public meeting organized by Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu at under the presidentship of Fatimah Jinnah and a function arranged at the Agha Khan Girls High School. Radio Pakistan, Karachi also planned to broadcast special feature programmes on the various aspects of Iqbal’s life and works including a special talk of Mumtaz Hassan on ‘Iqbal as a thinker’.³²

²⁸ “People asked to offer *fatiba* on Iqbal Day,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 20, 1950, “*Fatiba* prayers for Dr. Iqbal,” *The Khyber Mail*, April 22, 1955; “Offer *fatiba* to memory of Iqbal: Appeal to Pakistanis,” *The Morning News*, April 22, 1950.

²⁹ Muhammad Raziuddin Siddiqi (1908-1998); scientist; mathematician; educationist; intellectual and Iqbalist; remained Vice Chancellor of Peshawar, Sindh and Islamabad Universities; Chairman, Pakistan Science Academy; member, Atomic Energy Commission. Wrote several books in English and Urdu on science and literature including *Iqbal ka Tasawwur-i-Zaman-o-Makan*; *Kalam-i-Iqbal Main Mawt-o-Hayat*; *Ta’lim ka Masalah*.

³⁰ Akhtar Hamid (Nazar Hyderabad) (1919-1963); poet, writer; Pubs. *Khirman*; *Silk-i-Gubarin*; *Iqbal aur Hyderabad*.

³¹ “Iqbal Day in Karachi: Big programme drawn up,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 19, 1950; “Celebrating Iqbal Day in Karachi: Impressive programme drawn up,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 19, 1950; “Iqbal Day celebrations in Karachi,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 19, 1950; “Bazm-i-Iqbal meeting today,” *Dawn*, April 22, 1950.

³² “Nation to observe Iqbal Day today,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 21, 1950.

• *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *Dawn*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, *The Khyber Mail*, *The Pakistan Times* and *The Morning News* reported that the Iqbal Day meeting organized by the Bazm-i-Iqbal at the Governor General House, Karachi. It was attended by the Prime Minister and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan (1905-1990)³³ Ministers of the Pakistan Cabinet, members of the Diplomatic Corps besides over one thousand prominent citizens of the capital. Delivering his presidential address, Khawaja Nazimuddin, called upon every Pakistani to study the writings of Iqbal deeply and thoughtfully and to act on the percepts contained in them. He also urged various Iqbal societies and associations throughout Pakistan, as well as in other countries, to make a concerted effort at preparing and publishing authentic translations of Iqbal's works in other languages.³⁴

• Paying glorious tributes to Iqbal, Nazimuddin said that his message was really meant for the whole humankind, its appeal was universal and was addressed to every seeker of truth. He exposed the shallowness and dangers of the western civilization and preached the subjugation of knowledge to faith, and the quest for those spiritual and moral values, which alone give a real meaning to life. "Iqbal's work was meant to be pondered over, and taken to heart. It awakened us to the consciousness of our own-self and of the world around us. It stimulated us to contemplation as well as action," he added.³⁵ Describing Iqbal's as the 'Poet of Islam', Umar Baha El-Amiri, Minister of Syria, in his speech delivered in Arabic on the occasion, said that the secret of Iqbal's poetry lay in the fact that he did not speak with his words but with fire of his soul and with throbbing of his heart, which created immortal pieces. He had given us a message of action and determination on

³³ Rana Liaquat Ali Khan (1905-1990); social worker, feminist and diplomat; second wife of Liaquat Ali Khan, first Prime Minister of Pakistan; Founder President of APWA, Chairperson Red Crescent Society; remained Ambassador of Pakistan in Holland, 1954-61; and in Italy, 1961-66; Governor Sind, 1973-76.

³⁴ "Karachi citizens' homage to Iqbal: Meeting at Govt. House," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 22, 1950; "Iqbal was the voice of humanity", *Dawn*, April 22, 1950; "Translation of Iqbal's works urged by G .G.," *Dawn*, April 22, 1950; "Study Iqbal and act on his message, Naizimuddin: Authentic translations of poet's works urged," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 22, 1950; "G. G's call to follow Iqbal," *The Khyber Mail*, April 23, 1950; "Study thoughtfully the teachings of Iqbal": Nazimuddin's call to Pakistan's youth," *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1950; "Study deeply and act on the teachings of Iqbal: G. G's clarion call to Pakistani youths," *The Morning News*, April 24, 1950.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

the one hand and universal love and goodwill on the other, he supplemented.³⁶ Speaking next, Chaudhry Nazir Ahmed said that Iqbal was one of those mighty dreamers whose dreams did more for the progress of humanity than the action of many of the practical men in the world. Discussing the various aspects of Iqbal's poetry and philosophy, he remarked that life's justification through action was the sublime vision of Iqbal that had inspired the present generation of Muslims more than anything else had and had built a lasting monument to his memory in the creation of Pakistan.³⁷ Muhammad Asad, in course of his speech, observed that Iqbal believed with an intensity and clarity that Islam had an immortal mission to fulfill in the present days no less than in the by-gone centuries; and that only by making it once again a practical proposition in the lives of men, could the world be saved from the dangers inherent in the disparity between our moral vision and our selfish action.³⁸ Besides recitations from his works, S. A. Vahid, read an essay on 'Iqbal as lyric poet.' Moreover, copies of *Iqbal Studies* edited by Ziaul Islam, which included articles on Iqbal by S. A. Vahid, Raziuddin Siddiqui and Mumtaz Hasan were also distributed at the gathering.³⁹

- J. Arberry in a message, sent to the Bazm-i-Iqbal on the occasion of Iqbal Day which appeared in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, said that Iqbal's doctrine of indestructible significance of the individual contained a message of hope and inspiration in those days when the rights and duties of individual men were so gravely threatened by materialistic conceptions of an all powerful state. His doctrine of the place of the individual in society with his interpretation of the term of right believing men and women was no less important as a corrective to nihilist tendencies in contemporary thought, he concluded.⁴⁰

- On April 22, a mammoth meeting was held by Bazm-i-Iqbal at Jahangir Park, Karachi where over a dozen of speakers paid their tributes to Allama Iqbal in presence of over 10,000 citizens of Karachi. *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi reported that while describing Iqbal as one of the greatest poets of his time, Maulvi Abdul Haq said that Iqbal was the man who had

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ "Iqbal's doctrine is corrective to nihilist tendencies, Prof. Arberry," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 22, 1950.

taken Urdu to great heights in his tumultuous times when it was passing through a very critical stage. He deplored that the speeches delivered in the meeting held at the Governor General House were all in foreign languages, while the function had been organized to remember the bereavement of the greatest poet of Urdu.⁴¹ Speaking next, Nazir Ahmad described Iqbal's conception of leadership and argued that the leader, according to Iqbal, must set a certain goal before him and develop qualities of head and heart that could endear him to his people and win their respects.⁴² Mumtaz Hasan in his speech related anecdotes from the life of the great poet and dwelt at length on his personal qualities. He was of the view that it was impossible to relate briefly about one who was so amazingly many sided and filled such a large place in the sphere of poetry, philosophy and religious and national life. Describing Iqbal as '*Shah'ir-i-Azam*', Hashim Raza, Administrator of Karachi, said that the salvation of the Muslims of the world lay following the precepts contained in the poetry of Iqbal.⁴³

- Abdul Haq's criticism leveled against speeches made at the Governor General House being in English and Arabic did not go unnoticed. Next day through a statement appeared in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *Dawn* and *The Khyber Mail*, S. A. Vahid, who organized the Iqbal anniversary function in Karachi under the auspices of the Bazm-i-Iqbal, revealed the facts. He stated that the said meeting was arranged primarily for foreign diplomats and other foreigners residing in Karachi, and so it was necessary to deliver speeches in a language that the foreigners could understand. Similarly, the Arabic speeches were delivered for the benefit of those from Muslim countries, who could not understand English. He further argued that it would not be justifiable to call Arabic a foreign language, as the language of Quran, Arabic is the language of the Muslims all over the world and pointed out that even Iqbal himself chose Persian as a medium for the expression of his message. He said that the object of Bazm-i-Iqbal was to convey the message of Iqbal to the farthest corners of the world and for that purpose the Bazm was trying to have Iqbal's works translated in as many languages of

⁴¹ "Message of Allama Iqbal recalled: Thought provoking speeches at Jehangir Park meeting," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 23, 1950.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

the world as possible and questioned that whether it could be regarded as a disserve to Urdu.⁴⁴

- The Ladies of Karachi also paid glowing tributes to Allama Iqbal through a meeting arranged by the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Niswan, Pakistan at Khalikdina Hall, Karachi whose proceedings appeared in *Dawn*, *The Pakistan Times*, and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore. The meeting was opened by speeches of the two Secretaries of the Anjuman and was followed by recitations from Iqbal's works. Begum Fazlur Rahman in her discourse urged the meeting that the women of Pakistan should continue to have small gatherings where the works of the poet should be read.⁴⁵ In her presidential address, Fatimah Jinnah said that Iqbal ranked amongst the greatest of the world poets. His poetry was a great contribution to human thought as it embodied a definite mission and a noble message. He compared the past with the present and cast a glance towards the future. Seldom did he express despondency in life and its adversities, instead he found a way out through all the difficulties. To him life was the other name of struggle and action. He gave the message of awakening to his nation and inspired it for achieving higher ideals, she concluded.⁴⁶

- Arrangements were also made at Lahore to celebrate Iqbal Day in a befitting manner. According to press reports which appeared in *The Khyber Mail*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore and *The Pakistan Times*, *Khatm-ul-Qur'an* ceremony and placing of floral wreaths were to be conducted at the tomb of Allama Iqbal by the representatives of the Central Iqbal Committee. It was to be followed by a mock battle arranged at Ravi Park in which thousands of volunteers from all over the district would participate. Later a meeting was planned to be held at University Hall under the auspices of Central Iqbal Committee and PMSF. Its morning and evening sessions were

⁴⁴ "Iqbal Day speeches in foreign languages: Mr. S. A. Vahid replies to critics", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 24, 1950; "Bazm-i-Iqbal Secretary answers criticism on language issue," *Dawn*, April 24, 1950; "Iqbal Day in Karachi," *The Khyber Mail*, April 24, 1950.

⁴⁵ "Miss Jinnah to preside over 'Iqbal Day' meeting," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 21, 1950; "Character and service were inherent in Iqbal, Miss Jinnah", *Dawn*, April 22, 1950; "Attain dignity of Iqbal's *momin*, Miss Jinnah, *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1950; "Let us attain dignity of Iqbal's *momin*: Miss Fatimah Jinnah's tributes to poet of the East," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 22, 1950.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*.

scheduled to be presided over by Syed Ali Nassr, Iranian Ambassador in Pakistan and Chaudhry Ghulam Abbass, respectively. The provincial branch of Pakistan Boy Scouts Association also decided to celebrate Iqbal Day by arranging a ground campfire of the Railway Rovers and College Crew to be held on evening of April 20 at Lahore. Pakistan Art Council, Lahore also planned to hold Iqbal Day programme that included an exhibition of letters, manuscripts, and personal effects of Allama Iqbal along with discussion on different aspects of his philosophy and recitation of his selected poems.⁴⁷

• According to a news item published in *Dawn*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi the citizens of Lahore paid homage to the memory of Iqbal, on his 12th death anniversary by holding meetings, placing floral wreaths on the poet's grave and praying in the mosques for his soul. From the break of the dawn, thousands of Iqbal's admirers jammed the roads leading to the poet's last resting place and with moistened eyes people stood for hours around the poet's tomb and offered *fatihah*. As a plane of the RPAF dipped in salute and showered rose petals on the mausoleum, the Army band played a poem of Allama Iqbal. Besides thousands of his admirers and disciples with wreaths and bouquets in their hands, prominent amongst those who placed wreaths were Syed Ali Nassr, Mian Abdul Bari, Major General Azam Khan (1910-1994)⁴⁸ and the Advisors to the Punjab Governor. Ali Nassr after lying wreath said that since daybreak he had felt as if the entire atmosphere of Lahore was surcharged with the magnetism of Iqbal's over shadowing personality. Earlier the *Khatm-ul-Quran* ceremony was conducted at the tomb by the Central Iqbal Committee, which was attended by a large number of religious teachers and educationists. To present gratitude to storming message of Allama Iqbal, a 60 minute air raid and mock battle was also staged near Ravi Bridge was witnessed by over 2,00,000 people. Malik

⁴⁷ "Iqbal Day", *The Khyber Mail*, April 18, 1950; "Iqbal Day celebrations in Lahore: Ali Nassr to preside over morning session," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 19, 1950; "Scouts to celebrate Iqbal Day," *The Pakistan Times*, April 19, 1950; "Iqbal Day mock battle," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 20, 1950; "Lahore to pay homage to Iqbal today," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 21, 1950; "Abbass to attend Iqbal Day celebrations", *The Khyber Mail*, April 22, 1950; "Pakistan Art Council to celebrate Iqbal Day today," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 23, 1950.

⁴⁸ Azam Khan (1910-1994); army officer; politician; remained Federal Minister for Rehabilitation & Refugees during Ayub regime; Governor, East Pakistan 1960-62.

Muhammad Anwer (1900-1965)⁴⁹ Punjab Government's Adviser for Law and Order, Major General Muhammad Azam Khan, Syed Fida Hasan (1908-1977)⁵⁰, high government officials, and prominent citizens of the provincial metropolis witnessed the mock battle.⁵¹

• The main function of the day was a public meeting held in the University Hall under the auspices of the Central Iqbal Committee. Syed Ali Nassr and Chaudhry Ghulam Abbass presided over the morning and evening sessions respectively. During the meeting, papers were read on various aspects of Iqbal's philosophy and his selected poems were recited. Those who paid tributes to the poet-philosopher included Allauddin Siddiqi, Syed Nazir Niazi, Dr. Muhammad Baqir (1909-1993)⁵² Aqai Bedar Bakht (1903-1981)⁵³ and Khadija Ferozeuddin (1895-1969)⁵⁴.⁵⁵ Syed Ali Nassr in course of

⁴⁹ Muhammad Anwar Malik (1900-1965); lawyer, politician, worker of Pakistan movement; founder-President Sheikhpura Muslim League, 1938-51; Chief Adviser to Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Governor Punjab; Relief Commissioner, West Pakistan, 1965.

⁵⁰ Syed Fida Hasan (1908-1977); civil servant, diplomat; remained Secretary Defence, 1959; Chief Secretary Punjab, Secretary, Cabinet Division; Principal Private Secretary to President Ayub Khan; first Ambassador of Pakistan in Bangladesh; Pakistan's envoy in India.

⁵¹ "Thousands attend public meeting and 'Mock Battle' in Ravi Park," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 22, 1950; "Iqbal Day in Lahore thousands pay floral tributes," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 22, 1950; "Shower floral tributes at Lahore," *Dawn*, April 22, 1950; "Lahore citizens pay homage to Iqbal: 12th death anniversary celebration," *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1950.

⁵² Muhammad Baqir (1909-1993); historian, educationist, researcher, critic and teacher of Urdu and Persian languages; remained Principal Oriental College Lahore, 1965-70; Pubs. *Lahore: Past & Present*; *Sharh-i-Bang-i-Dara*; *Landani Dost Kay Nam Khutut*; *Khudi ki Lathi*; *Abwaal-o-Aathar-i-Iqbal*; *London Say Khutut*; *Siab Kar*; *Hath*; *Tabdhib-i-Amal*; *Ubrat Namah*; *Abwaal-o-Talimat-i-Shiekh Abu al Hassan Hujvari Data Ganj Baksh* (RA).

⁵³ Agha Baidar Bakht (1903-1981); poet of Urdu and Persian, writer, educationist, lawyer, Iqbalist, politician; remained Councillor of Lahore Corporation for 27 years. Pub. *Mawaray-i-Majaz* (Commentary on *Arghuman-i-Hijaz*).

⁵⁴ Khadija Ferozeuddin (1895-1969); educationist and prominent worker of Pakistan movement, first Muslim woman to get M. A. Degree; lecturer, Lahore College for Women, 1924; Inspector of Schools (Women), Lahore, 1933; founder, Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Khawateen-i-Islam, Lahore, 1929; Principal Stanford Girls College Amritsar, 1932; President, Anjuman-i-Itehad-ul-Khawateen, Amritsar, 1933; organised Muslim Women Conference; Ph.D in Literature, 1941.

⁵⁵ "Thousands attend public meeting and 'Mock Battle' in Ravi Park," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 22, 1950; "Iqbal Day in Lahore thousands pay floral tributes," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 22, 1950; "Shower floral tributes at Lahore," *Dawn*, April

his presidential speech said that through his mental and emotional force, Allama Iqbal changed the outlook and conception of values of the Muslims of the sub-continent as Quaid-i-Azam later on altered its geography and politics. While expressing satisfaction over the manner in which the memory of Iqbal was being perpetuated he called for greater and all-embracing effort to familiarize the masses here and in other Muslim countries with his message.^{55A}

- Another Iqbal Day meeting was held in the YMCA hall under the auspices of the City Muslim League, where *inter alia*, Fatimah Jinnah's Iqbal Day message was also read. In her message which was published in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, *Dawn*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *The Pakistan Times*, *The Khyber Mail* and *The Morning News*, she impressed on participants the great lessons taught by Allama Iqbal. She said that he had firm and un-flinching faith in the glorious part Muslims were expected to play in the building up of human happiness and this faith must help us on one and all to do our duty and prepare us for the destiny that was ours.⁵⁶

- In a statement, issued by Sardar Muhammad Zafurullah, President of the Civil Area Muslim League and appeared in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore it was regretted that even after three years of establishment of Pakistan, no step had been taken so far by the government to commemorate Iqbal in a manner befitting his greatness. He urged the Punjab Government to implement its oft-repeated promises of erecting some memorial to Iqbal commensurate with his contributions to the making of the new state.⁵⁷

- The women of Lahore also celebrated Iqbal Day by holding a largely attended women's meeting at the Ladies Club, Lahore whose proceedings were printed in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, and *The Khyber Mail*.

22, 1950; "Lahore citizens pay homage to Iqbal: 12th death anniversary celebration," *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1950.

^{55A} *Ibid*.

⁵⁶ "Khatoon-e-Pakistan's 'Iqbal Day' message," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, 21 April, 1950; "Iqbal's poetry a contribution to human thought, Miss Fatimah Jinnah," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, 21 April, 1950; "Iqbal's poetry is invigorating, Miss Fatimah Jinnah," *Dawn*, 21 April, 1950; "Miss Jinnah's Iqbal day message," *The Pakistan Times*, 21 April, 1950; "Miss Jinnah's tribute to Iqbal," *The Khyber Mail*, 22 April, 1950; "Amongst the greatest the world, Miss Jinnah," *The Morning News*, 23 April, 1950.

⁵⁷ "Punjab Government urged to erect memorial to Iqbal," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 21, 1950.

Begum Fida Hasan, President of the Punjab branch of the All Pakistan Women's Association, (APWA) while delivering her presidential address, emphasized the need for closely following the teachings of Allama Iqbal, both by men and women for creating the glorious and impressible spirit of true Muslims. Iqbal, she said, dreamt Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam carved it out, and now 'we along with the men have to build it up to the best of our genius'. The meeting which was arranged by Begum Irfanullah, was also addressed by Fatima Begum, Begum Tasadduq Hussain, Begum Abid Ahmed (1903-1982)⁵⁸ and Begum Hamid Nizami. Young girls at the meeting recited selected poems of Iqbal.⁵⁹

- *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore reported that in the evening of April 21, 1950 three *mushairas* were held in connection with Iqbal Day celebrations. Allauddin Siddiqi presided over at Y. M. C. A. Hall *mushaira*, organized by the Lahore Civilians Area Muslim League, in which prominent participants were M. D. Taseer, Tassaduq Hussain Khalid (1901-1971)⁶⁰ Abdul Majid Bhatti (1902-1976)⁶¹ Saqib Zirvi, Azim Murtaza, Rabia Fakhri (1917-1998)⁶² and Muhammad Hayat. At the University Hall *mushaira* where Chaudhry Ghulam Abbass presided, Raja Hasan Akhtar read an article on Allama Iqbal and various poets recited their verses. The Batapur *mushaira* was attended by Abdul Majid Salik, Chiragh Hassan Hasrat and Abid Ali Abid.⁶³

- *The Khyber Mail*, *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore revealed that on April 23, 1950, interesting anecdotes of Iqbal's life were related at a gathering at Alhamra Lahore held under the auspices of the

⁵⁸ Begum Abid Ahmed Khan (Amatul Hameed Khanum) (1903-1982); social activist; poetess; worker of Pakistan movement; member Punjab Assembly.

⁵⁹ "Let Iqbal's message serve as line of action for Pakistani women, Begum Fida Hasan," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 21, 1950; "Women urged to follow Iqbal's philosophy", *The Khyber Mail*, April 22, 1950.

⁶⁰ Tassadaq Hussain Khalid (1901-1971); lawyer, poet, worker of Pakistan movement; Publicity Secretary Punjab Muslim League, 1935-37; Pubs.: *Makan ta La Makan*; *Srud-i-Nou*.

⁶¹ Abdul Majeed Bhatti (1902-1976); well known poet of Urdu and Punjabi, writer, journalist, novelist, translator; founder-editor, children magazine *Hannabar*, Lahore; Pubs. *Aiktara*; *Jhula*; *Nam-o-Nang*; *Boolti Taswiran*; *Dil Daria*; *Thaida*; *Dil Dian Barian*.

⁶² Rabia Fakhri (1917-1998); poetess, critic; Deputy Director, PID; Chairperson Writer's Club, Rawalpindi; Secretary Halqa-i-Arbab-i-Zawq (for eight years). Pubs. *Barish-i-Sang*; *Nuki-Khaar*; *Takhliqat*; *Ham Sukhan Faham Hain*.

⁶³ "Thousands attended public meeting and 'Mock Battle,' in Ravi Park," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 22, 1950.

Pakistan Art Council with Justice S. A. Rahman in chair. Friends and associates of Allama Iqbal viz., Mirza Jalalud-Din, Abdul Majid Salik, Nazir Niazi, M. D. Taseer, Khalifa Abdul Hakim, Hakim Muhammad Hasan Qarshi threw light on poetic, domestic and political aspects of the great poet's life. Hafeez Jallundari recited his composition, which was greatly appreciated. Moreover, about 100 letters written by Allama Iqbal to his friend Khan Niaz-ud-Din Ahmed Khan (1859-1939)⁶⁴ were also put up for exhibition by the organizers.⁶⁵

- Besides Karachi and Lahore, Iqbal Day was observed in rest of West Pakistan with unbounded zeal, which was effectively displayed by the English dailies of the country. At Peshawar, as communicated by *Dawn*, *The Khyber Mail*, *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, symposiums, lectures and commemorative public meetings organized by several literary societies and provincial Muslim League marked the celebrations of Iqbal Day. Among them, the lecture organized by NWFP Christian League on 'Iqbal's philosophy' created great enthusiasm. Radio Pakistan, Peshawar also aired a variety of special programmes dealing with life and works of Allama Iqbal. Some of the important items included feature programmes 'Iqbal before God'; 'Iqbal as seen by himself' and 'Iqbal's poetical interpretation of music'; a poetical symposium in Pashto; Pashto translation of Iqbal's *Shikwah* and a conversation on Iqbal's philosophy of *Ijtihad*.⁶⁶ The biggest Iqbal Day event in Peshawar was the mammoth public meeting organized by the City Muslim League and addressed by Abdul

⁶⁴ Niazuddin Khan (1859-1939); lawyer, jurist; a friend of Allama Iqbal; carried legal practice at Jalandhar, remained Naib Tehsildar; senior Sub Judge; active member of the AIMEC.

⁶⁵ "Iqbal's letters exhibited at Al-Hamra," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1950; "Iqbal Day celebrated by Art Council", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 24, 1950; "Reminiscence of Iqbal's life at Lahore", *The Khyber Mail*, April 25, 1950. For a detailed study of Allama Iqbal's letters to Khan Niazuddin Khan, see Abdullah Shah, "*Makateeb-i-Iqbal Banam Khan Niazuddin Khan: Hawashi wa Taleeqat*" Unpublished M. Phil Iqbalist thesis, Allama Iqbal Open University, 1993. For text of these letters, see *Makateeb-e-Iqbal banam Khan Niazuddin Ahmed Khan*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1986.

⁶⁶ "Iqbal Day celebrations in Peshawar," *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1950; "Peshawar Radio: Iqbal Day," *The Khyber Mail*, April 21, 1950; "Iqbal Day celebration in Peshawar," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 23, 1950; "Iqbal Day celebrations in Peshawar," *The Khyber Mail*, April 23, 1950; "Iqbal Day in Peshawar," *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1950; "Iqbal Day in Peshawar," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 23, 1950; "Christians join in Peshawar," *Dawn*, April 24, 1950.

Qaiyum Khan, and Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman (1889-1973)⁶⁷ President of the Pakistan Muslim League. In his speech, reported in *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, Khaliq-uz-Zaman urged that according to Iqbal the establishment of Pakistan did not mean the consummation of their struggle. They must make it strong and help create unity in the Muslim world.⁶⁸

- *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi reported that Hyderabad's intelligentsia observed Iqbal's death anniversary in a befitting way at the Besant Hall on April 21, 1950 under the joint auspices of the Theosophical Society and the Pakistan Muslim Youth League. Several speakers paid glowing tributes to the poet's life and works. Ijaz Hussain Agha, in his summing up remarks, dwelt exhaustively on the silent features of poet's philosophy and message and exhorted Pakistanis to understand both and utilize them for the glory of Islam and the welfare of Pakistan.⁶⁹ Likewise, *The Pakistan Times* informed that Iqbal Day *mushairas* were planned to be held by, Iqbal Association, D. I. Khan, and Iqbal Academy, Lyallpur on April 21 and 30 respectively.⁷⁰

- The East Pakistan also celebrated Iqbal Day with great fervour, which was duly covered by the national dailies. *The Morning News* revealed that besides the three day programme for the observance of Iqbal Day chalked out by the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, East Pakistan at Dhaka, Iqbal Day meetings were scheduled to be held in all schools and colleges through out

⁶⁷ Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman (1889-1973); pan-Islamist, politician and prominent leader of Pakistan movement; member, medical mission to Turkey under Dr. Ansari during the Balkan war, 1912-13; Joint Secretary, AIML, 1919-26; one of the organizers of All India Khilafat Conference, Lucknow, 1919; participated actively in Home Rule Movement, 1917-18; and Khilafat and Non Co-operation Movements, 1920; Chairman Lucknow Municipal Board, 1923-26, 1929-31, 1936-46; member, Muslim League Parliamentary Board, 1936, 1943; U. P. Assembly, 1937, 1946; League working committee, 1938, appointed organiser, All Pakistan Muslim League in 1947; Governor, East Pakistan, 1953-54; appointed Ambassador to Indonesia and the Philippines, 1954; President Convention Muslim League, 1962-63; *Pub. Pathway to Pakistan*.

⁶⁸ "League President's call for unity: Iqbal Day meeting in Peshawar," *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1950; "Pakistan should create unity in Muslim world: Khaliq's Iqbal Day speech," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 23, 1950.

⁶⁹ "Iqbal Day in Hyderabad," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 24, 1950.

⁷⁰ "Iqbal Day in D. I. Khan," *The Pakistan Times*, April 19, 1950; "Iqbal Day in Lyallpur," *The Pakistan Times*, April 29, 1950.

the province. Moreover, several literary societies and associations also planned to observe Iqbal Day.⁷¹

- *The Morning News*, *Dawn* and *The Pakistan Times* reported that the Iqbal Day meeting organized by the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu was the biggest Iqbal Day event at Dhaka. It began with a recitation from the Quran followed by reading of Iqbal's poem and concluded with a *fatihah* offered by the huge congregation for the repose of the soul of the great poet. Discussing Iqbal as the herald of the Muslim renaissance in India, F. A. Karim (1906-1981)⁷² Secretary Education Department said that in his poems, Iqbal urged Muslims to eschew nationalism and develop instead an internationalism, a Muslim outlook. Majid Farooqi said that Iqbal wanted to reform the individual, humanity and the world. According to Iqbal, no man could reform the world unless first he reformed himself. Shaukat Sabzwari (1908-1973)⁷³ of the view that Iqbal's poetry was a clarion call to the nation to rouse itself from its torpor and march steadily ahead. Abdul Hamid, East Pakistan Education Minister in his presidential speech observed that Iqbal infused life, vigor, and activity into a nearly dead people. He pointed out that Iqbal's message, however, was not for the Muslims alone but for the whole world.⁷⁴

- The Khulna people living in Dhaka held a general meeting in commemoration of the death anniversary of Allama Iqbal under the presidency of Qari Abdur Razzaque. Different speakers dwelt on his achievements and contribution to the idea of Pakistan.⁷⁵ Students of Narayanganj College also arranged an Iqbal Day function with R. K. Das in

⁷¹ "12 death anniversary of Dr. Iqbal: Functions in Dacca and province," *The Morning News*, April 22, 1950.

⁷² Fazl Ahmad Karim Fazli (1906-1981); civil servant, writer, poet, film maker, novelist, intellectual; Pubs. *Khun-i-Jigar Hunay Tak*; *Sabar Hunay Tak*; *Sabar Hunay kay Baid*; *Chashm-i-Ghazal*; *Naghma'b-i-Zindagi*.

⁷³ Syed Shukat Sabzwari (1908-1973); writer, educationist, translator, critic, researcher, renowned linguist of Urdu language. Pubs. *Nai Purani Qadrain*; *Dastan-i-Zuban-i-Urdu*; *Mi'yar-i-Adab*; *Ghalib Fikr-o-Fan*; *Lisani Masa'il*; *Urdu Qawa'id*; *Falsafah Kalam-i-Ghalib*; *Urdu Lisaniyat*; *Urdu Zuban ka Irtiqa*.

⁷⁴ "East Pakistan pays homage to memory of Dr. Iqbal: Solemn and impressive function at Dacca", *The Morning News*, April 23, 1950; Also see "Dacca observance: Pakistan can never forget Allama Iqbal," *Dawn*, April 24, 1950, and "Iqbal Day in Dacca," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1950.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*.

the chair. The lecturers of the College paid glowing tributes to the poet.⁷⁶ At Chittagong, the opening ceremony of Iqbal Reading Room and Library established by the Chittagong branch of All East Pakistan Muslim Students League was performed on Iqbal Day. M. Abdul Quddus Chaudhry inaugurated and Abdul Jalil Chaudhry, Treasurer Students League presided over the function.⁷⁷

- *The Morning News* informed that on April 22, 1950 a *mushaira* in observance of Allama Iqbal's 12th death anniversary organized by the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, was held at the Maya Cinema Hall, Dhaka. A large number of poets from different parts of East Pakistan took part in the *mushaira*, which was relayed by Radio Pakistan, Dhaka. Poems written by a number of women were also read out.⁷⁸ At Chittagong, on April 22, 1950, the students and teachers of the Islamia School, Sadarghat, celebrated the Iqbal Day under the president-ship of Islam Khan. After the recitation of Quran and Iqbal's national anthem, students of various classes recited poems of Iqbal.⁷⁹

- *Dawn* and *The Morning News* reported that the three day programme organised by Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu was rounded off by holding a debate at Rupmahal Cinema, Sadarghat, Dhaka under the president-ship of the Governor of East Pakistan, Feroze Khan Noon. The subject of the debate was 'Iqbal and democracy' and was debated by a number of speakers. In his presidential address, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, made a strong plea to make a thorough study of the works of Allama Iqbal. He was of the view that the study of the poet's contributions should not be done piecemeal. In order to get a correct view of the political philosophy of Iqbal, his writings and utterances should be considered in their entirety.⁸⁰

- East Pakistan Progressive Writers Association also planned to hold a meeting at its Dhaka branch on April 23 in which S. Y. Hasan, the General

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ "Musbaira in observance of Iqbal Day," *The Morning News*, April 24, 1950.

⁷⁹ "Iqbal Day at Chittagong Islamiya School", *The Morning News*, April 24, 1950.

⁸⁰ "Iqbal was an enemy of democracy: Subject for discussion. Lively debate in Dhaka", *The Morning News*, April 25, 1950; "Noon calls for detailed study of Iqbal's works," *Dawn*, April 25, 1950.

Secretary of the Association was scheduled to read out his article, entitled “Is Iqbal a progressive poet?”⁸¹

The International Scene

Besides different areas of Pakistan, Iqbal Day was also celebrated throughout the world, which was highlighted by the English dailies of Pakistan in their various issues that are narrated accordingly.

• *The Pakistan Times, Dawn, The Khyber Mail, The Civil and Military Gazette, Karachi, The Morning News and The Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore* reported that Iqbal Day was celebrated in London at the Islamic Culture Centre where a reception was held jointly by Majlis-i-Iqbal and the Royal India and Pakistan Society under the president-ship of Habib Rahimatoola, Pakistan High Commissioner to Britain and was attended by a large number of Pakistani, Persian, Arab and British audience. Alan Wheatley, a well-known British stage actor, recited two English translations of Iqbal’s works while Masood Farzaad, a Persian poet, dedicated *ghazal* sequence in Persian to the memory of Iqbal.⁸² Speaking on the occasion, Ibrahim Rahimatoola said that Iqbal stirred the nation into activity and gave them the restlessness they needed. He rebelled against contentment, and taught us to look much beyond what ordinarily might be seen by the naked eyes. He gave a message of the glorious past and of the still glorious future that lay ahead. Mohsin Rais, Persian Ambassador to Britain observed that Iqbal was held in great

⁸¹ “East Pakistan pays homage to memory of Dr. Iqbal: Solemn and impressive function at Dacca,” *The Morning News*, April 23, 1950. For details of Allama Iqbal’s impact on progressive movement of India, see Hamid Iqbal Butt, “*Iqbal aur Taraqi Pasand Tebreek*,” Unpublished M. Phil Iqbaliat thesis, Allama Iqbal Open University, 1999. As a matter of fact some researchers tried to portray Iqbal as a progressive poet who preached a total revolution in the society. (For instance, see Tufail Arshi, *Iqbal: Inqilabi Sha’ir*, Lahore, Adabi Sangat, 1977). On the other hand, there are some Iqbalists who believe that Iqbal was a strong opponent of Marxism and Socialism. For details, see S. A. Rahman, *Iqbal aur Socialism*, Lahore, Idara Saqafat-i-Islamia, 1978.

⁸² “Iqbal Day in London,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 19, 1950; “Programme for London ‘Iqbal Day’ celebrations”, *Dawn*, April 19, 1950; “Iqbal Anniversary in London,” *The Khyber Mail*, April 20, 1950; “Iqbal Day to be celebrated in London: Majlis-i-Iqbal & India and Pakistan Society meeting”, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 20, 1950; “Iqbal’s mission has not ended with Pakistan’s creation, Rahimtoola,” *Dawn*, April 23, 1950; “London celebrates ‘Iqbal Day’,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1950; “Iqbal Day celebrations in London,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 23, 1950; “Iqbal Day celebrated in London,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1950; “London commemoration: Islam to Iqbal, answer to all questions, Prof. Arberry,” *The Morning News*, April 24, 1950.

esteem in Persia and hoped that Iqbal's thought would influence in developing a synthesis of European and Muslim countries. A. J. Arberry spoke on Iqbal's doctrine of the individual and community and concluded that Islam to Iqbal was the absolute answers to all questions.⁸³

- *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *The Khyber Mail* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore communicated that two days later, Allama Iqbal was again mentioned at a high level meeting when Habib Rahimtoola quoted a verse of Iqbal in praise of Shakespeare while attending Shakespeare's birthday celebrations held at Stratford-on-Avon. Speaking on the occasion, he said that as a proof of the high esteem and regard in which Shakespeare was held in his country, he could do no better than to quote the greatest national poet, Iqbal. He then quoted a verse from Iqbal's poem on Shakespeare.⁸⁴

- The Pakistan Embassy at Tehran arranged a grand Iqbal Day function in which famous Iranian poets, literatures, members of Iranian Cabinet, representatives of Senate, Majlis, and the Diplomatic Corps attended, and Radio Tehran relayed its proceedings. Reporting the event, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *The Khyber Mail* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore narrated that Ghazanfar Ali Khan (1895-1963)⁸⁵ Pakistan Ambassador to Iran, in a short speech requesting Malik ul-Shu'ara Bahar to take the chair, referred to Iqbal's greatness and emphasized the fact that it was Iqbal who enabled the Indian Muslims to throw off foreign yoke. Bahar, in a scholarly speech referred to Iqbal's contribution to poetry and called the present age as 'Age of Iqbal'. He maintained that Iqbal's poetry was the

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ "Rahimtoola quotes Iqbal's poem on Shakespeare: Stratford-on-Avon banquet," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 24, 1950; "Iqbal's praise of Shakespeare: Birthday celebrations at Stratford-on-Avon", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 24, 1950; "Iqbal's verse about Shakespeare," *The Khyber Mail*, April 25, 1950.

⁸⁵ Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (1895-1963); politician, parliamentarian, diplomat and worker of Pakistan movement; member, Indian Legislative Assembly, 1923; Council of State, 1933-37; Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1937, 1946; Minister, Alwar States, 1927; elected to Punjab Assembly on League ticket in 1937 but joined Unionist Party after election; Parliamentary Secretary, Revenue and Irrigation, Punjab, 1937-44; member, Health, Food and Agriculture, Interim Government of India, 1946-47; Minister, Agriculture, Food and Health, Government of Pakistan, 1947-48; Minister Refugees, Relief and Rehabilitation, 1948; Ambassador to Iran, 1948-52; to Turkey, 1952-53; High Commissioner to India, 1955-56, envoy to Italy, 1956-57; First President of Pakistan Hockey Federation.

quintessence of nine hundred years' cultural relations between Iran and Pakistan. Sarmad and Shakaiba recited later poems in praise of Iqbal.⁸⁶

- *Dawn* reported that the Pakistan Association observed the Iqbal Day on April 21, 1950, at Abadan by holding a meeting which was attended by a large number of Pakistanis, Indians and Iranians. The Governor of Abadan was also present at the meeting. Speeches on the life and poetry of Iqbal were delivered in Persian, Urdu, and English.⁸⁷ Khorramshar also observed the Iqbal Day by holding a meeting at which speakers reminded the audience of the great services of Iqbal to Islam rendered through his poetry.⁸⁸ On April 24, another Iqbal Day meeting was held at Farhangistan (the Iranian Academy) Tehran where Ali Asghar Hikmet delivered a most learned address and reviewed Iqbal's Persian works with extensive quotations.⁸⁹

- *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore reported that at Cairo, Pakistani students of Cairo's Faud-el-Awal University observed Iqbal's death anniversary on April 19, 1950 among scenes of great enthusiasm. More than 500 Arab students participated in the celebrations. Professors of the University delivered several interesting and illuminating speeches on Iqbal and his philosophy and spoke admiringly of him.⁹⁰ Moreover, Jeddah Radio relayed a special programme on eve of Iqbal Day.⁹¹

- *The Pakistan Times* reported that Iqbal Day was also celebrated in Ankara on April 21, 1950 with immense passion. Members of the diplomatic corps, including British, Canadian, and Norwegian Ambassadors, University professors and students, prominent citizens, and high government officials, participated in a largely attended meeting, held in Ankara University Hall.⁹²

⁸⁶ "Iqbal Day to be celebrated in Tehran & Ceylon," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 21, 1950; "Iqbal anniversary at Tehran: Function addressed by Malik ul-Shu'ara," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 24, 1950; "Iranian scholar's tribute to Iqbal," *The Khyber Mail*, April 26, 1950; "Anniversary in Tehran," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 23, 1950; "Iranians pay homage to Iqbal," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1950.

⁸⁷ "Abadan observers Iqbal Day," *Dawn*, April 26, 1950.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ "Ali Asghar Hikmat addresses Iqbal Day meeting in Tehran," *Dawn*, April 30, 1950.

⁹⁰ "Iqbal Day' observed in Cairo," *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1950; "Iqbal's death anniversary observed in Cairo," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 21, 1950.

⁹¹ "Iqbal Day in Jeddah," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1950; "Iqbal Day at Jeddah," *The Khyber Mail*, April 25, 1950.

⁹² "Iqbal Day in Ankara," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1950.

• At Colombo, the Iqbal Society of Ceylon celebrated the Iqbal Day on April 21, 1950. *The Pakistan Times* reported that the day's programme started with a lecture at Memon Mosque where hundreds of Pakistani and Ceylonese Muslims had gathered for Friday prayer.⁹³ In the evening a public meeting was held under the auspices of the Iqbal Society at Zahira College, Colombo, presided over by A. M. A. Azeez, Principal of the College, and President of the Society. During his presidential speech, Azeez discussed the life and works of Allama Iqbal and said that Iqbal had played a great part in bringing back to the Muslims all over the world.⁹⁴ During the meeting, a student from Zahira College recited verses from Iqbal's poetry. Later in the evening, the Iqbal Society arranged a one-hour radio programme. There were broadcasts in English, Urdu, and Tamil that were preceded by recitals from the Quran.⁹⁵

• *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, and *Dawn* informed that Iqbal Day was also observed in Rangoon. A community gathering, a *mushaira* and broadcasts from the Rangoon Radio were some of the highlights of Iqbal Day programme. The public meeting in the city hall was presided over by U Tun Pe, Information Minister, Government of Burma. M. A. Rauf, Indian Ambassador, and Sardar Muhammad Aurangzeb Khan, Pakistan Ambassador made speeches on the life and teachings of Iqbal. In his presidential speech, U Tun Pe said that Iqbal was one of the most illustrious sons of Asia. His rare qualities were in evidence in the sphere of literature, religion, social sciences, politics, and economics. In a special Iqbal Day message sent on the occasion, Thakin Nu, Premier of Burma observed that the patriotic favour in Iqbal's writings had inspired millions of inhabitants of the Indian sub-continent and encouraged them in the struggle for freedom. He concluded that the message of Iqbal would live and inspire freedom-loving people for centuries.⁹⁶

⁹³ "Iqbal Day in Colombo," *The Pakistan Times*, April 28, 1950.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Among the Muslim intellectuals of Ceylon who were attracted to the vision of Iqbal, A. M. A. Azeez was the most prominent. He remained a member of Ceylon Civil Service, Principal of Zahira College, (the premier Muslim educational institution in Ceylon) and a Senator. For details, see M. M. M. Maroof, "Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Iqbal in Sri Lanka," *Iqbal Review*, Vol. 34, No. 1, April 1993, pp. 1-20.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ "Iqbal Day in Rangoon: Thakin Nu's message," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 24, 1950; "Iqbal gave message of spirituality, peace & love, Thakin Nu," *Dawn*, April 24, 1950.

Even a cursory glance on the above paras would reveal that Allama Iqbal being the originator of the idea of newly established state enjoyed a special status among the Pakistani intelligentsia. A survey of English dailies of Pakistan which existed during 1950 reveals that he was highly respected for his multi-dimensional services and his views on the important question of life were persistently quoted by renowned personalities from every walk of life, like writers, politicians, intellectuals, civil servants and theologians as guidelines to be pursued in reshaping the proposed structure of the motherland. His ideas were presented as a panacea for all the ills and rallying point for the development of a sense of unity and oneness.

TAJIKISTAN—HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION

Muhammad Suheyl Umar

TOPOGRAPHY

Tajikistan, known for its rugged and beautiful mountainous terrain, is situated in the south-eastern most part of Central Asia. Bordered on the north and west by the former Soviet republics of Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, the Tajiks share a southern frontier with Afghanistan and a disputed eastern boundary with China. Tajikistan has an extremely unusual shape along its northern border where a long strip of its territory extends like a finger into Uzbekistan to include part of the fertile Farghana Valley. The smallest of the Central Asian countries, Tajikistan (55,251 square miles) is approximately the size of Wisconsin.

The majestic high peaks of the Pamir Mountains, the “roof of the world,” dominate the landscape of the eastern half of Tajikistan. The Pamirs boast the highest point not only in Tajikistan but in the whole of the former Soviet Union. This summit, Communism Peak, stands 24,585 feet high. Other mountain systems, the Pamir-Alay, the Trans-Alay, and the Tian Shan fan out into western Tajikistan. Over 90 percent of the country is mountainous including the autonomous oblast of Badakhshon i Kêhâ.

Most of the rivers of Tajikistan feed into the drainage system of the ymu Darya, whose headwaters arise in the Pamirs. The ymu Darya, one of two major rivers of Central Asia, flows westward through Tajikistan until it becomes the boundary between Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, eventually emptying into the depleted Aral Sea. The Syr Darya River, the other major Central Asian river, flows through the Farghana Valley in northern Tajikistan. The Zeravshan River follows a westward path through central Tajikistan.

The climate of Tajikistan varies greatly. The alpine areas feature wintry temperatures and snow, while the river valleys can be either hot and desert like or moderate and pleasant, depending on altitude and the shifting patterns of wind and weather.

Tajikistan contains rich stores of various minerals, as well as uranium and several other kinds of ore. It is an important exporter of cotton, grown mainly in the Farghana Valley but also in the Gissar Valley where the capital city Dushanbe is located. Grain and fruit are grown in the valleys. Livestock,

especially sheep and cattle, are raised on the hillsides of Tajikistan. The yak is the traditional helper of the farmer or shepherd.

Ethnic and Historical Background

Tajiks, who may be the oldest inhabitants of Central Asia, derive ethnically from an Iranian background. This means that, in contrast to most of the other peoples in the region whose languages come from Turkic roots, spoken Tajik is close to modern Persian. Linguistically, Tajik belongs to the western Iranian group of Indo-European languages. Although several distinct dialects of Tajik exist, the variant spoken amongst the Tajiks of Samarqand and Bukhara (both cities inside the borders of neighbouring Uzbekistan) has provided the foundation for the modern Tajik literary language. Tajik was originally written in the Arabic alphabet, its first works dating from the great Muslim civilisations of Bukhara during the ninth and tenth centuries.

TAJIKS CUSTOMARILY HAVE BEEN VIEWED AS THE SETTLED OR SEDENTARY PEOPLE OF CENTRAL ASIA, AS OPPOSED TO THE NOMADIC OR WANDERING GROUPS. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE SHOWS THAT THE FORERUNNERS OF THE TAJIKS HAVE INHABITED THE AREAS ALONG THE YMU DARYA RIVER VALLEY, AS WELL AS SIMILAR AREAS ALONG THE ZERAVSHAN RIVER AND THE SYR DARYA IN THE FARGHANA VALLEY, SINCE THE FIRST OR SECOND MILLENNIUM B. C. THE SEDENTARY TAJIKS WERE THE FARMERS AND CULTIVATORS OF THIS LAND. BY THE TIME THE ARABS ARRIVED IN THESE REGIONS IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES A. D., THE MOVEMENT OF TURKIC-SPEAKING NOMADS INTO THE AREA HAD ALREADY BEGUN TO ADD DIVERSITY THE ETHNIC MIXTURE OF PEOPLE. THE SAKKINID DYNASTY THAT ROSE TO POWER IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES, WITH BUKHARA AS ITS CAPITAL, EMERGED AS A GREAT CENTRE OF ISLAMIC LEARNING. THE TAJIKS ARE AMONG THE LEGITIMATE INHERITORS OF THE ARAB CIVILISATION AND LITERATURE INASMUCH AS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TAJIK LANGUAGE DATES FROM THAT TIME.

Later in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, as waves of Mongol invaders began to spread across Central Asia, the prevailing language of the ruling Turkic dynasties became Persian. By the fifteenth century, the settled peoples of Central Asia, while using both the Persian and Turkic languages, came to draw upon a shared cultural heritage. The distinction between specific Tajik or Uzbek nations appears to date from a later period. In fact, all settled people in the region were referred to by the term "Sart" whether they spoke a Persian or Turkic dialect. Sart simply served to distinguish town-dwellers from the more nomadic, generally Turkic, peoples of the area. The bi-lingualism that developed during

that period still prevails among some urban dwellers of present day Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, leading occasionally to rival Tajik and Uzbek claims of ethnic domination in border areas.

From the Islamic civilisation the future Tajiks also inherited the religion of Islam, the dominant religion of Central Asia. Despite the linguistic ties with modern Iran, the Muslim communities of Tajikistan are primarily Sunni, in contrast to the more dominant Shi'ite Muslim presence in Iran. Despite the official state atheism of the Soviet period, virtually all Tajiks, and over 90 percent of the entire population of Tajikistan, have roots in the Islamic tradition. The contemporary revival of Islam in Tajikistan is addressed later in this chapter.

Russian Conquest and Soviet Rule

Russian conquest of the area of Tajikistan dates from the nineteenth century. By 1867, Russian Turkistan, made up of most of the land eventually known as Central Asia, had been established. Many Tajik settlements, however, continued to find protection under the independent Muslim khanates that resisted the Russian advances. The khanate of Bukhara, for example, included Tajik centres within its domain during part of this time. By 1918, in the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution, the Red Army had gained control of most of what is now Tajikistan. The newly named Turkistan Republic, direct descendant of Russian Turkistan, was declared in April. Composed of Tajiks, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, and other primarily Muslim ethnic groups, it was organised as an autonomous republic within the larger Russian Republic. By the fall of 1920, in spite of occasional outbreaks by local armed Islamic rebel groups, or Basmachi, most remaining resistance to the Bolsheviks had been quelled, and the whole of Central Asia was brought together under Soviet domination.

In October 1924, Tajikistan was reorganised and designated an autonomous republic attached to Uzbekistan. Five years later, on 5 October 1929, having received approval from Moscow, it was granted its own status as a full union. The division and redistribution of Tajiks in this new republic was not ideal. Some Tajik settlements, both along the Uzbek-Tajik border and within the most important old historical centres such as Bukhara, Samarqand, and Tashqand remained in Uzbekistan. The population, however, was apparently pacified to the satisfaction of the authorities, although local resistance to the Sovietization of Tajikistan was not entirely stamped out until the late 1930s.

In spite of the national delimitation policy of the Russian authorities, a policy that assigned national groups to particular homelands, large groups of Tajiks still resided

outside the borders of Tajikistan in other newly formed republics. Many Tajiks found themselves in Uzbekistan, a lesser number in Kyrgyzstan and in the other Central Asian republics. There were also more than a million Tajiks living outside the borders of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, in China, and in the area that later became Pakistan.

Within Tajikistan itself, there remained many Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Kazakhs, Turks, and other Muslims who should have found themselves and their villages located inside the borders of their own newly established Central Asian republics. Alongside those peoples who had achieved their own republics, many other smaller ethnic groups remained in Tajikistan. The Pamiri people, the Mountain Tajiks, the Yagnobis, the Chagatais (Turkic), and the Harduns constituted the main groups. Almost without exception they are Muslim but have a language or Cultural tradition different from the Tajiks.

After being incorporated into the Soviet Union, the Tajiks were eventually encouraged to develop their own sense of nationhood, albeit without reference to religion. A sense of resentment of Uzbek domination evolved as the Tajiks compared the privileges accorded Uzbeks in the cultural and economic sphere. As a part of this growing sense of Tajik nationhood, the Tajiks also came to appreciate the Persian roots of their language and the implications such a tradition implied in their relationship with the Afghans and the Iranians.

Soviet Leadership

In the twenties, Soviet authorities encouraged native peoples to become active in the Communist Party in order bring effective management and organisation to the young republic. Initial directives from the government announced guidelines for the nationalisation of natural resources, new water and land distribution programs, the emancipation of women, and free education for all citizens. These decrees, however, were not pursued until the rebellious Basmachi movement was wiped out. The pacification process became especially difficult because of the perceived threat both to Islam and to the traditional ways of life that the new decrees represented. Nevertheless, in spite of tremendous difficulties in communication between the Tajiks, who could not speak Russian, and the Russians, who were unable to express themselves in Tajik, local Tajiks eventually came to fill many local Party committees and other administrative posts.

The collectivisation of agriculture was not achieved until the 1930s because of the violent objections of local Tajiks, many of whom now spoke from within the Communist Party itself. The disagreements on collectivisation led to the purging of two local Party leaders, Nasrutullah Maksim and Abdurahim Khojibaev, both ethnic Tajiks. A series of

purges then followed, the most extensive of which occurred in early 1934. As many as ten thousand victims may have perished during that time. The Party lay in ruins, decimated by the excesses of Stalin's paranoid policy. By 1937 a Russian, Dmitrii Protopopov, had been appointed first secretary and many other Russians were brought in to staff lower level positions.

Tajikistan was now and would be for many years under a more direct control from Moscow. Protopopov stayed on as first secretary until 1945. He was followed by a Stalinist Tajik, Bobojon Gafërov, who held the post from 1945 until 1956. The post-Stalinist era was not notable for outstanding reformers in the office of first secretary. Tursunbai Uljabaev, also a Tajik, was removed for corruption and abuse of power in 1961. Subsequent first secretaries, Jabar Rasulov and Ra'Amæn Nabiev, retained the Tajik presence in the office, but did little to reform Party politics.

Contemporary Issues Standard of Living

Tajikistan is arguably the poorest country in Central Asia. It has the highest birth-rate of any former Soviet republic. Since 1959, the population of Tajikistan has increased by over 3 percent per year, a rate approximately three times higher than the previous Soviet average and higher than that of most other developing nations of the world. Between 1959 and 1979, the population of Tajikistan increased by over 100 percent. This rapid population increase has been reflected in chronic rural overpopulation and consequent high unemployment. Even before the destabilising political events of 1994-99, rural unemployment figures often exceeded 25 percent of the able-bodied work force.

To address the problems of rural overpopulation and poverty, directives were frequently sent from Moscow in the 1980s encouraging the development of labour resources in urban centres. Yet, as local Tajik leaders would occasionally lament, the absence of Soviet state investment in Tajikistan meant that migration to urban centres only had the effect of transferring rural poverty into urban poverty. Soviet state investment in Tajikistan ranked among the lowest per capita for any republic. One result was that, as of the 1989 census, two-thirds of the inhabitants of Tajikistan remained in small, underdeveloped rural villages.

Predictably, efforts to address this relative underdevelopment by anti-nationalist campaigns—Soviet directed and Tajik implemented governmental campaigns to persuade women to have fewer children—failed from the start. Such campaigns, occasionally launched also in Uzbekistan, were invariably seen as anti-national drives directed against

Asians by Moscow. The perception that these were selective, differentiated efforts aimed at Central Asians was fuelled by the reality that in other parts of the Soviet Union, as in European Russia, public policy occasionally was openly pro nationalist.

Alongside the health and welfare needs of a poor population, one of the features of Tajikistan's poverty is its weak infrastructure. Because the country is dependent upon water from surrounding mountain streams, dams have been built for water storage. But some of these dams are of uncertain quality having been constructed in an area split by seismic fault lines. In March 1987 a landslide set off by heavy rainfall in the Kulob region led to the collapse of a dam holding back three million cubic meters of water. The ensuing flood killed 36 people, leaving another 500 homeless. Such disasters have raised grave concerns about the status of other public works projects. The largest dam in all of Central Asia, the Nurek, lies just east of the capital Dushanbe.

The Cotton Mono Culture

By the 1980s, Tajikistan came to be the third largest republic of the Soviet Union. Cotton production averaged over 900,000 tons annually. Although that was only about a tenth of the total annual production of cotton (9 million tons) in the former Soviet Union, Tajik cotton is the more desirable "long-staple" variety. Given the limited amount of arable land in Tajikistan, the high production figures for cotton demonstrate that, as in the case of Uzbekistan, a cotton monoculture has developed with marketing ties through Moscow. Tajikistan has become so dependent upon its cotton production that school children and urban workers have been routinely diverted into the fields to assist with harvests. The need for harvest labour, despite unemployment in rural Tajikistan, reflects the under productivity and lack of technology in this predominantly rural country.

Efforts to diversify the Tajik economy have depended upon the development of urban manufacturing and the exploitation of the country's mineral reserves. As is the case elsewhere in Central Asia, Tajikistan has substantial mineral deposits, including uranium. In early 1992, US Secretary of State James Baker visited Dushanbe, seeking assurances that Tajikistan would not provide weapons-grade uranium to any Asian neighbours who might be seeking to develop nuclear capability. Despite promises provided then to the secretary of state, Tajik leaders face the central problem of how best to generate economic growth, encourage foreign investment, and secure international markets.

Ecological and Environmental Issues

The question of water is for Tajikistan, as for other Central Asian countries, a critical issue. The heavy cultivation of water intensive crops such as cotton only makes the problem

of water shortage more acute. The occasionally conflicting interests of economic development and environmental concern have also been a part of the discussion over water in Tajikistan. In one of the first open debates of its kind over water usage, the informal Tajik group 'yshk«r» (Openness) spearheaded opposition to state plans for the building of a large hydroelectric plant on the river Vakhsh. In a partial concession to environmental concerns, the state announced in 1989 that it would reduce the projected height of the dam by one third.

While environmental issues have occasionally panned conflict with industrial and economic development, environmental and energy concerns have also added to ethnic and regional rivalries in Central Asia. During the winters of 1990-91 and 1991-92, Tajikistan was forced to limit its central heating in major urban centres often reducing dramatically the use of electricity in factories as well. In their explanation for the energy crises, Tajik officials blamed Uzbekistan for failing to provide power from its power stations. Such rivalries over energy have thus added fuel to environmental and ethnic conflicts.

Occasionally, environmental issues have required official resolution by Uzbekistan and Tajikistan officials. In the case of a large Tajik aluminium plant near the Uzbek border, complaints by Uzbeks over water and air pollution led in 1991 to formal co-operative resolutions by the deputies of both the Tajik and Uzbek Supreme Soviets (their parliamentary bodies). Under the joint resolutions, the Tajik plant agreed to stop the operation of 100 electrolysis units at the plant during the summer of 1991, despite the fact that aluminium production figures significantly in the Tajik industrialisation effort. Complicating this agreement has been Uzbekistan's demand for 30 million roubles in damages. Such ethnic rivalries make environmental problems all the more crisis prone and difficult to solve.

Ethnic Disputes

Ethnic conflict, including the tensions between transplanted European Slavs and the indigenous Islamic peoples, may be found in each of the Central Asian countries. In the case of Tajikistan, there are two features that make this ethnic rivalry particularly intense. First of all, the majority Tajik nationality does not share with the rest of Central Asia a common Turkic linguistic and racial inheritance. As mentioned earlier, spoken Tajik is a Persian language, markedly different from the Turkic languages spoken by most other people of Central Asia. The result is that, while the Tajiks share a common Islamic religious identity with their Central Asian neighbours, they are less likely to be drawn into

a pan-Turkic alliance, or a greater Turkic confederation such as the Turkistan that existed prior to the creation of the separate Central Asian Soviet republics in the 1920s.

An equally important feature of ethnic rivalry for the Tajiks is that a disproportionately large part of the Tajik population resides outside the present Tajik borders. Over 900,000 Tajiks reside in Uzbekistan and are concentrated in the adjacent Bulchoro oblast, particularly in the ancient cities of Samarqand and Bukhara. Similarly, over three million ethnic Tajiks reside in Afghanistan. As long as the political authority of the Soviet Union prevailed, the diffusion of Tajiks outside Tajikistan did not pose a significant problem. Official Soviet Tajik ideology, as reflected in the publications of Bobojon Gafërov, (Communist Party first secretary from 1945 to 1956, and subsequent director of the Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies), held that the Russian annexation of Central Asia in the nineteenth century was a progressive development. Gafërov and official Soviet Tajik ideology advocated use of Russian for all Tajiks, including those Tajiks Living in Afghanistan. This ideology had the effect of masking interethnic rivalry, while at the same time offering a defence for such actions as the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in late 1979. As elsewhere, the passing of Soviet imperial power eliminated ideological defences and reopened a series of old ethnic disputes for the Tajik people.

The most serious of these ethnic disputes is with the Uzbeks. Ever beneath the surface, the conflict with Uzbekistan broke out in 1988 when the secretary of the Tajik Writers' Union, La'iq Sher 'Ali, complained of Uzbek intellectual imperialism. Referring to Uzbek writings, Sher 'Ali noted the "national arrogance of several of our Turkic-speaking colleagues."¹¹¹ For Sher 'Ali, the problem was that Uzbek writers were trying to establish ethnic origins by building their own early national history upon writers who, though they may have lived in Bukhara, wrote in Persian (the case of Ibn Sâna or Avicenna, 980-1031). Sher 'Ali complained similarly about Uzbek claims on behalf of what he said were "Persian-Turkic" poets from the eleventh to sixteenth centuries who lived well beyond Uzbek borders in present-day Afghanistan.

While the ability to voice such resentments openly marked the early stages of intellectual glasnost in Tajikistan, the Soviet Tajik authorities were understandably wary of opening the door too wide. In January 1988, editor Khojaev of the Tajik-language Party newspaper, Komsomoli Tochikiston, was dismissed for publishing articles that, according to

¹¹¹ Sher 'Ali is quoted in Annette Bohr, "Secretary of Tajik Writers' Union Voices Resentment," *Radio Liberty Research Bulletin* [RLRB], 17 March 1988.

the charge, “wittingly or unwittingly aroused aspiration to national exclusivity and parochialism and undermined the basis of traditional friendship between the peoples of neighbouring republics”.¹¹² By August 1988, however, in debates over the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh before the Supreme Soviet in Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachev specifically referred to the conflicting Tajik-Uzbek claims, fearing a potential domino effect should property be allowed to be transferred from one republic to another. He was referring to the Tajik claim that 20 percent of the Tajik nation that resided in and around the historic city of Samargand in Uzbekistan had been unfairly excised from the Tajik republic. In short, what was being challenged was the very drawing of the Soviet-designed ethnic boundaries created in 1924. For Moscow, and for Moscow loyalists in Dushanbe, such challenges were potentially dangerous.

In the case of the Tajik-Uzbek dispute, as in other such disputes throughout the former Soviet Union, the claims function in more than one direction. For just as the Tajiks can speak on behalf of their Tajik compatriots in Uzbekistan, the Uzbeks can cite the situation of over one million Uzbeks living in Tajikistan. These disputes, which continue to produce intense interethnic friction, have since 1988 become the subject of occasional meetings between visiting delegations of Tajik and Uzbek leaders. The issue of the large Tajik aluminium plant near the Uzbekistan border discussed earlier became part of this simmering rivalry.

Just as the Tajiks have been concerned about the fate of their compatriots in Uzbekistan, so have parallel concerns been raised about the Pamiri peoples of Badakhshan *i Kubi*. Tajiks claim that the Pamiri numbering 100,000 or more, are, in fact, Tajiks (a claim not unlike that made by the Uzbeks about Tajiks in Uzbekistan). The Pamiris, however, appear to have a language that is separate and distinct from Tajik Persian, deriving from an East Iranian linguistic grouping, while Tajik derives from a West Iranian grouping. While claims continue to be made that the Tajiks are denying the Pamiri people their right to self-determination—indeed the census returns of 1989 lump the Pamirs with the Tajiks—it is difficult to judge the question in the absence of appeals from the Pamiris themselves.

A measure of how disruptive ethnic conflict can be for Tajikistan is the fate of the Russian and Ukrainian population, largely concentrated in the capital city Dushanbe. This transplanted European Slavic population has become increasingly uneasy, not because of overt ethnic hostility from the Tajiks—although such hostility has existed in all the

¹¹² Quoted in Bess Brown, “Limits to Glasnost in Tajikistan,” RLRB 11 April 1988).

newly independent Central Asian states—but rather because of fears that Tajikistan is destined to become an Islamic state. Although these fears may be quite unfounded, the result has been an unprecedented exodus of Slavic and Jewish population from Dushanbe since 1990. Estimates are that the Russian refugee population from Tajikistan alone reached over 50,000 in 1992. The human drama of this large refugee exodus, occurring in other parts of Central Asia as well, carries with it a substantial cost, for the Russian population in Tajikistan is disproportionately represented among the technical, medical, and civil service elite. These European Slavs of Tajikistan like their counterparts in other urban centres of Central Asia, are not easily replaced.

Islam in Tajikistan

The 1980s were marked by a resurgence of Islamic loyalties within the officially atheist Tajik Soviet Republic. The recovery of Islamic religious identity was not unique to Tajikistan. As elsewhere, traditional Muslim practices remained strongest in the rural small village setting. The somewhat more surprising presence of unofficial Islamic leadership in large urban centres, however, posed special problems for the state authorities. In 1986, for example, the arrest of an unregistered mullah, ‘Abdullah Saidov, in Qūrgʻonteppe, a large city near the Afghan border, led to public demonstrations in which some local Communist Party members and intellectuals joined. The termination of ‘Abdullah Saidov’s activities as a mullah may have been related to mystical practices, or to his popularity and the size of his following, or to the strategic location of Qūrgʻonteppe, near the Soviet-Afghan frontier, or perhaps to some combination of these factors. Nevertheless, the rally of the mullah’s supporters seems to have caught the state authorities off-guard.

The spread of such popular religious sentiment, including the presence of Wabbā and other unregistered clerical leaders, led to numerous state directives in 1987 and 1988 seeking to reenergize anti-religious forces. Ironically, at a time when the early signs of glasnost in Moscow included friendly overtures toward the Russian Orthodox church, Tajik officials in Dushanbe, led by Communist Party First Secretary Kakhar Makebkarnov, saw no conflict between support for Gorbachev’s glasnost and an intensified crackdown upon unofficial and unauthorised Islamic movements.

By 1988, Tajik newspapers carried open reports of unofficial, underground religious press in the republic. One such press, operating from the print shop of the Dushanbe Pedagogical Institute, had been turning out copies of an Islamic newspaper, Islamiskaia Pravda (Islamic Truth), photocopies of speeches by the Ayatollah Khomeini and

*Pakistani scholar-leader A. A. Mawdūdā, as well as republications of works of a prominent theorist of Islamic revival, Jamāl al-Dān al-Afghānā.*¹¹³

By 1990, an informal political group with alliances throughout the other Islamic republics of the former Soviet Union, the Islamic Renaissance Party, was firmly established in Tajikistan, despite the efforts of governmental officials to ban it. In December 1990, the Tajik Supreme Soviet outlawed the Islamic party from Tajik territory, specifically forbidding the establishment of informal parties of a religious nature. Kakhar Makbarkamov, by then the Tajik president, steadfastly sought to identify the Islamic Renaissance Party with extremist fundamentalists and Wabbābs. The Islamic Renaissance Party in Tajikistan, however, has tended, as elsewhere, to appeal to the intelligentsia, avoiding religious extremes and rather seeking to identify Islam as an integral part of Tajik culture. Because of the appeal of democratic ideals to the Tajik intelligentsia, the Islamic Renaissance Party has also tended to bridge what some see as the potentially conflicting ideals of Islam and democracy. Unlike the pronounced anti-Western and anti-modernist perspectives of Islamic fundamentalists and Wabbābs, especially with matters involving the rights of women, the Islamic Renaissance Party has tended to be more urban and moderate in its views. By openly charging that the Islamic Renaissance Party frightened the non-Tajik Slavic population into leaving the republic, the Communist leadership may indirectly have advanced the process they sought to limit in their ban of this increasingly popular Islamic movement.

Political Unrest and Civil War

The central political dynamic in Tajikistan, as in other former Soviet republics, is the destabilising process of the dissolution of old Soviet-style, Communist Party leadership. In Tajikistan this process has been advanced by the rise of informal as well as formal political parties. Violence and tragic loss of life have unfortunately accompanied the political transformation.

For the past decade, from 1982 until 1992, leadership of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic has been dominated by two Communist Party first secretaries, Raʼmōn Nabiev (1982-85, 1991-92) and Kakhar Makbarkamov (1985-91). While Makbarkamov officially embraced the reformist, modernising lead of Moscow's perestroika, he was unprepared to oversee the dissolution of Soviet power. Despite his occasional admonitions to the bureaucracy, including criticism of the performance of the head of the Tajik KGB,

¹¹³ See Bess Brown's report, "Description of Religious *Samizdat* in Tajikistan," RLRB, 23 May 1988.

Vladimir Petkel, Makhkamov became a dutiful republican leader in the wider Soviet bureaucracy and Communist Party. His efforts to maximise cotton production increasingly came to be viewed by Tajiks as part of the process of Soviet colonial exploitation, an exploitation made worse by the manner in which it tended to deform the Tajik economy into a cotton mono culture.

February 1990 Riots. In February 1990, the accelerating economic, ethnic, and religious conflicts within the republic triggered an outbreak of violence in Dushanbe that left over twenty dead, hundreds wounded, and untold damages to housing and public buildings. The demonstrations appear to have begun over rumours that Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan were arriving in Dushanbe and would be given housing priority. Because of the demand for apartments in the capital and the reality that Armenians actually were being sent to Tajikistan, there was some substance behind the concerns of those protesting. Ultimately, the demonstrators became menacing, throwing rocks at policemen, engaging in looting and theft, and threatening non-Tajik citizens of the republic.

In an ominous replay of the violence in the Georgian capital of Tbilisi in the spring of 1989, forces from Moscow were brought in to help quell the uprising, and order was restored albeit after tragic loss of life. In the Tajik case, the republican leadership specifically sought such assistance, fearing the demands of the protestors who called for the resignation of all republican leaders and the redirection of profits secured from Tajik cotton production.

In retrospect, the events of February 1990 and the rise of informal political groups prior to, during, and after the uprising marked a turning point in the politics of Tajikistan. The February 1990 uprising galvanised the popularity of the republic's informal political opposition. Among the groups who played a role in the 1990 events were the Rast o khâz (Renewal), a Tajik popular front group formed in the fall of 1989 with goals similar, if perhaps more modest, to those of the popular fronts in the Baltic and Ukraine. Leaders of Rast o khâz were selected by the demonstrators outside Communist Party headquarters to negotiate the protestors' demands. When appeals for calm were ultimately made over television, Rast o khâz representatives were among those appearing before viewers.

The riots of February 1990 also reflected the failure of the republican leadership to satisfy the basic social and economic needs of the population. Even official Party representatives had to concede that as many as 70,000 inhabitants of Dushanbe were unemployed, and rural underemployment was potentially even more serious. Despite Makhkamov's promises for new public housing projects and better health care, his

dominant message was that of the need to crack down on those opposition groups responsible for the February uprising. Part of the reason for Makhkamov's hard line message was his concern for the mounting emigration of non-Tajiks from Tajikistan. Such out-migration, especially by ethnic Russians and Ukrainians, had already been triggered by the 1989 law declaring Tajik to be the state language of the republic. But the February riots, and the efforts of some fundamentalist Islamic forces to capitalise upon such events for a more general anti foreigner appeal, sped the outflow of thousands of professionals, medical personnel, and skilled urban workers.

Makhkamov's message of political crackdown was curiously balanced by his openly avowed support for the liberal, reformist objectives of Boris Yeltsin in Moscow. On 24 August 1990 the Tajik Supreme Soviet with Makhkamov's support declared the republican sovereignty of Tajikistan. So as not to escalate further the emigration of non-Tajiks, the sovereignty declaration specifically identified all nationalities as equal in Tajikistan.

FOR THE OPPOSITION, THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE FEBRUARY VENTS WAS MARKED BY EVER MORE OPEN POLITICAL ORGANISATION. IN AUGUST 1990, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF TAJIKISTAN, A PARTY OF LIBERAL INTELLECTUALS, HELD ITS INITIAL CONGRESS. MOREOVER, EVEN THOUGH THE RAST O KHLÁZ AND ISLAMIC RENAISSANCE PARTIES WERE FORBIDDEN TO ORGANISE IN TAJIKISTAN, THEIR SUPPORT ALSO WAS REINFORCED.

Moscow Coup. Ultimately, the opposition between informal political groups and the Makhkamov government came to a showdown in the wake of the abortive coup d'état in Moscow in August 1991. The effort by hard-line Communist officials to depose Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow had ripple effects throughout all of the Soviet republics. In the case of Tajikistan, this effect was made more dramatic by the apparent support for the coup plotters offered by Makhkamov in the early hours of the Moscow crisis. Despite Makhkamov's subsequent ban upon Communist Party operations in the government, the Tajik Supreme Soviet faced demands from demonstrators for the resignation of the republic's leadership. On 31 August 1991, the Supreme Soviet accepted the resignation of Makhkamov. Following a month of bitter conflict between the government and opposition forces, elections were called for November 1991, and all parties were allowed open participation in the process. The Tajik Supreme Soviet declared the formal independence of Tajikistan on 9 September 1991.

The November 1991 elections brought little resolution to the political situation in Tajikistan. According to the official election returns, monitored in part by outside

observers, the chair of the Tajik Supreme Soviet and former Communist Party First Secretary Rakhman Nabiev received 58 percent of the votes cast. Davlat Khudonazarov, chair of the local cinema workers' union and candidate of both the Democratic and Islamic parties, received only slightly more than 25 percent of the vote. More than 80 percent of the electorate voted. The results marked a surprising recovery by the Tajik Communist Party, renamed the Tajik Socialist Party. Charges of election fraud, however, haunted the victors. Khudonazarov accused the republic's leadership of falsifying the results and offered photographic evidence to back up his charge of election irregularities.

Civil War. In May 1992, President Rakhman Nabiev sought to co-opt the support of regional and nationalist parties by assigning a third of the ministerial posts to their representatives. This Government of National Reconciliation" quickly was challenged by Nabiev's own conservative supporters from the region around Kulob. Amidst mutual recriminations, the conservative anti-Islamic loyalists from Dushanbe and the Kulob region began to arm themselves, as did their anti-communist coalition opponents.

The civil war that followed from late May to December 1992 can be compared to some of the worst fighting in former Yugoslavia (Bosnia-Herzegovina) during the same time period. Supporters of the old communist regime claimed that the opposition, comprising democratic and Islamic coalition—including strong support from the Pamiri region of Badakhshon i Kēhâ—was being armed by the Afghan resistance. Both sides claimed that the other was benefiting from materiel provided by Russian forces outside Dushanbe and at the Tajik-Afghan border. In the end as many as 70,000 were killed in the sporadic fighting, as hundreds of thousands became wartime refugees. The cost to the Tajik economy was devastating. European Slavs fled Dushanbe in numbers that have yet to be fully calculated, while Tajik oppositionists fled in the thousands across the Afghan border.

In September 1992, midway through the fighting, President Nabiev, who would die of natural causes in 1993, was forced by the opposition to resign. The resignation of Nabiev left unclear who was in control of the Tajik government. The democratic and Islamic parties, despite their growing influence, never assumed full authority. In October, pro-communist forces loyal to the old regime temporarily seized parts of Dushanbe, but Russian forces deployed in the capital initially kept the communist loyalists from retaking the government by force. By November, however, the pro-communist forces operating from their base of strength near Kulob retook Dushanbe and secured the resignation of the interim government.

In the reestablishment of the old regime, the Tajik Supreme Soviet, the parliamentary body still dominated by former Communists, played the central role. They abolished the office of the presidency and granted executive powers to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Imām 'Alā RaĀmĀnov. In the months that followed in 1993, the new conservative pro communist Tajik government launched a crackdown on nationalist, democratic, and Islamic parties, outlawing virtually all such opposition and replacing media and other institutional leaders deemed sympathetic to the anti communist forces.

While the RaĀmĀnov regime has put its authoritarian stamp upon Dushanbe and most other adjoining regions, considerable residual loyalty to the anti-government Islamic forces remains in outlying regions. This situation is particularly true in the easterly Pamiri lands of Badakhshān i Kēhā but such loyalty also remains beneath the surface in the former centre of oppositionist forces near Qūrgbonteppa. Deep-seated regional divisions over land and power drove the civil war and continue to be a fundamental source of volatility in contemporary Tajik politics.

In offsetting these regional divisions the conservative Tajik government has sought to label all outposts of resistance as dangerous pockets of Islamic fundamentalism, a charge that is exaggerated. In the crackdown on opposition groups, the Islamic Renaissance Party and the democratic Rast o khāz movement have been outlawed along with all other informal parties that operated more or less openly in 1991-92. While seeking to re-establish full-centralised control over Tajikistan, the authoritarian government has at the same time attempted to rebuild its ties with other governments of Central Asia. Many of these newly independent states, such as neighbouring Uzbekistan, welcome the silencing of democratic and Islamic informal groups. For now, the post-civil war reassertion of authoritarian rule in Tajikistan reflects, on a wider scale, the fragility of democratic and popular movements throughout most of Central Asia.

International Alliances

THE EVENTS IN TAJIKISTAN, AS ELSEWHERE IN CENTRAL ASIA, ARE NOT OCCURRING IN AN INTERNATIONAL VACUUM. WHILE THE UNITED STATES HAS SET UP ITS OWN AMBASSADORIAL STAFF IN DUSHANBE AND FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE BAKER VISITED THE CAPITAL IN EARLY 1992, OTHER REGIONAL POWERS HAVE ALSO COURTED THE TAJIK GOVERNMENT. THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT HAS ESTABLISHED ITS OWN PRESENCE IN DUSHANBE, EVEN THOUGH THE FUNDAMENTALISM OF IRANIAN SHI'ITE ISLAM HAS MADE ONLY LIMITED HEADWAY IN TAJIKISTAN. THE MODEL OF THE MODERN, SECULAR STATE OF TURKEY, AN ISLAMIC NATION THAT HAS

SEPARATED RELIGION AND THE STATE HAS OCCASIONALLY BEEN RAISED BY TAJIK AND WESTERN LEADERS, AND TURKISH REPRESENTATIVES HAVE VISITED DUSHANBE. MOREOVER, TAJIKISTAN'S CONTINUING MARKET TIES TO RUSSIA OUGHT NOT ENTIRELY TO BE DISCOUNTED, EVEN AS THE TAJIKS SEEK TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THEIR EASTERN NEIGHBOUR, CHINA. FOR TAJIKISTAN, AS FOR THE REST OF CENTRAL ASIA, THE INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUE TO BE PLAYED OUT AMIDST THE ETHNIC AND REGIONAL RIVALRIES OF THIS POOREST OF THE FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS. AMIDST SUCH RIVALRIES, THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF RUSSIAN TROOPS IN DUSHANBE AND AT CRITICAL INTERNATIONAL BORDERS OFFERS POTENTIAL STABILITY, EVEN AS IT SERVES AS A REMINDER OF THE CONTINUITIES IN TAJIKISTAN BEFORE AND AFTER SOVIET RULE.

THE PERIOD THAT FOLLOWED WAS A SAD STORY OF CIVIL STRIFE AND A COMPLETE BREAK DOWN OF CIVIL SOCIETY. THE PREDICAMENT OF WAR RAVAGED COUNTRY COULD BE ASSESSED FROM THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

Interim Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Tajikistan. 13 August 1999

“The Secretary-General welcomes the decision by the Supreme Court of Tajikistan taken on 12 August to legalise the political parties belonging to the United Tajik Opposition. The UTO had publicly declared the disbandment of its armed formation on 3 August, and the decision by the Government is another significant step forward in the implementation of the peace agreement in Tajikistan.”¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ *The complete text of the report is as follows:*

I. Introduction

1. The present report is submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1240 (1999) of 15 May 1999. It brings up to date developments in Tajikistan and the activities of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) since my last report of 6 May 1999 (S/1999/514).

II. Main Developments

2. *During the reporting period, the Government of Tajikistan and the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) made good progress in the implementation of key provisions of the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan. The parties reached agreement on the proposed amendments to the Constitution, and a decision was taken by the Parliament at its special*

session of 30 June to hold a referendum on the amendments on 26 September. On 3 August, UTO officially declared the disbandment of its armed forces, marking the completion of the second stage of the military protocol.

3. Progress on these and other issues was achieved after a prolonged stalemate between the two parties which lasted through the month of May until mid-June. Expressing widespread dissatisfaction within UTO, Mr. Abdullo Nuri, UTO leader and Chairman of the Commission on National Reconciliation (CNR), on 5 May addressed a letter to Mr. Jan Kubis my Special Representative, expressing concern over the numerous unresolved problems in the peace process, notably the rejection by President Imam Ali Rahmanov of the proposed constitutional amendments, the failure to grant amnesty to former UTO fighters and supporters, and the slow pace of power-sharing, including the Governments unwillingness to appoint a UTO representative to the defence portfolio.
4. My Special Representative took immediate steps to resolve the crisis, concentrating on the resumption of the dialogue between the two parties. Following the appointment of Mr. Kubis as Secretary-General of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and his departure from Tajikistan in mid-June, this effort was continued by Mr. Paolo Lembo, the Acting Special Representative, and Mr. Yogesh Saksena, the Head of Civil Affairs of UNMOT. The members of the Contact Group of guarantor States and international organizations supported those efforts. As the Government and UTO continued to exchange public accusations, the negative atmosphere resulted in some clashes on the ground between government servicemen and opposition fighters, and among opposition fighters belonging to different groups. The incidents were contained and resolved with the cooperation of the parties.
5. *The situation was eased somewhat on 12 May, by a statement of support for the peace process by UTO leaders and field commanders. On 14 May, at a special session of the Parliament, an Amnesty Act was adopted which granted amnesty to over 5,000 UTO fighters who had registered at various assembly areas during 1998 and were subject to investigation by law enforcement bodies for acts committed during the civil war. The new Act complemented the Law on Amnesty adopted in 1997 in accordance with the General Agreement. However, it did not meet one of UTO's demands namely the, amnesty of 93 UTO supporters charged with criminal offences. On 24 May, UTO suspended its participation in the work of CNR. The following day, President Rahmanov met with the Contact Group to present his position, pointing out a number of provisions of the General Agreement which remained unfulfilled by UTO.*
6. On 3 June, the Contact Group issued a statement expressing concern over the suspension of the work of CNR. On 7 June, the parties agreed to form a joint working group as a step towards resuming the dialogue and to resolve the outstanding issues between them. The group was also to prepare for a meeting between President Rahmanov and Mr. Nuri. UNMOT was invited to observe the meetings and played an active role in resolving the differences between the two sides.
7. After several days of intense negotiations, on 16 June, the working group reached agreement on a text comprising a list of tasks which were to be implemented and a time-frame for their completion. On 17 June, Mr. Nuri met with President Rahmanov

to discuss the text, which was then signed as a formal protocol. The following day, on 18 June, CNR resumed its work with the full participation of UTO.

8. *Following the signing of the 17 June protocol, progress was made on a number of key issues, including the agreement on proposed constitutional amendments and the Parliament's decision to put them to a referendum on 26 September. The proposed changes are to be submitted to the electorate as a whole and include: (a) the establishment of a two-chamber Parliament (article 54); (b) the election of members of the lower chamber on the basis of equal, direct and secret vote (article 49); (c) the election of 75 per cent of the upper chamber by indirect vote through the local parliaments, with the remaining 25 per cent to be appointed by the President (article 49); (d) the establishment of a judicial council which shall participate in appointing and dismissing judges at various levels; (e) a decision to expressly permit the functioning of religion-based political parties (article 28); (f) and the extension of the term of the President from five to seven years with no possibility for re-election (article 65). The President and CNR agreed to maintain the existing system of appointments to chief executives of districts and to address electoral matters in a new electoral law which will be submitted for Parliament's approval in due course, after the referendum.*

9. *Since the signing of the protocol, 12 members of UTO were appointed to government posts, bringing the total to 33. The Parliament, at its special session on 30 June, approved the elevation of the Committee on Emergency Situations to a full ministry. UTO's candidate for the defence portfolio, its military Chief of Staff and commander of the Tavildara district, was appointed to head the new ministry. This decision removed one of the most contentious issues relating to appointments, and an obstacle to the attestation and integration of opposition fighters in Tavildara and neighbouring Darband (Komsomolobad), which was completed shortly thereafter.*

10. The process of allocating local government posts to UTO in accordance with the 30 per cent quota was also initiated. President Rahmanov and Mr. Nuri agreed that, as an initial step, executive positions of 22 towns and districts would be allocated to the Opposition. During the course of several meetings devoted to this issue, Mr. Nuri forwarded the names of candidates, and the President has begun the approval process. To date, UTO representatives have been appointed as district chairmen by presidential decree.

11. On the issue of amnesty, a two-member CNR panel was established to review 58 of the 93 cases of UTO supporters currently in prison under criminal charges. A recommendation was made to release 47 of these supporters. This is still pending.

12. *At its 30 June session, Parliament also approved the nomination of four UTO members to the Central Commission on Elections and Referendums, in accordance with the 25 per cent quota stipulated in the General Agreement. UTO is seeking the appointment of one of its representatives as Deputy Chairman of the Commission, as well as a 25 per cent representation in local electoral bodies. This is still pending. UNMOT has suggested that the Commission consider inviting neutral monitors to observe its proceedings, in order to enhance the body's credibility with the electorate.*

13. *A two-person team has been tasked by the Chairman of CNR to begin drafting an electoral law. The team is working with a legal expert from OSCE. As planned, a first team of electoral experts from UNMOT and from the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights carried out a joint preliminary assessment from 21 to 28 May. From 24 July to 6 August, a second team of United Nations and OSCE experts visited Tajikistan to evaluate conditions pertaining to voter education and information, freedom of expression and equitable access to media, registration of parties and candidates,*

and deployment of domestic/party agents to monitor the ballots. That mission has just been completed. A third team is scheduled to travel to Tajikistan in due course, after which a decision is to be taken regarding the involvement of the two organizations in the parliamentary elections. The previously reported dispute between the Tajik Government and UTO over the sequence of elections was resolved, with UTO accepting the holding of presidential elections before parliamentary elections. (President Rahmanov's five-year term expires on 6 November; the term of the current Parliament expires in February 2000.)

14. The public declaration by UTO on the disbandment of its armed forces on 3 August was endorsed by CNR in a resolution adopted the same day. The declaration opened the way for the legalization of UTO political parties banned by the Government following the civil conflict in 1993. The Chairman of the CNR Military Sub commission reported that 2,400 former opposition fighters had decided to return to civilian life while 4,275 are currently in the process of reintegration into the government power structures.
15. During the reporting period, job creation projects for former UTO fighters were launched in six districts in the Karategin valley, namely Darband (Komsomolobod), Tavildara, Garm, Tajikabad, Hoit and Jirgatal. They are being implemented by the United Nations Office for Project Services. The projects, which were developed in close consultation with the local communities, involve mainly the rehabilitation of public facilities and infrastructure. They will provide work for about 700 former fighters, 50 war widows and 170 specialists for an average period of five months. Agreement has also been reached on work plans that would double these figures. The further expansion of the projects into other areas is foreseen. The current phase of the work is funded by grants from Norway and the United States of America, through the United Nations Development Programme. Pledges have also been received from Canada and the European Commission.
16. The humanitarian situation remained precarious during the reporting period, with large segments of the population receiving some form of assistance. Humanitarian needs remained greatest in Karategin valley, Leninabad Province and Gorno-Badakshan Province. Despite the importance of humanitarian operations in contributing to peace and stability, donor response to the 1999 Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal remained disappointing, with only 40 per cent of requirements pledged. In late July, a mid-year review of the 1999 Appeal was submitted to donors. The review identified 10 priority projects totalling US\$ 13,510,348 which required urgent funding to ensure basic humanitarian coverage until the end of 1999.
17. *The Contact Group remained actively involved in the peace process, holding joint sessions with CNR as well as several extraordinary sessions to monitor developments and assist the parties in resolving stalemates. The Group issued a number of press releases to publicize its views. In early August, Uzbekistan resumed its participation in the Contact Group for the first time since November 1998, when it had recalled its charge d' affaires from Dushanbe on grounds of security.*
18. UNMOT reopened its field office in Khorog on 1 June, and in Khujand on 21 June. It continued to observe stringent security measures both in Dushanbe and in the field.

III. Observations

19. *There has been significant progress in the implementation of the General Agreement by the Government of Tajikistan and the United Tajik Opposition. Major obstacles which had held the process*

This peace agreement was not without its blemishes. It had its costs and compromises. The Islamic parties were allowed to participate in the body politics of the country and a certain representation in the offices of the government were promised to them while they conceded to allow the term of the president to be extended to seven years instead of five.

Imam 'Alá Ra'ámov was scheduled to be ratified Tajikistan's President for the next seven years. The 1100 years of the Sámnid dynasty were commemorated just two weeks before a referendum which allowed extension in the presidential term from five to seven years. From 9th September to 9th November, the state media dubbed the celebrations as crowning of the first presidential term of Ra'ámov the peacemaker and saviour following the footsteps of Ismá'ál Sámná. Almost daily the state owned Tajikistan Television aired carefully clips from the interviews of the participants of the Sámnid conference specifically lauding the leadership of the incumbent ruler under whom the nation has finally found peace and harmony.

Certainly arranging for an endorsement from a broad shade of foreign academicians, scholars and historians contribute to boost the leader's image. Of course bringing, lodging, boarding, entertaining all those foreign guests, decorating the city, renovation and face uplift of places to be visited by the guests required huge resources from the cash strapped economy. All of which could be justified convincingly for being spent for a noble cause.

The celebrations also had a root in the Soviet past. Every five years the Soviet leaders had a practising of heralding their achievements made in all aspects of life to boast during the October Revolution Anniversary and as a

back for more than one year were removed. UTO's formal declaration concerning the disbandment of its armed forces opens the way for the legalisation of UTO political parties and their full participation in the political process. It is now time for the Government and UTO to broaden the dialogue to other parties and groups so as to encompass the full spectrum of Tajik society.

20. Tajikistan is facing three important ballots: the referendum on constitutional amendments on 26 September, and presidential and parliamentary elections by 6 November 1999 and February 2000, respectively. The United Nations and OSCE have agreed on a joint approach to the parliamentary elections and are in close touch concerning the modalities of their cooperation. The involvement of the United Nations in that election will be dependent entirely on voluntary contributions, and I will be approaching Governments with concrete proposals on this subject.
21. Finally, I should like to thank Mr. Jan Kubis for his active and dedicated efforts as my Special Representative, and for the important contribution he has made to the work of the Organisation in Tajikistan.

countdown to the All Soviet Congress of the USSR Communist Party. With the party disbanded and Lenin's statue removed from the central square, there has been a search going in most post-Soviet republics to replace past icons with some other more popular figures to muster people's sympathy and to create a new cause to get the people rallying around it. This created the need to re-write history and find heroes who provide a historical context and content for the new state ideology.

Additionally, there is also a need to find an approval from historical sources that there has been a time when the Tajik writ ran over a wide territory and the now segregated regions of Samarkand and Bukhara in fact were the cultural and political seats of ethnically pure Tajik leaders as compared to others of Turkic, Iranian or Afghan origin. Living with a neighbour larger in size, bigger in population, stronger in military and weapon terms and asserting its historical identity over the smaller weaker neighbours compelled the leaders of other Central Asian republics to find some pedestals where they can stand and appear tall enough. That is why, if the Samarkand phenomenon got warm acceptance and popularity it also indirectly endorsed the historical fact that cities like Samarkand and Bukhara are not Uzbek just because the Uzbek and Tajik Communist leaders agreed between themselves in 1924 to segregate these cities from the Tajikistan's territory and place them under Uzbek jurisdiction.

In the mean time, Russian Premier was scheduled to visit Tajikistan on November 16th despite the security crisis in Chechenia. Vladimir Putin was due to personally participate in the ceremony where Imom 'Alâ Ra'ânov was to take oath for his second presidential term to last till November 2006. This announcement came just days after a US state department spokesman voiced serious doubts about the free fair and impartial nature of the way the elections were organised and conducted in Tajikistan.

IQBAL STUDIES—TAJIK CHAPTER: PAKISTANI DELEGATION IN TAJIKISTAN

Muhammad Suheyl Umar

THE IMMEDIATE BACKDROP

Two important factors deserve special mention before we present our Report on our stay, from the 2nd to the 15th of September 1999, in Tajikistan.

Islamic civilisation has had three great manifestations in Asia; Persianate, Central Asian and the Indian. All shared a common base and each had its particular strengths and characteristic features. The Islamic civilisation of Central Asia has been a citadel of learning right from the early days of Islam and has bequeathed its legacy to all the cultural zones of the Islamic lands that came under the influence of the Persianate Islamic culture. Its influence on these zones has been immense, permeating every walk of life, ranging from religion to the sciences down to the matters of every day life. It has always carried a unique significance for the Islamic civilisation in general and, in particular, for those cultural zones of the Islamic world that ranged from the highlands of central Asia to the tropical areas of the Malay world.¹¹⁵

Islamic civilisation of Central Asia has remarkable quality. It suffered the domination and hegemony of the Soviet Union for almost seven decades. It meant that during this entire period of political subjugation Islam had none of the socio-economic forces— state apparatus, economy, education etc.— at its disposal that shape the life of a community. Yet it retained its “historicity”, kept its ethos thriving, gave meaning to the lives of millions of people and managed to exist as a living presence. This is unprecedented in Islamic history.

Not only that. Religion has weathered the storm. It survived and has made a come back. And it is not particular to Islam either. A remark from Malcolm Muggeridge is revealing here. On his seventy-fifty birthday, Malcolm Muggeridge looked back over his long world watch as editor of the *Manchester Guardian* and concluded that the most important single political

¹¹⁵ For an excellent brief survey of this aspect of the issue see S. H. Nasr, *A Journey through Persian History and Culture*, IAP, Lahore, 2000.

fact of the twentieth century had been that with every means of suppression at its command for seventy years, the USSR had not been able to destroy the Russian Orthodox Church. The same holds good for Islam with a greater force.¹¹⁶

Second point that needs to be kept in view is that the Soviet Union withdrew from its Central Asian Republics (read colonies) in such a manner that left the locals in total surprise. It was sudden and without transition, segmenting the Tajiks into three different mindsets.

- Those who welcomed the change and looked upon it as the inauguration of a new era, a promise for the revival of Islam and its religious values.
- Those who watched the change in stunning disbelief and regarded it as a temporary phase likely to be reverted to the old Soviet times.
- The fence sitters who were outwitted by the events that unfolded in the wake of the change and were in the state of a surprise, unable to decide.

The Pakistan Embassy Dushanbe, Tajikistan, was very active in all these troubled years, first under the able guidance of Amâr AÂmad Khan, the then Ambassador, and, later on, through the dynamic and enthusiastic presence of its Charge d' Affairs Dr. Sajj«d AÂmad Seehar. The Embassy fully realised

¹¹⁶ One of the leading authorities on world religion Prof. Huston Smith has remarked, "I can add to Muggerridge's observation the survival of the Christian Church in China under similar circumstances. When my missionary parents left China in 1951 after nine months of house arrest under the Communists, they thought that their lifework had been in vain. Thirty years later, when I returned to visit my childhood haunts, the ban against organised religion had just been lifted, and the vitality that the church had maintained in its underground years surprised everybody. To make sure I could locate the large church we used to attend when we were passing through Shanghai, I reached it forty minutes before the Sunday morning service was to begin and found standing room only. Sixteen Sunday school rooms that were wired for sound were likewise packed, and during the announcement period in the service the pastor pleaded with the congregation not to attend church more than once each Sunday, for that deprived others of the opportunity. (It has been a while since I have heard that plea in my church.) After the service, while lunching with the retired pastor of the church (who had learned his English from my father), I heard firsthand stories of what Christians had had to endure during the Cultural Revolution—being forced to wear dunce caps and kneel for two hours on broken glass in front of jeering mobs, and the like. Those stories concerned Christianity, the "foreigners' religion" but Muslims and Buddhists suffered too and have made comparable comebacks. Mao excoriated Confucius as being bourgeois, but Confucian ethics is back in the school again.

that given the deep rooted religious and cultural connections of the two regions, Pakistan should capitalised on the situation of the new born Muslim states and try to foster greater ties with their masses and the rulers. Various activities had been going on during the preceding years in which the Pakistan Embassy had played an instrumental and important role. These included, apart from the usual political and diplomatic overtures and exchanges, a host of activities that focused on the shared literary, religious and cultural heritage of the two countries; meetings, seminars, outreach, donations, visits of scholars, publication of different materials and much more. The occasion that presented itself as a unique opportunity to enhance and strengthen the on going efforts was the aforementioned celebrations of the 1100 Years of the S«m«nid dynasty. A three-member delegation was invited to participate in the celebrations and to represent Pakistan at various forums during and after the celebrations. The delegation that visited Tajikistan in the wake of these events consisted of Dr. Javid Iqbal, Vice President, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Mrs. Nasira Javid Iqbal, Judge of the Punjab High Court and Mr. Muhammad Suheyl Umar, Director, Iqbal Academy Pakistan.

In what follows we intend to present a collage woven out of meetings, lectures, seminars, discussions, interviews, dialogues and observations/impressions gathered during the stay which extended over a period of more than two weeks. Recommendations and work plan for Iqbal Studies—Tajik Chapter shall be presented at the end.

Interview at the Dushanbe Airport

The moment the members of the delegation set their feet on the Dushanbe Airport, they were welcomed with a warmth and extraordinary zeal that was unprecedented. After the formal reception and presentation of flowers the representatives of the Tajik TV/Radio approached Dr. Javid Iqbal was by for his initial comments. Dr. Javid Iqbal pointed toward the establishment of the new road link between Tajikistan and Pakistan that ran through Afghanistan bordering on the Chinese Turkistan via Urmichi and its benefits for the two countries. He then remarked on the religious and cultural affinities of the two regions that ran very deep as well as the significance of the shared literary and intellectual heritage that provided the common ground for close co-operation. He added that despite these facts, he had a feeling before his arrival that he might encounter a bit of alienation due to certain differences in language and culture. But, on the contrary, he felt so

at home in Tajikistan in every respect as if he was in his own land. He further said that the recent past of the country was a traumatic experience for every one. The devastating civil war had left the country in the grips of various problems and the present leadership, on both sides, was, fortunately, sensible enough to overcome internal differences and rifts with wisdom and prudence to bring unity in their ranks and arrive at a workable formula of power sharing that had a promise of peace and stability for the war-ravaged land.

Interaction with the Intelligentsia and the Common Folk

During the whole of next week, apart from the official visits and events of the Celebrations,¹¹⁷ there was a series of interviews, meetings, roundtables and seminars— not to mention lunches, dinners and receptions—that the delegation had the chance to attend. Dr. Javid Iqbal, being the son of the illustrious poet-philosopher and a very distinguished scholar in his own right, is a celebrity everywhere. But the respect, love and admiration that he received in Tajikistan almost verged on veneration. All due to the love for Allama Iqbal and his works, obviously. It was always an extremely moving and spectacular sight to observe the face of the person in his audience come alight the moment he or she came to know that he or she was in the presence of the son of Iqbal. Eyes shining with a gleam that was not there an instant before! The deep-seated admiration and love for Iqbal that manifested in these encounters is beyond description. Neither is it possible to recount all the meetings that, as we remarked earlier, followed a similar pattern. In the following details we have tried to capture more important of these events and to look into their significance.

Lunch at the Embassy of Pakistan Residence by Charge d' Affairs with the Members of Anjuman-i-Iqbal— 2nd September

Anjuman-i-Iqbal is a forum associated with the Embassy of Pakistan which provides the intellectual and literary space to the Tajik scholars to express their views on Iqbal and his thought and maintains their exchange of views on the subject under the auspices of the Embassy while making inroads into the literary circles and academia of the country. The Iqbal Academy Pakistan had received the promising reports on its activities over the years, even during the times of trouble, so we were naturally delighted to meet the distinguished figures who were carrying the torch forward in their times of distress.

Over the lunch Dr. Javid and the delegation was introduced to the scholars/ members of the Anjuman-i-Iqbal who came from various disciplines, poets, linguists, research

¹¹⁷ See Annex. II for the [Program and Timetable](#).

*scholars, critics, media people, and persons from different walks of life. As the readers would see shortly, the Tajik audience was always overwhelmed to see Dr. Javid Iqbal in their midst and the emotions ran high. The scholars expressed their love and esteem for Iqbal and informed the delegation about the progress in Iqbal Studies and the factors that impede the developments.*¹¹⁸

Round Table Conference at the Writers Union—2nd September

The Writers Union hosted a Round Table Conference with the Pakistani delegation on the 2nd of September. It merits mention in some detail since it provides use insights into the reception of Iqbal in the region.

◆*The Secretary of the Writers Union welcomed the delegation and thanked the delegates to have come to Tajikistan on the occasion of the 1100 years of the Sāmānī Dynasty. Introducing the Writers Union he mentioned that a couple of years ago the Writers Union issued the Kulliyat i Iqbal in Cyrillic to promote the study of Iqbal in Tajikistan, to disseminate his ideas and to introduce him to the contemporary audience.¹¹⁹ It had played a significant role in bringing Iqbal to a larger audience. Even during the lifetime of Iqbal, he added, Sayyid Mār Shukr had written about Iqbal in this area. In the 20th century Iqbal's works were a dazzling example of literary excellence and a role model for the Persian poets and men of letters of Tajikistan. He remarked that they had always marvelled at the fact that a man who was not native to Persian language could write so excellently in Persian and show such an acumen in its poetic art while at the same time representing the best elements of its wisdom tradition. Such an outstanding achievement in an acquired language was a remarkable phenomenon and spoke of a marvellous genius and an extraordinary poetic talent. The prophetic verses of Iqbal presaged the important events of the 20th century and played a significant role in moulding the mindset of the people of this area. The message of human freedom permeating Iqbal's works was especially potent with the readers of this subjugated land and the intellectuals and poets received it with great enthusiasm. He mentioned the historic verses of Malik al-Shu'arā Bahār in this context and referred to the travel of Allama Āadr al-Dān 'Aynā to India and his acceptance with*

¹¹⁸ The cumulative plan is attached at the end which captures the tasks that needs to be addressed if the Tajik chapter has to be strengthened and maximum impact is to be achieved. See Annex. I.

¹¹⁹ A relatively unknown piece of information may be noted here. About 60% of the Tajik population still cannot read the Arabic/Persian script though more and more people are turning to learn to read their traditional script. The lack of this readership was a direct result of the educational system imposed by the Soviet Rulers.

Iqbal and his works. The message of Iqbal reverberating with revolutionary zeal, imbued with wisdom emerged in the recent times to provide us intellectual sustenance,¹²⁰

Rise from the leaden sleep

Rise from the slumber deep

The influence of poet-philosopher Iqbal on the poetic community of Tajikistan has been immense. Iqbal was squarely grounded in the traditional continuity of Islamic literature¹²¹, draws the sap of poetry from it and eventually becomes perhaps the finest flower that blossomed in the withering garden of traditional Islamic poetry. He was well versed in all the classics of Persian literature but for our contemporary Tajik poets the source of inspiration is Iqbal and they rediscovered their classics through Iqbal. Popularity of the genres of ghazal and rubāʿī was due to Iqbal's influence. He cited the examples of the outstanding literary figures of Tajikistan in this regard; Mu'min Qin'at and the generation of poets after him as well as Lā'iq Sher 'Alā. The comparison of the verses from these literary figures with Iqbal was illuminating.¹²²

He continued to remark that the matter did not end at the surface, on a resemblance of artificial or cosmetic elements of poetry. It went far deeper and touched the sensibility of the Tajik mind. In the end he thanked the delegation again on behalf of the Writers Union and the people of Tajikistan.

◆*Dr. Javid Iqbal rose to the occasion effortlessly and started his remarks by mentioning the reassuring phenomenon that in Tajikistan you find Qur'ān, Rēmā's Mathnawā and Kulliyat i Iqbal every where. He said that he would not deliver a formal speech but rather have a heart to heart talk with them. He said that he looked at Tajikistan as a second home and the warm reception given to him there was really remarkable. This land was venerated his father, regarded him as one of the best poets and placed him in the ranks of the most outstanding poets of the world. He added that the works of Iqbal are a guide to all individuals and nations as it preached self-realisation and self-reliance. His lofty message was timeless and related to us as much today as it did in the 1920s. Knowing*

¹²⁰ Here his implied reference was to the most popular verses of Iqbal in Tajikistan *az kbāwb i garān kbāz*.

¹²¹ Many fine studies have appeared which focus on this aspect of continuity. See Annemarie Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing*, Iqbal Academy, Lahore, 1989; *Two Colored Brocade*, op. cit.; Mirza Muhammad Munawwar, *Iqbal kā Fārsā Ghazal*, (Persian) IAP, 1989.

¹²² We have not quoted the verses here though the recitation was a feast and revealed the extent of penetration that Iqbal's works had made in the contemporary Tajik mind.

oneself paves the way to knowing our Lord and our destiny. This is the intellectual underpinning of all that Iqbal had said; freedom, making your destiny, selfhood, self-realisation, such was his message. He said that he was very pleased to note that the Tajiks were so receptive to his life-giving message. It is as if Iqbal had paid the debt back to the land from whose treasures he drew the essence of his poetry!

I myself have not been blessed with a talent for poetry and all my educational training has been in the field of philosophy, law and constitutional history. Iqbal gave an enlightened path to the Muslim community for a new Muslim society. The Indian Muslims had become oblivious of the factors of change, their thinking became decadent and they had lost sight of the fact that Islam is a forward-looking dynamic religion. Iqbal, therefore, re-emphasised the importance and dire need of ijtihād for the present day Muslims and it is among the fundamental aspects of his thinking. An integral and genuine revival of Islam and the required reconstruction of its religious thought would depend on the comprehension and realisation of the principle of movement inherent in the structure of the Islamic civilisation. It is essential not only for Islamic law to remain dynamic and alive, it is also necessary for Islamic culture for its sustained and healthy progress. The present day Muslims should understand that every new generation has to re-establish its contact with the basic texts and original sources of its Tradition and to make a restatement of its vision and map its future in the light of the eternal principles of Islam.

We are passing through a phase of our history that has many similarities with the challenges that our great ancestors faced, say in the times of Imam Ghazālī or Ibn Rushd. They encountered the challenges posed by the attack of the Greek philosophy with its armour of excessive rationalism while we are faced with the challenge of encroachment of an alien worldview added with the force of modern science and technology. They emerged successful in meeting with the challenged they face through employing the principle of movement and our success would equally depend on a fresh application of the same principle of movement to our concerns and our milieu.

I always wonder at the perspicacity of the great poet-philosopher when he presaged the changes that were in the offing and wrote about the times when the Soviet Rule would ultimately be removed from these areas.

You are yourself a witness to the potent message of his works and how it worked for your intellectual and political awakening. I would like to remind you that the message of hope and self-realisation that helped you to

persevere in your times of distress can also sustain you in the present tribulations that strike your national scene in recent years.

◆ Mu'min Qin'at, the national poet of Tajikistan, was the next to address the gathering. He said that Iqbal was a household effect in Tajikistan and every one can talk on Iqbal. He would rather talk about the unique contribution of Iqbal to the Tajik literary milieu.

“During the Soviet times”, he opened his remarks, “ the quality of Tajik poetry exhibited a marked decline. All that the Tajik poets could do was political facile versification. It lacked the depth in the extreme. Gradually an awareness started to dawn upon the men of letters that drew them to look for their own roots. They looked up to various sources and role models in their search. They emulated Mayakofski but it was short-lived. It faded with the departure of the poet. They tried N'aim 'Aikmat but 'Aikmat was completely westernised devoid of the Oriental wisdom and moral sense. For a while they tried other western figures but failed. None of these measure up to their expectations. Then in the sixties a change came about. Iqbal came to their rescue in the time of their desperation as a saviour. The rediscovery of Iqbal meant that we had found a source where philosophy and poetry combined in an exquisite fashion. Our poetry had long lost its dimension of wisdom that Iqbal restored to us. It was like a lifeline to us, an unending source of inspiration and wisdom. Today every poetic creation of worth in Tajikistan breathes in the air of Iqbal's works; it flourishes under his influence which has taught us again to rise above the mundane, the ordinary, the ephemeral and the psychic to the affairs of more enduring and meaningful nature. It was first time after the Soviet rule that the Tajik literature could rise to these heights. Mu'min Qin'at ended his glowing tributes to Iqbal by reciting his verses in praise of Iqbal. At the end of the meeting Kh'num Kam' Baig also presented her poetic composition.

*Dinner at Hotel Tajikistan by the Government of Tajikistan — 2nd September
Visit to the Tajik Academy of Sciences—3rd September*

The delegation visited the Tajik Academy of Sciences on the morning of 3rd September and had a detailed tour of its archives, manuscripts and other sections. The anticlimax came when the delegation called upon the Head of the Academy. It was as we were in the presence of a Soviet bureaucrat who walked like a Russian, who talked like a Russian (speaking no Persian) but who was not Russian. A part of the relics indeed!

*Lunch with Jurrah Baig*¹²³—3rd September

The delegation was invited to a lunch party at Jurrah Baig's residence the same day. As the guests settled in their seats around the traditional Tajik table-spread for lunch the first thing that we spotted was a copy of the collected poetical works of Iqbal (Kulliyat i Iqbal) Persian.¹²⁴ The host brought it forward and started talking about Iqbal and his works with great enthusiasm and passion. It was, as we discovered in a few more meetings, going to be the recurring pattern of every gathering where the Pakistani delegation and, more particularly, Dr. Javid Iqbal was present. Warm reception, verses from Iqbal, allusion to the great love and admiration that every Tajik has for Iqbal, exchange of views followed by meals or refreshments.

Repeated encounters with the same Iqbal Academy edition of Kulliyat i Iqbal Persian also solved a puzzle for us. We had always wondered at the astonishing pace of sale that was experienced in the case of this particular edition when it appeared in 1990. Given the decline of the Persian language in the Pakistani environment and the limited readership of Persian poetry it was an inexplicable phenomenon. Seeing our edition of the Kulliyat i Iqbal Persian every where in Tajikistan explained who consumed the entire edition!

Namāz-i-Jum'ā at the Jam'i'a Masjid—3rd September

The mosque was full to its capacity and gave the aura of any traditional mosque in any of the big cities of the Islamic lands. It was a good indicator to judge the comeback of religion in the land that struggled to save its identity for over half a century.¹²⁵

Seminar on Iqbal—3rd September

The Tajik Academy of Sciences arranged a seminar on Iqbal's life and thought in the afternoon of 3rd September jointly with the University departments of Dushanbe. The proceedings started in a large hall packed with audience from all walks of life especially the academia. ♦ Amār Yazdka introduced the delegation. ♦ Alā Mu'ammad Khurshid, a scholar from Dushanbe, introduced Dr. Javid Iqbal and read a paper on his seminal work on Iqbal's

¹²³ A distinguished Tajik diplomat.

¹²⁴ It was a copy of the *Kulliyat i Iqbal* Persian that the Iqbal Academy Pakistan had prepared and published in 1990 and which, to our astonishment, had vanished from the market in a relatively short period of time.

¹²⁵ See note no 6.

life, *Zinda Rēd*,¹²⁶ showing its importance in the study of Iqbal's life. ♦ Qurbān 'Alā Jān presented *ghazals* from Āfī. ♦ Dr. Javid Iqbal rose to the occasion effortlessly and gave the following remarks:

It is a matter of great pleasure and honour for me that I am visiting Tajikistan at this momentous occasion of the celebrations of the 1100 Years of the Sāmānid dynasty. First of all I would like to express my heart felt gratitude for extending the invitation to me and then for the warm reception and welcome that your government and the countrymen have given to me.

Ever since the day I set my foot on the Tajik soil I have a feeling as if I am in Islamabad. It is so similar to it in terms of atmosphere, weather and other things that I never thought of myself as being away from Pakistan.

I have suggested to our Charge d' Affairs Mr. Sajīd AĀmad Seebar that there should be an Iqbal Chair at the Dushanbe University. I know that the Department of Urdu Language and Literature is making good headway in Dushanbe University but a chair at the University would be more effective seat of Iqbal studies and a channel for the dissemination of Iqbal's thought in this area. There are many countries where Iqbal Chairs have been established with the assistance of the Government of Pakistan. These are located at various centres in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, USA, Iran and other places. The government of Pakistan has tried to reach out to these areas through these Chairs and has made good efforts to disseminate Iqbal's thought, especially in its revolutionary aspect, in these cultural zones. It is however a matter of great concern that an Iqbal Chair is still non-existent in the Central Asian lands even after a decade of their independence from the Soviet Empire. The matter takes on an ironic colour when we take into consideration the fact that among the many cultural and linguistic zones of the Islamic world this area is perhaps the most receptive to the life giving message of Iqbal's works.

As you know, Iqbal was born at a time when the Islamic civilisation was in the throes of decadence and almost all the Islamic lands were suffering from foreign domination, cultural hegemony of the West, inferiority in front of the West and its worldview and educational, scientific backwardness. The pivotal concern of Iqbal's thought, therefore, is revival, a new life and a new vision. In this regard the fundamental issue that emerged again and again in his thought was that of the question of time. There are other

¹²⁶ See *Zinda Rēd*, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2001; Persian translation by Dr. Shāhān Muqaddam Safyārā, *Javidān i Iqbāl*, 4 volumes, IAP, Lahore, 1985-89.

important issues as well that the Iqbal Chair could address. Concept of God is an other such topic. Scholars who have devoted their study to it either approach it on the basis of the outdated theological debates or else turn a blind eye to the rich Islamic tradition that has bequeathed to us a vast treasure of knowledge on the subject. Concept of Man, concept of reality, Islamic view of the world, concept of knowledge and the means of knowledge, concepts of prophetdood and sainthood, the degrees of sainthood etc. are the other topics where the Iqbal Chair could make a useful contribution. Iqbal's concept of Iblâs is an other subject that needs careful study as it has novel ideas in its fold since Iqbal has tried to look at the rebellion and denial of Iblâs from a different angle. There are many other aspects of which I cannot go into the details. One such issue is the question of a modern Islamic state. It needs a lot of re-thinking and research and your area could be a crucible for future thinking.

◆ *After the remarks of Dr. Javid Iqbal the translator presented him with a copy of the Tajik translation of The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. ◆ Qurbân 'Alâ Jân again recited verses from Âşfi. ◆ Then Qurbân 'Alâ Jân, accompanied by 'Askar Âkâm, made a moving presentation of Iqbal's hasti i ma nûm i m¹²⁷. ◆ Ustâdh Sher 'Alâ, Chairperson, Department of Philosophy, Dushanbe University delivered a short speech. ◆ Mr. Sajjad A'Amad Sebar, Charge d' Affairs, Embassy of Pakistan, Dushanbe, made his remarks and introduced the audience to the activities that the Embassy had undertaken.*

◆ The seminar concluded with the keynote address by the present writer. The address focused on the traditional concept of poetry and tried to place Iqbal in the long and illustrious tradition of Persian wisdom poetry.¹²⁸ I alluded to the fact that sapiential poetry is a means and a vehicle for the expression of truth and it complements logic in that it deals with forms of knowledge which are not accessible to the unaided logical faculties of man. Also this poetry brings about the transformation of the soul and its sensibilities in a manner which is not possible otherwise. It causes an assent in the soul of man and in this regard it has an almost alchemical quality about it, a power to transform knowledge,

¹²⁷ See *Payam i Mashriq*, in *Kulliyat i Iqbal*, Persian, IAP, 1990, pp. 255.

¹²⁸ The address has since been published from the Iqbal Academy Pakistan in Persian as well as English and a Cyrillic transliteration is forthcoming. See M S Umar, "That I May See and Tell", Lahore, 2002; *Har Cheh Geyad Dâda Geyad*, IAP, Lahore, 2000.

making it a “tasted” fruit which is digested and which transforms one’s being, thus, through its re-echoing of the fundamental truths of our existence aids man to return to the higher states of being and consciousness.

According to Firdawsâ, San«â, ‘AÇÇ«r, Sa’dâ, Rêmâ, J«mâ and other masters of Persian literature, poetry is the fruit of a vision that is articulated by the poet. To quote their exact formulation, “it is conceived in the intellect and then born through the wisdom of the poet”.¹²⁹ The word used for wisdom is *Âikmah* (sapiential wisdom) and the intellect is referred to by the words “ ‘aql, zamâr, dil or j«n etc.”.¹³⁰

A large proportion of the verses in his work is truly gnomic poetry — “Âikmah ” wisdom in the highest sense of the word. Moreover, they are not wisdom only to Muslims, or to Orientals, but to men of every creed and race. This is one of Iqbal’s great achievements that he bridged the gap between East and West, and gave utterance to the common ground in the great religious and philosophical systems of the world.

Whether we call it higher poetry, designate it as the poetry of gnomic wisdom, give it the title of sapiential or contemplative poetry¹³¹ or classify it as in-spired poetry, all these appellations refer to one and the same reality which is situated at the junction between the form and essence and opens onto the Infînite. It is an activity in which the human

¹²⁹ They all use various expressions but the meaning is almost always the same.

¹³⁰ ‘AÇÇ«r, *Asr«r N«mah*, p. 186; *Mu’âbat N«mah*, p. 48, 50, 367; *Dâv«n*, p. 800; *Ikhâ N«mah*, p. 366; San«â, *Âadâqab al-Âaqâqab*, p. 706, 708. In this regard the remarkable detailed studies of Nasr Allah Pourjavadi are extremely informative and illuminating. See his *Bê-i J«n*, Tehran, 1387 and *Naqd -i-Falsafâ-i shi’r az Naiar -i-‘AÇÇ«r*, 1995.

For Suharawardâ’s formulations on art and aesthetics see *Oeuvres philosophiques et mystiques*, (ed. S. H. Nasr) Paris, 1977; W. Thacksten, (tr.) *The mystical and Visionary Treatise of Subranardi*, London, 1982; For Mu’ammad Ghazzâdâ, see R. Ettinghausen, “Al-Ghazzali on Beauty,” in *Art and Thought*, Luzac, London, 1947, p. 160; For A’amad Ghazzâdâ, *Majm’ah jth«r-i-Farsi*, Tehran, 1370s. especially his *Saw«ni’A*, (pp. 93-190 loc. cit.) translated into English by Nasrullah Pourjavadi, London, 1986: Rêmâ, to give just one example of his formulation from among his large opus, speaks of the *modus operandi* of traditional art in the story of the Greek and the Chinese painters in exactly the same vein, see *Mathnavi*, Bk I, 3465-85 (also see Bk IV, 733; Bk V 372); For an other of J«mâ’s formulations see *Lan«i’A*, tr. Whinfield and Kazvini, London, 1978. For a comprehensive survey of these formulations, see S. H. Nasr, “Islamic aesthetics” in *A Companion to World Philosophies*, Blackwell, 1996, pp. 448-459.

¹³¹ This is my preferred expression for it.

poet is but the imitator of the Divine Poet since his “logical”¹³² utterance is simultaneously a “poetical”¹³³ work.¹³⁴

Thus it does not come as a surprise when we find Iqbal singing in the same vein: “Poetry is the heir of prophecy”¹³⁵ or when he refers to himself as “of one voice with the trustworthy Gibr‘âl”¹³⁶ or declares that “poetry that communicates the message of eternity is either the song of Gibr‘âl or the trumpet of Isr‘fâl”.¹³⁷ By doing this, he places himself squarely in the traditional continuity of Islamic literature¹³⁸, draws the sap of poetry from it and eventually becomes perhaps the finest flower that blossomed in the withering garden of traditional Islamic poetry.

¹³² Meaning here “stemming from the *logos*”.

¹³³ Referring here to *poiesis*.

¹³⁴ In their essence, “poetry” and “logic” are one and the same. “According to traditional doctrines, logic and poetry have a common source, the Intellect, and far from being contradictory are essentially complementary. Logic becomes opposed to poetry only if respect for logic becomes transformed into rationalism: poetry, rather than being a vehicle for the expression of a truly intellectual knowledge, becomes reduced to sentimentalism or a means of expressing individual idiosyncrasies and forms of subjectivism.” Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987, p, 91.

¹³⁵ *Jawād Nama*, tr. A. J. Arberry, Unwin, London, 1966, p. 65.

¹³⁶ *Zabër-i-‘Ajam*, in *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, Iqbal Academy, 1994, p. 430. Gibr‘âl is the angel of revelation in the Islamic angelology.

¹³⁷ *Zarb-i-Kalâm* in *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, Iqbal Academy, 1994, p. 644. These are only representative samples, otherwise much more could be cited from him on this point. See “Aikmat-o-Shi‘r” in *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, Iqbal Academy, 1994, p. 262; “Rëmâ” in *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, Iqbal Academy, 1994, p. 335; “*Asrâr-o-Rumëz*” in *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, Iqbal Academy, 1994, p. 30, 52; pertinent is also the following quotation from his prose “Or perhaps our chief want is rather for the poet of the new age than for its prophet—or for one who should be poet and prophet in one. Our poets of recent generations have taught us the love of nature, and enabled us to find in it the revelation of the Divine. We still look for one who shall show us with the same clearness the presence of the Divine in the human — We still need one who shall be fully and in all seriousness what Heine playfully called himself “Ritter Von dem Heiligen Geist”, one who shall teach us to see the working out of our highest ideals in the everyday life of world and to find in devotion to the advancement of that life, not merely a sphere for an ascetic self-sacrifice, but a supreme object in the pursuit of which all thoughts, all passions, all delights may receive their highest development and satisfaction”, Sayyid Abdul Wahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 95, 96.

¹³⁸ Many fine studies have appeared which focus on this aspect of continuity. See Annemarie Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing*, Iqbal Academy, Lahore, 1989; *Two Colored Brocade*, op. cit.; Mirza Muhammad Munawwar, *Iqbal kâ Farsâ Ghazal*, (Persian) IAP, 1989.

Dinner by the Charge d' Affairs, Pakistan, with the Members of *Pak-Tajik Friendship Society* at the Embassy of Pakistan Residence—3rd September
Interviews: — 2nd to 4th September

- Dr. Javid Iqbal Interviewed by the Tajik Television—Iqbal, the S«m«nid Celebrations
- Dr. Javid Iqbal Interviewed by the Tajik Television—Iqbal, the Silk Route
- Dr. Javid Iqbal Interviewed by the Tajik Radio—Iqbal
- M. Suheyl Umar Interviewed by the Tajik Television—Iqbal and the S«m«nid Celebrations

Visit to the Office of the Pak-Tajik Friendship Society
4th September

The delegation visited the Pak-Tajik Friendship Society on their way to the Seminar held at the Department of Urdu, Dushanbe University. They were introduced to the members of the Society who happened to be the leading scholars of Tajikistan; Ras«l H«dá Z«dab, Kb«nun Sha B«no, Kam«l al-D«n 'Ayn« and others. Madam Sharf al-Nis« explained the activities of the Society. It was evident that the Society had a great potential for out reach in the Tajik society but it needed support. The meeting ended at the presentation of Urdu poetry from a student.

Iqbal Day Function at the Tajik State University— 4th September

The delegation was ushered directly to the office of the Vice Chancellor, «Ab«b Ullab Mur«doof, upon their arrival at the University who received them in a most cordial manner. Himself a scholar of distinction, Mur«doof introduced the members to the University and its various department. His conversation was animated with the same admiration and love for Iqbal that we had seen so often, except for a very few exceptions, during our encounters with the Tajik public and men of letters.

The function was mounted in the hall room of the department. ♦Dr «Ab«b al-Ra«m«n Rajab, Chairperson of the Department of Urdu, a very modest man but an accomplished scholar, introduced the guests to the occasion. The Vice Chancellor, «Ab«b Ullab Mur«doof, opened the proceedings by welcoming the guests. He said that it was indeed an honour for the University to have been able to invite the son of the great poet-philosopher of the East and he felt it his duty to express his heartfelt gratitude for Dr. Javid Iqbal to have agreed to grant them a visit despite his busy schedule. It spoke of the friendship and regard that he had for had Tajik brothers.

Our students have studied the works of Iqbal and they are doing translations too. Iqbal is an on going affair in our department. We always have our Iqbal days but the visit of the delegation has imparted an extraordinary status and flavour to our function today and it is my fervent hope that it will turn out to be a memorable occasion.

◆ Dr. *Āabāb al-RaĀmĕn Rajab*, Chairperson of the Department of Urdu, then presented his *siĕs nĕmah* (thanks giving) written and delivered in Urdu, sprinkled with Persian verses. The ease and fluency with which Dr. Rajab conducted himself in Urdu was impressive. The presentations of the students that came later on confirmed the impression that the department was working on a high level of professional excellence and dedication.

◆ Members of the faculty made a versified presentation consisting of Iqbal's verses interspersed with pieces of Persian poetry and their own compositions.

◆ Dr. *Āaif al-Dān Akram*¹³⁹ started his musical rendering with a presentation of a ghazal from *Āĕĕāi*.¹⁴⁰ *Āĕĕāi* was followed by the ghazal from Iqbal, *ĕĕĕn ĕarĕĕ i Lĕĕa sĕzam dar khayĕbĕn i shumĕ*.¹⁴¹ This ghazal and the verses cited earlier¹⁴² are among the most popular ones among the Tajiks. The charming music and the singing made it a most remarkable audio feast and a moving experience of spiritual uplift.

◆ *ĕĕĕĕĕdab Ād Beg* delivered his speech preceded with verses of welcome for Dr. Javid Iqbal and followed by the presentation of two works on Iqbal to Dr. Javid Iqbal.

◆ Dr. Javid Iqbal rose to the occasion and gave the following remarks:
Honourable Audience

It is a matter of great pleasure and honour for me to be with you today. We had planned to travel to Tajikistan in April this year but circumstances beyond our control prevented us from materialising our program. Then the occasion of the celebrations of the 1100 Years of the Sĕmĕnid dynasty offered an opportunity to visit Tajikistan which we were able to avail. I have a great feeling of familiarity, brotherhood and

¹³⁹ Dr. *Āaif al-Dān Akram*, whom we saw at this gathering turned out to be an extraordinary man. An author of some 13 books and holding PhDs from the local universities, Dr. Akram had spent thirty years of his life composing tunes for Iqbal's verses and singing Iqbal.

¹⁴⁰ He uses a *tĕr* (like a sitar in from the Indo-Pak instruments) accompanied by *tumbak*, (a variant of Indo-Pak *ĕabla*) the traditional musical instruments of central Asia.

¹⁴¹ *Zubĕr i 'Ājam*, in *Kulliyat -i Iqbal*, (Persian) Iqbal Academy, 1994, p. 415.

¹⁴² *aĕ ĕĕĕĕb i garĕn ĕĕĕĕĕ*.

oneness ever since we arrived in Dushanbe. More over the reception, the love and admiration, the extraordinary warm welcome that I found every where I go is a captivating new experience that has touched me to the depths of my heart.

As I had the occasion to point out earlier¹⁴³ there should be an Iqbal Chair at this University. I knew that the Department of Urdu Language and Literature is making good headway in your University and now I am a witness to it but a chair at the University would be more effective seat of Iqbal studies and a channel for the dissemination of Iqbal's thought in this area. It is however a matter of great concern that an Iqbal Chair is still non-existent in the Central Asian lands even after a decade of their independence from the Soviet Empire. The matter takes on an ironic colour when we take into consideration the fact that among the many cultural and linguistic zones of the Islamic world this area is perhaps the most receptive to the life giving message of Iqbal's works. You are the heirs to the language and literature that Iqbal loved most and to which he owed most for the intellectual and technical elements of his poetic medium as well as for the underpinnings, key concepts and symbolism of his message. It is not an exaggeration when he sings that "this is what I have borrowed from your garden!". He has given you what he had learned from your intellectual tradition.

Listening to the verses of Afāi and Iqbal winged by song and music was also an extremely moving experience for me and made me realise how potent an appropriate music could be in enhancing the effect of poetry.

The budding scholars and the new generation of Tajiks should carry on the torch of Iqbal's message into the future.

I am so overwhelmed by the presentations that I feel difficulty in expressing myself and would request you to bear with me.

◆ Dr. Aabāb al-RaĀmĀn Rajab, Chairperson of the Department of Urdu, announced the presentations of the Tajik artists. Artāq Qādir recited verses from Javād Nāmah in an exquisite manner and then made a moving and inspiring rendering of yā chunā kun yā chunā.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ See the section on *Seminar on Iqbal*.

¹⁴⁴ *Zubĕr i 'Ajām*, in *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, (Persian) Iqbal Academy, 1994, p. 363.

◆ *Dr. Āaif al-Dān Akram still had an other enchanting item up his sleeves. It consisted of his own musical renderings of two Urdu ghazals: dil i murda dil nahāā hae and dary« meā motā ay mawj i büb«k.*¹⁴⁵ *Although he only had a smattering of Urdu, the musical rendering was very successful. The present writer had been involved in preparing Iqbal's Urdu and Persian poetry in various audio formats including musical renderings and this exposure to the Tajik musical tradition left a very different impression on us. We felt that the cadence, the flowing drowning rhythm, the grandeur and the deep-seated power of the Tajik music provided a most suitable accompaniment to the equally powerful message of Iqbal's poetry. It stands truer in case of Iqbal's Persian works that are squarely grounded in the centuries old formats of poetic composition of the Persian poetic tradition. The same verses worked into the Persian/Tajik cadences give an entirely different result as compared to those composed in the Indo-Pak style.*

◆ *A female student from the department then read her Urdu poetry and afterwards presented a recitation of the famous verses of Iqbal, Äërat na parastam man.*¹⁴⁶

◆ *A brief session of question-answers followed to which Dr. Javid Iqbal and the Director Iqbal Academy responded. Audience was curious to know about the ability of Allama Iqbal to speak Persian. Alluding to various pieces of evidence, we were able to prove that Iqbal was quite fluent in spoken Persian.*

◆ *Urdu verses presented by various groups of students concluded the function and at the end Dr. Āabāb al-RaĀm«n Rajab, Chairperson of the Department of Urdu, and Qurb«n W«si' made a vote of thanks for the guests and the Embassy.*

The next item on the Agenda was an official Lunch by the Government of Tajikistan at Elite Restaurant. The delegation, however, missed the lunch and preferred to visit the rural residence of Akram Roziyaf, Assistant to the Deputy Minister for Food Grains. As a silent caretaker, Akram Roziyaf had looked after each and every need of the delegation from the moment it arrived in Tajikistan. In the traditional simplicity of a Tajik village we had a quite but extremely sumptuous lunch.

Visit to Qil'a-i-ÄiÄ«r and Sh«b-i-'Ambrān— 4th September

On its way back the delegation had a chance to pay a visit to the remnants of the ancient castle of Qil'a-i-ÄiÄ«r and the adjacent Museum.

¹⁴⁵ *Zarb i Kalām in Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, (Urdu) Iqbal Academy, 1994, pp. 549 & 645.

¹⁴⁶ *Pay«m i Masbriq*, in *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, Persian, IAP, 1990, pp. 298.

Reception by the Charge d' Affairs at the Embassy of Pakistan
4th September

A reception was given by the Charge d' Affairs at the Embassy of Pakistan on the evening of the 4th of September that was attended by all the noted people from the Government and other Embassies. Exchange of views with them offered an excellent opportunity to gain insights into the situation as well as requirements of Iqbal Studies in the Area.

Visit to the Tomb of Sayyid 'Alá Hamad«nâ at Kulaib City
5th September

Sayyid 'Alá Hamad«nâ (or Sh«b i Hamad«n, as he is more popularly called) is the patron saint of Kashmir as he brought Islam to this area and beyond. He also appeared in Iqbal's magnum opus Javâd N«mah.¹⁴⁷ The delegation visited his tomb and had a memorable time beside the mausoleum of the saint.

International Symposium: "S«m«nâs and the Revival of Tajik Culture" —8th September

The address that Dr. Javid Iqbal delivered at the Symposium was in Persian. An English Translation is given here below:

Before I actually deliver my address I deem it my pleasant duty to convey to you and to the people of Tajikistan the message of goodwill and friendship from the President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan on this momentous occasion.

The Honourable President

Learned scholars and distinguished guests!

It is a matter of great pleasure and honour for me that I am visiting Tajikistan at this momentous occasion of these grand and magnificent celebrations of the 1100 Years of the S«m«nid dynasty and it is also a great privilege for me to address this distinguished gathering.

First of all I would like to express my heart-felt gratitude for extending the invitation to me and then for the warm reception and welcome that your government and the countrymen have given to me. From the moment that I emerged from the aircraft at the airport till the present, I never have once felt that I am in a foreign country, neither in spirit nor in body.

¹⁴⁷ *J«vâd Namah*, in *Kulliy«t i Iqbal*, Persian, IAP, 1990, pp. 630.

Tajikistan has a striking similarity with many of parts of Pakistan in terms of atmosphere and geographical conditions. But is above all in terms of cultural and spiritual affiliations that your land is nearest to us. Starting from language and literature down to fiqh, Sufism and philosophy the cultural ambience of the Indo-Pak subcontinent has been under a profound influence of the Persianate culture, particularly under the extremely rich and fecund culture of this area that now makes the present day Tajikistan. It would be not an exaggeration if I say, borrowing my expression from Iqbal, that almost every piece of cultural ruby that we possess is from the “Badakhsan” of your land!

The love, respect and admiration that I have seen for my great father in the Tajik society, both in the masses as well in the intelligentsia, have touched me deeply. It is an extremely meaningful and moving experience for me. I could not have imagined of such a deep-rooted relationship, great esteem and admiration staying back in Pakistan and it indeed speaks of the link, the spiritual nexus and the bonds of ages old affinity between the two countries. In this regard I would like to draw your attention to the very urgent and essential requirement of cementing the cultural bonds and forging greater ties between the two countries.

In the vast breadth of Islamic intellectual history this area has always been a great citadel of philosophy, natural and religious sciences and high culture. The Sāmānīd era has also been one of the high watermarks of Islamic culture. The celebrations of the 1100 Years of the Sāmānīd dynasty is a most suitable metaphor that draws our attention to the fact that the Muslims of Tajikistan are not only the heirs to an extremely rich and diverse cultural and intellectual heritage that outshine most of the other cultural zones. It also points to the hope that their future holds an enormous promise for latent possibilities for the development and spread of Islamic culture. It is my fervent hope that Tajikistan would one day again emerge on the world scene as a great centre of learning.

The celebrations of the 1100 Years of the Sāmānīd dynasty also speak of another fact. Tajikistan has emerged from its period of tribulation and civil unrest. The efforts of the President Mr. Sharf ‘Alā Raġmān can not be belittled in this regard. The economic uplift, the peace making and general well-being of the present day Tajikistan owe a great deal to him. I

congratulate him on his success and pray for the prosperity of the land in future.

Economy has emerged as a vital and most important aspect of international relations in the modern world. In this regard I would like to draw your attention to the need for stronger bi-lateral economic relationships between Pakistan and Tajikistan along with cultural and academic exchange. It would be for the benefit and strength of both the countries.

In the end I would again express my best wishes for your success and pray for a new and prosperous Tajikistan.

Many other scholars from various countries of the world addressed the seminar. The response that the present writer made to the overall theme of the Seminar is given below.

The Honourable President

Learned scholars and distinguished guests!

For the Pakistanis in general and the man of letters in particular, Tajikistan is not merely the name of a country that exists in among the Central Asian Republics and which gained its independence about a decade ago. For us Tajikistan always stood for an identity, a cultural and spiritual entity and an intellectual and historical heritage which had remained in history, till such times that the Soviet hegemony subjugated it, a source of knowledge, culture, sciences and philosophy. In terms of cultural values, intellectual riches and religious ethos, every ruby that we have received is from the “Badakhsan” of your land. The people who hailed from this land also built the best and most enduring political empire of the mediaeval Muslim world.

It is a matter of great pleasure and honour for me that I am visiting Tajikistan at this momentous occasion of these grand and magnificent celebrations of the 1100 Years of the Samanid dynasty. Through these celebrations they are reaching out for their own cultural and religious roots and rediscovering their true identity for themselves and for the foes and friends alike. This is no easy job. Search for one’s national identity

and of the roots of one's culture is bound to bring a lot of differences to the surface. I do not intend to indulge in a refutation of the false ideas that are being aired in this regard. What I intend to do is to bring a few issues and questions to your notice that could lead us to a better perspective on the issue and dispel certain ambiguities that engulf the problem.

First: There are many walks of life and several disciplines where the cultural, religious, political, academic and intellectual excellence of the Tajiks is acknowledged and tributes are paid to their outstanding contribution. Where do these intellectual and cultural achievements stem from? Let me put this question in a specific manner. If Islam had not come to the Central Asian lands what would the condition and development of the Persian Dari language had been? Would the emergence on the literary scene of Rēdakâ, Firdawsâ and other stalwarts of Persian literature been possible? If Persian language appeared as a language of arts and sciences and outshined the others in many of its branches was it not directly related to the Islamic civilisation that flourished in these areas?

If Islam had not nurtured philosophy and the sciences in these lands how are we to account for the emergence of such towering figures as Ibn Sâna, Al-F««bâ, Al-Bârēnâ, Al-Khaw««zamâ and a host of other scholars, theologians, philosophers, natural scientists, men of letters and personalities of dazzling spiritual excellence who are related to this land? Not only the production of the works of lasting value, but also the presence of benevolent and efficient kings, good governance, political acumen, of which the S««mid dynasty was a good example, speaks of the power that Islam has infused in the people of this area.

In our view every manifestation of the Islamic civilisation—be it Central Asia, Africa, Spain, India, Far East—absorbed and then transformed the best elements of the cultural, artistic and intellectual heritage of the region in question in accordance with its world view and vision based on Tawââd. All the ethnic genius, the local talent, the intellectual heritage and the cultural traits were reborn in a new form and gained greater vitality. This is precisely the reason that when Salm««n i F««rsâ was asked

about his ancestry he replied, “Salm«n, ibn Isk«m, ibn Isk«m, ibn Isk«m, ibn Isk«m....”

Second: Apart from laying claim to a glorious past that we alluded to just now, the Tajiks have an other very outstanding characteristic element which manifested in the present times and which is unprecedented in Islamic history. The Tajiks suffered the domination and hegemony of the Soviet Union for almost seven decades. It meant that during this entire period of political subjugation they had none of the socio-economic forces— state apparatus, economy, education etc.— at their disposal that shape the life of a community. Yet they retained their “historicity”, kept its ethos thriving, gave meaning to the lives of millions of people and managed to exist as a living presence. Was it not some thing for which they are indebted to Islam?

Therefore, the future of this land is also strongly related to how Islam re-emerged in this area. The pathways for peace and prosperity which the present day Tajik leadership has visualised are in accordance with the teachings of Islam epitomised in the enduring words of À«fâi:

«s«'ish i do gaitâ tafsâr i ââ do harf ast

b« dâst«ä talaÇÇuf b« dushman«ä mad«ra

The attitude of accommodating the “other”, of enlightenment, of peaceful co-existence that you have demonstrated in your society should be maintained at all costs. Never lose sight of the fact that Islam has been the foundation and source of all the achievements of the Tajiks in the past and it worked as a protective shield during the hegemony of the Soviet Union for almost seven decades. Your future is, therefore, also related to your commitment to Islam.

I pray for your success in this uphill task and for your bright and peaceful future.

Other Side of the Fence—Interviews with ‘Abdullah Nêrâ, Leader of the Opposition

The delegation had the chance to exchange views with the leader of the Tajik Opposition also. ‘Abdullah Nĕrĕ, dressed in the robes of a traditional Tajik religious scholar, was a man of nobility. Following is the resume of our talks with him at various occasions.

We found him the same as his other countrymen in our first meeting with him, loving Pakistan and full of admiration and respect for Iqbal. There was, however, an other dimension to his personality that revealed itself later. He told us about the struggle that continued, mostly clandestine, for the revival of Islam during the Soviet times.¹⁴⁸ They were running schools undercover, mostly during the nights, that imparted teachings on three basic lines; Qur’ĕn, basic Islamic teachings and Iqbal. They used to bring works of Iqbal, in pieces, folded up their sleeves to avoid detection. Nĕrĕ himself taught Iqbal to the seekers of knowledge in these underground schools. According to him, after the Qur’ĕn, Iqbal’s Persian poetry was their mainstay and it played a most significant role in the Tajik renaissance.

He also had a very balanced view of the Afghan problem. According to him Afghanistan was a problem of the Islamic *ummah* and not a localised phenomenon. He had spent 5 years of his life in Afghanistan, apart from frequent visits there, and had contacts with all the major factions there. He shared with us his meetings with Mulla ‘Umar in which he had discussed the future of Afghanistan with him and had pressed upon ‘Umar that the Afghan problem cannot be solved through war. It needed negotiations. He also mentioned all the other Afghan leaders whom he tried to convince on the same lines. He argued that being Muslims and Āanafĕs they should be able to reach an agreement. There had been enough talks, now the matter should be resolved. If you unite you can reach some formula of peaceful existence otherwise the devastating war will ruin what ever is left. You would be thrown in the category of Dostam and his ilk. Dr. Javid Iqbal asked him certain questions that we reproduce here:

Dr. Javid Iqbal— All the warring factions are Muslims and Āanafĕs at that. War is not religiously sanctioned. Why then all this killing and fratricide? The Taliban say that we have the control of 90 % of the land so why should we negotiate.

¹⁴⁸ See Broxup, *Mystics and Commissars*, Oxford, 1987 that provides useful insights into the process.

Nērâ— This is all the more reason that they should talk. The party that wielded such a power should be more accommodating and considerate talking from its vantage point of greater strength. It should give others what is their due and bring peace.

Dr. Javid Iqbal—Very right. This is what they should have done but unfortunately that has not come to pass. They are too rigid and narrow-minded.

Nērâ— There are reasons to this mindset; prolonged war, their life style and the hidden hands manipulating them for motives other than their own.

Dr. Javid Iqbal— It has something to do, perhaps, with the *madrasah* mindset that the Taliban represent. It is because of this mindset that the Shi'ite-Sinni conflict in Pakistan has reached such threatening dimensions. Both the spillovers of the Iranian Revolution and the Taliban have created tensions and promoted intolerance. We do not want to partisans of a certain party but we do want that there should be a broad-based government in Afghanistan with friendly relations with Pakistan unlike the earlier Afghan governments who were friendly towards India and antagonistic towards Pakistan creating all sorts of problems for us.

Nērâ— You are right. The Muslim masses should not remain indifferent to it. The world is progressing and we remain backward due to these internal rifts and disharmonies.

Dr. Javid Iqbal—Look at the long and bloody history of the European Wars. Eventually they realised that it was futile and they united for their economic cause. Why can't we do that instead of killing one another?

Nērâ— *The mineral and natural resources of the West are dwindling. They are on the look out for greener pastures and want to have a certain control on these areas. If they really want that peace should come to this land it could be established very quickly.*

Look at our situation, the seculars and the Islamic parties were at daggers drawn here, civil war was raging and we made peace just to save the country from going to ruins.

Dr. Javid Iqbal— This is the sensible thing to do and it reflects mature and enlightened thinking. The UN has not recognised the Taliban Government but it is using Pakistan to bring the Taliban to the negotiating table and to agree to a broad-based government. If they do not agree the conflict will continue and would devourer what ever is left.

Nërá— Look at our situation again. We could not gain every thing but at least there was a referendum, a constitutional amendment allowing us to breathe and a formula for peaceful co-existence. The religious parties had a success when they obtained the right to conduct political activity on religious ground. Now they can nominate their candidate for presidency and the struggle continues in the political arena. Peace is to the benefit of every one. We have more following now. Earlier we were 4 parties in the United Tajik Opposition (UTO). Now we are 7. We are united and forming a block. Remember that there are lapses too. The promises have not been honoured. You must have noticed the propaganda by the state machinery. The formula that we had agreed earlier for the power sharing has not been kept up in its totality. On the level of the ministers it is done but not on the level of the local government.

Dr. Javid Iqbal— Where do you turn to seek amends for the grievances?

Nërá— There are many forums and national and international institutions where we can make an appeal but the problem is that they do not have the power to enforce their decisions.

Dr. Javid Iqbal— It some times happen with us too. Even worse in some cases where the Government tries to intimidate the Judiciary. We try to take a stand then so that the role and rule of law is not curtailed and people should not lose their faith in the law. I hope the situation will improve here too as you have a higher rate of literacy and education.

Nërá— The problem with us is that the Government is not law abiding and we avoid confrontation beyond a certain limit for fear of plunging the country into a civil war again. Nevertheless present day Tajikistan is quite different from what it had been a few years back. The return of UTO has changed a lot as you can see for yourself. However it would still take us 5 to 10 years to restore the writ of law completely and successfully in its letter and spirit. It is true that we have a 90 % rate of literacy and education but the armed, militant groups are usually illiterate and we need to get rid of them.

Dr. Javid Iqbal— We have much hope for your future.

Nërá— I am grateful for your kind sentiments and pray for Pakistan as well.

Meeting with the Minister for Culture—MuÁammadof Bba Khn ‘Aliovich

An important encounter that took place was our meeting with the with the Minister for Culture, MuÁammadof B«ba Kh«n ‘Aliovich and his Deputy, Mr. Salâm Z«dah. The Minister was as full of enthusiasm about Iqbal as any Tajik scholar and immediately set off to tell us about the respect, love and admiration that Iqbal received in Tajikistan. As always it was an extremely moving and spectacular sight to observe his face come aglow the moment he sat in the presence of the son of Iqbal. Eyes shining with a gleam that was not there an instant before! He talked at length about the details of Iqbal’s reception in Tajikistan, his contribution to their endeavours, Iqbal and Iqbal Studies as a part of the curriculum and his influence on the world of letters.

Conversation turned to the cultural affinities and the feelings of brotherhood that existed between the two countries and the significance that the opening of the new highway would have for the region. Dr. Javid told him that he had prayed for it at the tomb of Sh«h i Hamad«n to which he remarked that he had watched it on the TV.

Since the issues of education and publication also fall within the purview of the Ministry of Culture he told us about the activities in this field and asked for suggestion for more publications. Dr. Javid responded to it by pointing to various titles that needed to be brought to the Tajik readership.¹⁴⁹ He also welcomed the suggestion of holding seminars on Iqbal on regular basis.

Dr. Javid further suggested that there should be a separate Iqbal Section in the Firdawsá Library to which he could send all required materials. The Minister was so forthcoming on the point that he ordered the section to be established in an hour.

Deep-rooted relations of Persian with Urdu was an obvious part of the matters of mutual interest. Suggestion were exchanged for enriching and augmenting the collections of Urdu/Persian books in various libraries across the countries and representation of these materials at various museums under the control of the ministry especially the museum attached to the Tomb of Sh«h i Hamad«n.

The Minister went a step forward and suggested that we should take an other step by announcing awards for best articles and books on Iqbal in order to promote Iqbal studies, to generate greater interest and to bring more awareness about Iqbal.

¹⁴⁹ Suggestions included in the cumulative projection plan.

Dr. Javid then suggested that there should be an Iqbal Chair in Tajikistan that should work in close contact with the Iqbal Academy and maintain connections with all the allied institutions here. Scholars would then make intellectual exchanges and research shall be conducted. He said that it was a matter of great concern that an Iqbal Chair was still non-existent in the Central Asian lands even after a decade of their independence from the Soviet Empire. The matter takes on an ironic colour when we take into consideration the fact that among the many cultural and linguistic zones of the Islamic world this area is perhaps the most receptive to the life giving message of Iqbal's works. The Minister was very forthcoming on the point and said that a formal agreement shall be drafted to materialise these suggestions because it would not only serve Tajikistan but also the adjacent lands where millions of Tajiks live and which essentially belong to the same cultural and religious ethos.

The Minister reiterated the fact that Iqbal was an intellectual need of every man of culture and refinement and maximum steps should be taken to increase the awareness in this regard.

Mr. Sajjad Ahmad Seehar, Charge d' Affairs, Embassy of Pakistan, Dushanbe who also accompanied the delegation, suggested that there should also be an exchange of cultural troupes and delegations making and outreach to various cities in Tajikistan and, perhaps, in the neighbouring areas. In this regard special troupes could also be arranged for Iqbal. The Minister agreed to the proposal and added that, apart from that, the Tajik television and media service shall be advised to give special focus on Iqbal and include important aspects of Iqbal's thought in their cultural, academic, educational and training programs.

The meeting ended with exchange of gifts and pleasantries.

Meeting with the Director of The Agha Khan Foundation—Mr. Akim Farishta

The Agha Khan Foundation is one of the most active organisations in the Central Asian lands. Dr. Javid Iqbal had a number of meetings with its in charge Mr. Akim Farishta. Mr. Akim was very interested in lending the support of his organization for the activities that we had planned for the Tajik chapter of the Iqbal Studies. These included publication and distribution of the Cyrillic transliteration of (*Kulliyat i Iqbal*) Persian, donation of selected books and preparation of audio cassettes/CDs of Iqbal's Persian poetry.

Pilot Project for Audio Recordings of (*Kulliyat i Iqbal*) Persian with Dr. Âaif al-Dân Akram

During our stay in Tajikistan, time and again the need was felt for presentation of Iqbal's verses through the medium of song and music. We had occasion to comment on our encounter with Dr. Âaif al-Dân Akram who had spent thirty years of his life composing tunes for Iqbal's verses and singing Iqbal and whose audio renderings of Iqbal's poetry through his charming music and the singing made it a most remarkable audio feast and a moving experience of spiritual uplift. Realising the need and thinking of utilising the talent to meet the requirement, Dr. Javid Iqbal decided to run a short pilot project for the audio renderings of Iqbal's poetry. Dr. Akram was commissioned for it and selected verses from Iqbal were prepared under the supervision of the present writer. The project was to be expanded into a full length recording of the audio recording of (*Kulliyat i Iqbal*) Persian back at the Iqbal Academy.

This brings us to the close of our narrative of a very productive and meaningful visit to Tajikistan. The recommendations that emerged from our experience are noted under the cumulative plan here below.

Annex. I

IQBAL STUDIES—TAJIK CHAPTER

RECOMMENDATIONS AND WORK PLAN

◆ *Preparation and dissemination of various Persian titles that need to be brought to the Tajik readership. As a first step the following were earmarked:*

Publication and distribution of the Cyrillic transliteration of *Kulliyat i Iqbal*, Persian with parallel Persian text.

Publication and distribution of the Cyrillic transliteration of *Javidan i Iqbal*, Persian, in full.

Publication and distribution of the Cyrillic transliteration of *Javidan i Iqbal*, Persian, in abridgement.

Publication and distribution of the Cyrillic transliteration of *Har Che Geyad*, Persian.

◆ *An Iqbal Chair in Tajikistan may be established that should work in close contact and affiliation with the Iqbal Academy and maintain connections with all the allied institutions*

in Tajikistan. Scholars would then make exchange and research shall be conducted. The local scholars shall man it and its projects shall be chalked and carried out through its board to be nominated by the Iqbal Academy.

◆ *Awards for best articles and books on Iqbal in order to promote Iqbal studies, to generate greater interest and to bring more awareness about Iqbal. It would consist of cash, a medal and a free trip to Pakistan.*

◆ *An assistance of 100 US\$ per month to the Department of Urdu for its activities and publications.¹⁵⁰*

◆ *Preparation of audio and video cassettes/CDs of Iqbal's Persian poetry, both in music and in multimedia format.*

◆ *Scholarship schemes for talented students to come and study for Iqbal Studies in the various universities of Pakistan.*

◆ *Holding seminars on various aspects of Iqbal's life and thought on regular basis.*

◆ *Mounting exhibitions of books, journals, CDs and other audio video materials, Iqbal's photographs and of calligraphy on various aspects of Iqbal's life and thought on regular basis.*

◆ *Establishment of a separate Iqbal Section in the Firdawsâ Library to which the Academy could send all required materials.*

◆ *Enriching and augmenting the collections of Urdu/Persian books in various libraries across the country and representation of these materials at various museums under the control of the ministry especially the museum attached to the Tomb of Shakh i Hamad.*

◆ *Donation of selected books and other materials to institutions, libraries and individuals who could be instrumental in the promotion of Iqbal Studies.*

¹⁵⁰ Given the economic conditions of Tajikistan this meagre sum can go a long way to create goodwill for Pakistan in the area and can successfully counter the cultural and political assault from the Indian side which more often than not uses the Urdu language to make inroads into the academia.

◆ *An exchange of cultural troupes and delegations making and outreach to various cities in Tajikistan and, perhaps, in the neighbouring areas. In this regard special troupes could also be arranged for Iqbal.*

◆ *Liaison with the Tajik television and media service to obtain special focus on Iqbal and include important aspects of Iqbal's thought in their cultural, academic, educational and training programs.*

◆ *Affiliation of Anjuman-i-Iqbal and Pak-Tajik Friendship Society with the Academy and assistance to these and other similar organisations and forums.*

Annex. II

PROGRAMME OF THE DELEGATION

2nd September:

Arrival - Reception at the Airport –
Interviews/T.V/Radio. Stay at Hotel Tajikistan

1000 hrs: Breakfast at Hotel Tajikistan

1100 hrs: Visit of Firdawsi Library and Bahzad Museum

1230-1400 hrs: Lunch at Embassy of Pakistan Residence by CDA
with members of Anjuman-e-Iqbal.

1400 hrs: Round table conference at Writers Union

2000 hrs: Dinner at Hotel Tajikistan by Government of
Tajikistan

3rd September

0800 hrs: Breakfast at Hotel Tajikistan

0900 hrs: Visit of Academy of Sciences

1000 hrs: Inauguration of Takht Samani (Postponed to 9

September)

- 1200 hrs: Lunch by Mr. Jurabek, a Tajik
- 1300 hrs: Namaz-i-Jum'ā at the Jami'ā Masjid and meeting with Mufti-e-A'zam of Tajikistan Negmatzoda
- 1400 hrs: Seminar upto 1700 hrs
- 1930 hrs: Dinner by CDA with members of Pak-Tajik Friendship Society at the Embassy of Pakistan Residence

4th September

- 0900 hrs: Visit to Pak-Tajik Friendship Society Office
- 1000 hrs: Iqbal Day function at Tajik State University
- 1300 hrs: Lunch by the Government of Tajikistan at Elite Restaurant
- 1500 hrs: Visit to Qila-e-Hissor and Shah-e-Ambreen
- 1800 hrs: Reception by CDA at the Embassy of Pakistan

5th September

- at Visit to Verzob and Khawaja-Ab-e-Garm and lunch
- Verzob by the Government of Tajikistan
- 2000 hrs: Dinner in honour of H.E. Sheikh Rashid Ahmed, Federal Minister for Labour, Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis at the Embassy Residence by CDA

PROGRAM

FUNCTIONS DEDICATED TO THE 1100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SAMANI
STATE (6 – 11 SEPTEMBER 1999)

6th September

Monday

All day Reception and accommodation of guests

18.00 Ceremony of laying wreath on Ismail Samani memorial

18.30-19.30 Visit to Republican Behzad museum.

7th September

Tuesday

06.0 Excursion to Kuliab city for participation in the opening ceremony of Kurgan Tubeek-Kuliab railway line.

8th September

Wednesday

9.00-10.0 Visit to the exhibition of Tajik painters works

10.00 – 12.30 Grand meeting devoted to 1100th Anniversary of Samani State and Independence Day of Tajikistan. Festive concert.

14.00 International symposium: “Samani and the Revival of Tajik culture”

19.00-21.0 Official reception by the President of the Republic of Tajikistan (state residency)

9th September

Thursday

9.00-13.0 Rally and military parade dedicated to 1100th Anniversary of

Samani State and Independence Day of the Republic of Tajikistan. (Dusti square)

18.00-20.0 Stage program and national arts show (Republican Frunze stadium, Samani Avenue)

10th September

Friday

10.00-13.0 IVth world Tajik Forum

14.30-15.30 Visit to Firdosi National Library

17.00-19.0 Premier of play “Ismail Samani” in Lahuti theater

11th September

Saturday

During the day Seeing off Guests

ALLAMAH IQBAL: A BEACON OF LIGHT FOR MUSLIMS IN THE PRESENT DAY WORLD

Dr. M. A. K. Khalil

Introduction

Allamah Iqbal was a man of all pervasive ability and potentials. He covered such a wide field of intellectual sphere that it has been impossible to describe him. His most important attribute was that he used all his abilities, art, literature and thinking in the service of mankind and did not like 'art for art's sake'. The source of his knowledge was equally vast but, by far and large, it was based on the Holy Qur'an and Islamic values. For example, unlike Sufism he has explained, at great length, that the apex of human attainment was not merging with God but submitting oneself to His Will and service in the wider sense. The central and most important pillar of the edifice of his works was the concept of *Khudā* (Self-Cognisance) and its use for development of personality. His works, both poetic and prose, are replete with material on this subject. He can be best described as the embodiment of "Being a beacon of light in the dark night of the wilderness", which is what is most needed by the Muslim Ummah.

Recently I had the good fortune of reading a book named *QirÇas-i-Iqbal* by Professor Muhammad Munawwar published by the Iqbal Academy Pakistan. This book has very useful papers on the genius of Allamah Iqbal. However, the one entitled "*Khudā Karü Tujbü Türay Muqam Sü jg«b*" (May God make you cognizant of your status) appealed to me most. In my ardent desire to bring its contents to the attention of the admirers of Allamah Iqbal who do not know Urdu, I have ventured to present its English translation in this paper. The paper brings out the important need for developing *Khudā* by Muslims to be able to face the present day world and to fight all the powers of evil and those of the rebels against God so as to win for themselves the place of honour which they deserve and to discharge honourably the mission entrusted to them by God in the Holy Qur'an. In addition to the program presented in the paper, I wish to add the following four verses of Iqbal as a preparation for the struggle ahead:

*The heart which is restless for death in defence of Truth
First life in his own earthly body should create*

Should burn down this borrowed universe

And from the ashes his own universe should create

*Should demonstrate the potential power of life
So that this spark may the eternal light create*

This is the hour of judgment, you in the judgment field are

O negligent one present action if some in your treasure are

(Bang-i-Dar: “Khizr-i-Rah”)

Translation

“Khudā Karū Tujbū Tūray Muqam Sū jgāb”

(May God make you cognizant of your status)

Hazrat Allamah Iqbal has stated in *Asr-i-Khudā* that a young man from the region of Merve presented himself to Data Ganj Bakhsh, ‘Alā Hujvârâ and complained that he had become encircled by strong enemies, living among whom was impossible.. He pleaded for a way out of his predicament. ‘Alā Hujvârâ in reply addressed him thus, “O young man! you are unaware of your potential. Why are you afflicted by the fear of others. You are a great; though dormant power. You should wake up and realize that your fear is your own creation. If a piece of stone considers itself to be one of glasses it is prone to breaking to pieces. You should realize that a strong enemy is a special favour of God. The hustle and bustle in your life results from your enemy

*I am sincerely telling you that your enemy is also your friend
His existence is really the source of splendour of your life
Whoever is cognizant of the status of Khudā*

Considers the strong enemy as God's blessing

Asrār-i-Khudâ, Section XI, The Story of a young man from Merve who Presented himself before Syed Makhdoom 'Alâ Hujvârâ (May God Have Mercy on him) and complained of oppression by his foes)

A strong enemy is a grace from God because through him the dormant potentials of man are awakened and his concealed possibilities acquire the blessing of life as if the crop of his life has been blessed by rain.

*For the crop of human effort the enemy is like a cloud
It wakes up his potentials from dormancy*

(*Asrār-i-Khudâ*, op. cit.)

Man is the treasure-house of potentials that, however, are shrouded in thick layers of indifference. When the moment of confrontation and conflict arrives, it appears as if all the dormant potentials wake up into activity.. In this way the battlefield becomes an instrument of bringing human possibilities to fruition. Challenge alone confers strength on individuals as well as nations!

In 1951, a dinner party was held at the house of the late Allamah 'Alk al-Dân Âiddâqâ in honour of Kh«n Ghul«m Sarwar Kh«n Gàya, Professor of Persian Literature at Kabul University. Many distinguished scholars of literature were present, including two students, viz. MuÁammad Khurshâd 'ÿÄim, from the Cadet College, Hasan Abdal and my humble self. Following the trend of the conversation, the late Dr. Niy«z AÁmad, Director of the Department of Chemical Technology, University of Punjab stated that one evening, he was present in the audience of Allamah Iqbal. The subject of conversation was that every trial and tribulation was a blessing and favour from God. The test may be academic, ethical, physical, spiritual, financial or anything else, it is a blessing from God.. When the child passes the examination of grade five, he realizes that he has reached grade six. In the same way when he goes through several kinds of tests and not succumbing to those tests gradually succeeds in passing them it increases his /her self confidence and his personality and self gradually attain stability. At this stage he realizes that such and such incident was a very dreadful challenge, but by facing that it turned out that he had the ability to conquer it completely.

There is no way to attain this self-confident without a challenge. Man subdues greed, continuously breaks open the knots of avarice. The opportunities leading to arrogance are very severe tests. It is a great victory to make humility victorious over arrogance. He attains a victory, which confers stability on his personality for achieving his goal.

Dr. Niyaz Ahmad said, "Very respectfully I interrupted Hazrat Allamah Iqbal's talk and enquired whether the devil also was a continuous test. He (Allamah Iqbal) replied in the affirmative. I submitted that by virtue of attaining success in this continuous test do the people of faith get the realization of increased self-confidence in their own thought. Hazrat Allamah again replied in the affirmative. "Gathering more courage, I again submitted that it means that the devil is also really a concealed benevolence of God. Hazrat Allamah smiled and agreed with me, but cautioned me against telling this to any maulvi."

Challenge becomes serious only when the adversary is much above the self in strength, ability, intelligence, enlightenment, eloquence and comprehension. If it is intended to overpower him or at least attain equality with him it would be necessary to raise one's status by hard work and diligence. If one does not find anybody better than himself in his environment it perpetrates the condition of complacency, and no need is felt for awakening one's intellectual, spiritual potential and mental and physical abilities. If a wrestler stays in the company of his own pupils and does not have to face any challenge from his superiors this leads to a halt in the skill of his wrestling, which then leads him to his downfall. If there is encounter with people and organizations superior to one self in knowledge, thought, intellect, spiritualism, the potentials of individuals and organizations start to gain strength. A famous writer, philosopher, poet, and scientist, Al-Jahiz had designated teachers as dull. He used to say that so and so son of so and so is stupid like teachers. It is quite possible for Al-Jahiz to be right. One reason for this is quite plain in that the teacher, who has to say what he wants to say, has to get his thought accepted and the people with whom he has to deal are students with immature mind the superiority of the teacher is accepted and confirmed. This results in impediment of the intellectual progress of the teacher himself. If he had to contend with some scholar better and higher than himself he would have continued progress of his intellectual potential.

Being deprived of a better adversary is, in a way, a great misfortune. Iqbal says:

*The challenge loving temperament is not agreeable to be in
The garden where the hunter does not lie in ambush*

(B«l-i-Jibrâl, Poem 4)

The longing for progress is created only in the company of superior companions. However, in some walks of life the friendship of a superior friend operates as a protective umbrella. His help creates the condition of complacency. In these conditions feelings of self-respect, self-cognisance and sense of honour is not encouraged and the dormant potentials are not able to appear. On the contrary dealing with an enemy, especially stronger and better one, creates conditions of conflict. In the field of life and particularly in the battle of life, the character of steel is created only in the event of continued struggle. Invitation for a fight, challenge and their counter-challenge, to defeat the better one with a firm determination drags one into battle with the opponent. So individuals as well as societies need adversaries superior to them. When nations are faced with danger to their survival, the virtues of concordance, sympathy, sacrifice and brotherhood spring up in them. Finland is a small country but we remember that in November 1939 they brought Russia to its knees. In the end it was only through the help of Germans that Russia could conquer the Finns. In spite of all this, Russia could not subdue the Finns easily, like Hungary. And recently, the sense of honour of the Afghans has presented the scenes, which would enlighten the hearts of people of honour till eternity. They would teach lesson of courage to weak nations and the strong ones will think before jumping over the weak ones to annihilate them.

We need help of friends and we are thankful to them for that help. However, only enemies provide the whip to our sense of self-respect. The end of the weak at the hands of the strong is obvious. Weakness, in a way, is an invitation to the strong for oppression, at his will. Hazrat Allamah presents the following example for bringing this home to his readers:

*A drop of dew on the tip of a rose branch
Was shining like the tear in a nightingale's eye*

Distressed by the heat a bird arrived under the rose branch

The dewdrop trickled into its mouth

As the bird, as if fainting with thirst

It sustained its life by taking some one else's life

*Do not neglect preservation of your Khudâ even for a moment
Become a crystal of diamond and not a drop of dew*

(*Asrar-i-Khudâ*: Section X11- Story of a Bird that was Restlessly Faint with Thirst)

What Hazrat Allamah wants to convey to his readers is that those who cannot defend themselves become easy prey to the greed of others. Surely, the drop of dew easily went down the bird's throat, but the bird would not have pecked if it was a piece of diamond instead of a shining drop.. If it had done so it would have hurt its beak and if the speck of diamond had gone down its throat it would have wounded the same.

A drop of water may or may not become a diamond, but a whole panorama of destinies unfolds itself to the human race. Should we live in strength or weakness, with honour or dishonour? This world will house the jackal as well as the lion, the cat as well as the fox, the pigeon as well as the falcon, the owl as well as the vulture. The question is that out of these different destinies which one would some individual or society select. Here have to live the ruler as well as the ruled, independent nations as well as dependent ones, the weak as well as the strong. The important thing to know is as to who selects what. Does he like to be a pigeon or a falcon? Obviously, in the works of Hazrat Allamah, the pigeon is the emblem of delicacy, subtlety and weakness, whereas the falcon is that of fast flight and magnanimity. When Hazrat Allamah talks about the blood of pigeon he does not refer to society's love for blood shedding and oppression, as is expressed by some learned critics. Hazrat Allamah is really teaching the lesson of self respect. What is meant is that becoming delicate, refined and gentle will lead you to be a battleground for the display of strength for the strong. The life and existence of the weak is no more than a sport for the strong. Once an enlightened young man asked me with reference to a veteran poet critic as to

why Hazrat Allamah hated the pigeon, which had done him no harm? How could I tell the young man that instead of hating pigeons how much Hazrat Allamah loved them? He had pigeons as pets and used to fly them for sport for a long time. All 1 said was that the poet critic with reference to whom he was talking should know as to what Hazrat Allamah meant by using the word “pigeon.” If Hazrat Allamah had hated the pigeon he would not have said:

*Start singing O nightingale so that by your music
The falcon's heart may be created in the delicate body of the pigeon*
(B«ng-i-Dar«: Poem “ñulë‘-i-Isk«m”)

Now, I humbly request the poets, preachers, imams, religious scholars and politicians to light up torches of determination and courage in the breasts of their slave nation, so that it may fight the war of independence like heroes and may be able to enjoy the pleasures of life in the environment of freedom.. The same subject has been mentioned in the following verse:

*Create burning courage in slaves with the pathos of Faith
Put the resourceless sparrow in contest with the falcon*

(B«l-i-Jibrâl: “Farm«n-i-Khud« Farishton kü N«m”)

Obviously, if lack of material resources is meant, the bird cannot change its status. It is bird and will continue to be so. However, in the works of Allamah sparrow, “the helpless, powerless, weak sparrow” represents people of the Muslim nation who are victims of oppression and cruelty. The object is to make these weak and powerless people cognizant of their self-respect and to awaken their consciousness of the value of self so as to make them self-cognizant.

Some of our friends think that before the partition of the sub-continent our youth were relatively more industrious, our religious scholars were relatively more religious, our wise men were more nationalistic and so on, all on account of suppression. They explain this state of affairs by the fact that at that time we were face to face with non-Muslims, particularly Hindus. This state of combat acted as a whip, which did not let them slip. Now we are ourselves, without any combat with any other which has made us indolent. The fact that before the partition of the Indian sub-continent we were in

close competition with Hindus, which kept the individuals of our nation careful, is right to a great extent. However, looking sincerely and with open eyes would show that the field of competition and opposition has grown very much larger. Whereas formerly the competition was with one or two nations and that too within the bounds of the sub-continent, now our competition has continued to remain with the Hindu nation, which also has now extended to international levels and this international competition is not restricted to Hindus but we are in combat more or less with most nations.

In addition, we have to fight with others not only in one field but also in every field. Earlier we were under the British and the defence of India was their responsibility, though by far and large, it was at the cost of our own lives. Now we have to defend the borders of our homeland ourselves. The pleasure derived in this defence of the borders of our homeland is unsurpassed in its depth and intensity. However, unfortunately the difference is that a large proportion of our scholars, merchants, politicians and leaders are selfish. The multitude of the perpetrators of this attitude does not view the state of our multifarious offensive and defensive problems with the same depth that it demands. The result is lack of the spirit of collective offence and defence. As a result, we are in complete disarray. Such persons are not prepared to see beyond their nose. This state of affairs is totally disruptive. Hazrat Allamah states that if particles join together whole-heartedly they become strong. Anything colliding with this congregation would be shattered like glass. On the other hand if these very particles are deprived of cooperation and sympathy they are blown away by gusts of wind.

*Becoming dust would make you to be an offering to wind
If you become a stone you could be used to smash glass*

The problem concerns the whole garden and not any individual nest, the whole city and not some individual home. Moreover if we consider the duties of the Muslim *Ummah*, entrusted by God to them the problem is not restricted to any particular Islamic country, not even to the Muslim *Ummah* but covers the whole human race. The Muslim *Ummah* knows that God has created it for abolishing oppression, tyranny, violence, despotism, injustice and bloodshed from the whole world. The covenant conferred by Divine Order on the Muslim *Ummah* is contained in the following Qur'anic verse:

And why should ye not fight in the cause of Allah and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed)? Men, women, and children, whose cry is, ---Our Lord! Rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from Thee one who will protect and raise for us from Thee one who will help!”

(The Holy Qur’an: Text, Translation and Commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali,, new revised 1989 edition, 4:75)

God has given the mandate to this *Ummah* to intervene with any society to annihilate oppression and injustice. Either deny the Qur’an or this verse having the above connotation. Now, if in the light of this and other similar Divine orders this *Ummah* has been commissioned with the duty of creating universality, betterment, blessing, ease and happiness for the human race, it is incumbent on this *Ummah* to become the most powerful nation in the world after God, which could subdue every power denying the sovereignty of God. Qur’an is the last message of God and the custodians of this message should be alive to their collective responsibility in this regard. In the words of Hazrat Allamah:

You are the potent hand and the word of the Eternal God
O Imprudent one! Develop Faith, as you have been overcome with doubts

The house is ephemeral, the dweller is momentary, Yours is the Beginning and the End

You are the Final Message of God, you are Eternal

*Your nature is the custodian of all the life’s possibilities
So to say you are you are the touchstone for world’s jewels.*

(B«ng-i-Dar«: “ñulë‘-i-Isl«m”)

The Muslims are the potent hand as well as the Word of the Eternal God. But the doubt–ridden Muslim nation has not yet made firm determination of engaging with its own enemies and the rebels against God in every field. Though some chains of political slavery have been broken and some still remain, but the fetters of intellectual slavery are harder than physical chains. Instead of annihilating oppression and tyranny from every society the Muslims themselves are oppressed and tyrannized in every corner of the

world. They have become the target of annihilation in Afghanistan., victims of bloodshed in India, are killed by the thousand in Syria, crushed completely in the Philippines and killed mercilessly in Palestine, brutalized in Kashmir, and life has been made impossible for them in Abyssinia. This state of affairs is completely against and contrary to the “mandate” of God. Now, either Muslims should prove themselves to be the custodians of the Holy Qur’an or the Holy Qur’an may be taken away from them and be conferred upon some other nation, which may be really willing and prepared to propagate really the Will of God. God has issued the clear warning in the Holy Qur’an that if they turn their back and revolt, God would plant some other nation in their place, and that nation would not be like them, which means not useless like you. Hazrat Allamah has also warned against this danger with great anguish:

*I am very much afraid of the day when God would deprive Muslims
And may start bestowing the warmth of His Love on some other society*

This takes us back to where we started, i.e. Hazrat Allamah stated the advice of Data Ganj Bakhsh to a young man and explained that if the stone starts believing itself to be weak becoming shattered becomes its destiny. The self respecting men of God consider enemies stronger than themselves to be the grace of God, because they get rid of their weaknesses and put their abilities to use only on account of their strong enemies.

Enemies surround us. It is necessary not to be disappointed by this state of affairs. The antidote for this is to know the demands of our existence and be cognizant of its real importance.. The last message of God is the custodian of the highest standards of etiquette of humaneness and ways of manhood. We have to strive hard to protect the human race from the consequences of the excesses of its own actions and thought. If we have to fulfil the obligations of leadership of mankind, we will have to prove ourselves worthy of the same. The road is long and the destination hard, but “It befits only those who have high courage.”

CONCEPT OF MAN IN IQBAL

Dr. Yusuf Azmi

Human existence has been the concern of philosophers, poets, religious thinkers and mystics from the dawn of civilization. The study of man in the West and in the East reflects apparently the opposite polarities.

The twentieth century, an age of humanism, consciously or unconsciously, with a relative difference in the East and the West, made a radical shift of reference from the Divine or ultimate authority to man. Today, largely for all practical purposes, man is the measure of all things. In the modern age, the sense of human autonomy is very deep, without de-linking the relevance of God. In the East, the destination of man largely remains spiritual.

The concept of man cannot be confined to the metaphysical world. The role of trustee is assigned to man on the earth, assigning him a free personality. The concept of accountability gives him a free choice to perceive his own way in shaping his destiny; he does not disappear completely in the ever-moving wheel of creativity.

The basic concern of the Qur'an is man. God created Adam, making him the vicegerent on this earth. There was eternal loneliness, before the creation of Adam. Man was not thrown into the void or in the vast desert of loneliness. Things had been created for him. The world is the stage for his performance.

In the light of man's place in the Divine scheme, there have been evaluations of man by Islamic thinkers, philosophers, Sufis, theologians and writers. R m  feels that there is in man "the qualities of highness" (M6.3138-43). Ibn 'Arab  acknowledges the very important position of man and tries to bridge the gap between the creator and creation. In the poetic universe of Ghalib, the image of desire and the motif of journey are the examples of eternal search of a creative man. Similarly man is at the core of Iqbal's writings.

He projects a dynamic concept of man. '*Mard-i- ur*' bears that personality which feels the pulse of life even in death. '*Mard-i-mu'min*', the ideal of Iqbal, is central in the understanding of the nature of man. '*Mard-i-mu'min*' carries

out the Divine laws, while organic materials and plants are bound by their limited ways and means.

“Iqbalian man” is placed in the tension between determinism and free will. He is alive in the conflict of evil and virtue. ‘*Mard-i-mu'min*’ is ever changing. In his thought and deed he becomes the spokesman of the Divine reality. Iqbal in his book, *Reconstruction*, the magnum opus of his religious philosophy, determines the relationship between man, God and the universe.

It is strange to see the degree of difference in the concept of man in the East and the West. It is observed that the man of the East relies on intuition, while the man of the West on rationality; the East is not dynamic while the West is referred to as dynamic; in the East, mysticism permeates life, in the West social norms and ethics assume importance; man in the former is an introvert and in the latter an extrovert; and the difference also lies in terms of materialism and spirituality.

The issues of life and the universe are associated with the consciousness of man. This human consciousness is very crucial in the identification of the universe. Various thinkers viewed man, in terms of their experiences and understanding. In Plato, there was a kind of disillusionment with reference to man. But Descartes felt that the world is not an illusion: “I think, therefore, I am”. In Western thought, Dante laid emphasis on the search through man; Kant’s focus was on human will; and Goethe pointed out the possibilities and potentialities of man. Man, today, has assumed a great significance. He is not just a subject or object of psycho-social studies. In reality, he is the life of the universe, from Plato’s deceptive man, ‘Aristotle’s man of decision, to the present day thinking, which treats him as the nucleus of the universe.

There were attempts to determine the nature of man in the economic context and historical dialectics. Scientists like Julian Huxley tried to locate man in the background of evolution and scientific values. Lamont visualized him in terms of materialism, while Kierkegaard placed him in the area of Christian existentialism; and Sartre’s focus on atheistic emphasis. Unlike them, Iqbal ponders over the concept of man in *Reconstruction*, tracing the genesis of man in the Islamic background, pointing out the difference between the Biblical and Islamic background.

But there is a radical departure in Iqbal's religious thought which is not in tune with generally accepted religious metaphysics. In the Islamic tradition, too, this is an innovation. While focusing on the creation of Adam, our sensibilities are conditioned to visualize paradise as a distant place beyond the stars, somewhere in the firmament.¹⁵¹ Iqbal is innovative in his approach, which may not be true from the prevalent religious point of view, but has such an appeal that it cannot be rejected out right. To him, Paradise is not a different place outside the earth. It is, in fact, the attainment of consciousness on the earth itself.¹⁵²

Man is born of clay, but he is in tension with heroic temperament, witnessing the constant conflict with *aflak* (heaven). In this process, he bridges the gap between his own *self* and the *Absolute Self*. He is at the centre of creation. In reality, the whole universe is at his disposal: In the vast cosmos, he is not a mere statue. He witnesses a changing phenomenon. Through his experience and communication, he unveils the mystery.

There is a very unique image of man's individuality. The urge for submission to the Divine is a distinct quality of man. It is important to such an extent that the poet of the East does not want to exchange it with the semblance of magnificence of God.

The poet philosopher, Iqbal got exposure to multiple sources of the values, apparently different. The difference was largely due to isolation and xenophobia. He derives strength for his concept of *self* from the eastern and western sources without surrendering his distinct voice.

¹⁵¹ This could only be true on a popular mass level. Islamic Intellectual Tradition has offered extremely sophisticated interpretations of the profound meaning of these concepts. (Editor's Note).

¹⁵² This is difficult to substantiate from Iqbal's prose and poetic works. The writer has, perhaps, thought of the oft-debated remarks that Iqbal made in his *Reconstruction* (see *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, IAP, Lahore, 1989, p. 98) that read as follows:

HEAVEN AND HELL ARE STATES, NOT LOCALITIES. THEIR DESCRIPTIONS IN THE QUR'AN ARE VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF AN INNER FACT, I.E. CHARACTER. HELL, IN THE WORDS OF THE QUR'AN, IS 'GOD'S KINDLED FIRE WHICH MOUNTS ABOVE THE HEARTS' - THE PAINFUL REALIZATION OF ONE'S FAILURE AS A MAN. HEAVEN IS THE JOY OF TRIUMPH OVER THE FORCES OF DISINTEGRATION.

These words can hardly lend themselves to the interpretation that Dr. Azmi has suggested! (Editor's Note).

In our age, science, which is instrumental in changing our perception through its assertion, brings partial truth, when it closes the doors of perception and other modes of comprehension besides rationalization and analytical methods through argument. Intuition that does not fall in this line of thinking is equally an important mode of knowledge and perception. Iqbal is very critical of such a myopic vision of science, which ignores this perception completely.

In his *Jawād Nama*, the poet says that prophetic as well as mystic consciousnesses are required for the fulfilment of human destiny. Therefore, living links exist between the *Mi'raj* (Ascent) and *Hijrat* (Migration), where man reaches a new height. The *Mi'raj* of the prophet underlines the truth that the sky is within the reach of man. In terms of Eliot's idiom, one can conquer time with time only. Iqbal determines a revolutionary approach with spiritual and metaphysical values for the shaping of human destiny. No spirituality can be meaningful and relevant if it doesn't have roots in human history and experience. Iqbal presented Lenin before God through the poetic fancy. In spite of the refutation of God by Lenin, he is presented before God with the realization that he played his role in human history. Lenin assumed importance because he nourished his *ego* (self) and in the view of the poet, this act was more meaningful than the passive submission of saints, devoid of actions and lost in prayers as a mechanical process. To Iqbal, spirituality is devoid of meaning if it teaches passivity.

Using the metaphor of 'God's Sovereignty on the earth, which is the famous idiom of Christianity, Iqbal believes that the new generation will be composed of such individuals, who do not adhere to discrimination. The poet's philosophy of action reaches great imaginative heights and fancy, when he says that the paradise, which comes as a gift, is not welcome; the real paradise lies in the blood stream.

Man, with his awareness, agreed to accept the trusteeship of this earth, which was declined by one and all. The relationship of God, man and the universe in this context becomes meaningful. It is not only man in search of God but God is also in search of man. The configuration of the earth is changed by man, who assumes the responsibility of becoming the co-sharer. This concept is not absolutely un-Islamic, in the light of the Qur'an (*A'Asan al-Khaliqân*). Man is given the power of creativity to bring a change in the

light of the Divine scheme. There is an emphasis on the distinct emergence of man in Iqbal's poetry. Herbert Read, a leading western critic while reviewing the *secret of the Self*, paid a rich tribute to the powerful poetic voice of Iqbal, presenting the powerful emergence of man from the East while in his contemporary situation of the West, the English poets felt proud of writing about cats and dogs.

"Iqbalian Man" is free from time-space bond. Breaking this bond he reveals his existence. In this journey, love becomes his guide. This love, gathering creative energy, refreshes itself. When love becomes the essence of life, contemporary age and many ages merge. Man conquers the universe through his ego.

The training of the *self* wipes out the possibility of destruction, the evil force in man. In fact, '*Mard i mu'min*', the embodiment of *self* has a few aspirations, but the objectives are great. This personality is not condemned to be free, as Sartre feels; he is free to choose; and he is not a helpless creature on the rock in the ocean. The individual self ultimately merges with the collective *self*.

Like Eliot, Iqbal pays a rich tribute to Sri Krishna: In the intellectual history of the world, he receives respect forever through his philosophy to mankind. He made it very clear that negation of action does not mean the total negation of it. Iqbal, through his hermeneutics, looked for the dynamism of self-awareness in the Buddhist thought, too. As he disliked the negation of self, therefore, there is no appeal for him in the philosophy of Maya.

Many critics felt that Nietzsche influenced Iqbal for his concept of perfect man. Iqbal denies it very categorically. In spite of his declaration, some critics trust the text, noticing the influence in varying degrees. The Poet-philosopher making his position clear comments that al-Jâlâ's concept of '*Insan-i-kamil*' anticipates of ideas of man, of the German thinker.

In the works of Shakespeare, Milton and Eliot, there is an assimilation of Christian consciousness in determining human identity. In the background of the powerful tradition, Iqbal's Islamic consciousness has been the focal point in his concept of man. However, this concept is not parochial, except in

terms of seeking its realization for partial application in the cultural perspective.

Mulk Raj Anand, a prominent Indian novelist, records his feeling: "In fact all through my Philosophical studies, specially into sceptical thought of David Hume and Bertrand Russell and Heisenberg, Einstein ... I returned to the *Asrar* to integrate myself". He feels, Iqbal evolved a new idea of man, 'resilient' and 'integral'. Anand considers Iqbal, 'the prophet of a new concept of man'.

The purpose of religion in Iqbal's thought is human liberation as pointed out by the eminent Indian philosopher, Radhakrishnan. Iqbal realizes, "the ultimate nature of reality is spiritual and must be considered as an ego". *Shu'ër* (awareness) is the central factor in his poetry. In the story of man, Iqbal traces the origin of man from the point when he acquired awareness and created the environment for the journey of the *self*. Tracing the religious and non-religious endeavours with the images and symbols of *nër*, Cross, cave of Hira, Greek thought, *Suröd-i-Rabb* of Hind, the light of Buddha, and the age of science and technology, there is a realization that reality lies within.

The qualitative and distinct emphasis of the poet on man provides a resemblance with the existentialists. From the existentialist point of view, the structure of personality is based on freedom, identity consciousness, the sense of death, anguish and dread. The poetry of Iqbal lends itself to a clear explication about its concern with these problems; there is a commonality and difference, too. Unlike what the existentialist thought about it, death is not anguish in his poetry. The Poet-philosopher says: The cold touch of death remains outside the purview of man; his immortality is the reality. Freedom is the essence of the Iqbalian man. The Nietzschean man, the Sartrean man also shows some affinities. The Marxian man is to be viewed in the social context and historical dialectics. The sense of freedom, and existential anguish of the poet can be seen deeply in the "The Wild Tulip". Iqbal creates a new East, through his concept of man, full of dynamism and the commitment of man to himself is significant and meaningful.

THE ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL TRADITION IN PERSIA. SURREY: CURZON PRESS, 1996.

Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Ed. Mehdi Amin Razavi,

Reviewed by Zailan Moris, UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE, MALAYSIA.

This book is a collection of essays on the Islamic intellectual tradition in Persia written by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, the renowned Islamic thinker and scholar, over a period of forty years and which were published in various books and journals, some of which are no longer easily available. The editor, Mehdi Amin Razavi, a former student of Nasr, has brought together in a single volume these twenty-four essays, several of which were originally written in Persian and are now translated into English. The editor did so not only to make these essays more accessible, but also to present this collection as a major study of philosophical activities in Persia and of the contributions of Persian philosophers to the Islamic intellectual tradition generally and the philosophical tradition of *Falsafa/Aikma* specifically.

The book is divided into six parts: Part I Islamic Thought and Persian Culture, Part II: Early Islamic Philosophy, Part III: Suhrawardâ and the School of Ishraq. Part IV: Philosophers-Poets-Scientists, Part V: Later Islamic Philosophy and Part VI: Islamic Thought in Modern Iran.

It is evident from the divisions of the book that these essays cover a long period of philosophical activities in Persia, extending from its inception to the present day. It also represents a major study of the various important aspects and dimensions of the Islamic intellectual tradition as it developed in Persia, as well as the thoughts and contributions of its outstanding thinkers and philosophers. In Part 1, for example, the essays 'Mysticism and Traditional Philosophy in Persia, Pre-Islamic and Islamic' and 'The Significance of Persian Philosophical Works in the Tradition of Islamic Philosophy' are included and in Part VI an essay on 'Islamic Philosophical Activities in Contemporary Persia: A Survey of Activity in the 50's and 60's' is found. There are also various essays dealing with the thoughts and contributions of Persian luminaries such as Ibn Sina Bârênâ Suhrawardâ, Na'âr al-Dân ñësi 'Umar Khayyem Âadr al-Dân Shârçâ and Mulla Hçdâ

Sabziwærâ. The works of these figures cover several important areas of Islamic thought, including natural philosophy, cosmology and cosmography, mathematics, epistemology, psychology and metaphysics.

The essays collected in this book provide the reader with a comprehensive survey and overview of the nature, history and phases of development of philosophical thought in Persia and the tremendous contribution of Persian philosophers to the various aspects of Islamic thought and learning. Since Persia was the intellectual and philosophical center of the Islamic world from the twelfth century onward, to know the history and development of Islamic thought and philosophy in Persia is also to gain an understanding and appreciation of the history of Islamic thought and philosophy itself, particularly post-Averroes Islamic philosophy.

Until rather recently, scholars of Islamic philosophy in the West believed that Islamic philosophy terminated with Ibn Rushd in the twelfth century. Nasr's study on the Islamic intellectual tradition in Persia, particularly essays contained in Parts III to VI, dispels this inaccurate view by disclosing to the reader the nature and development of Islamic philosophical thought from Suhrawardi onward. Suhrawardi's particular understanding of philosophy or hikma as a synthesis of discursive philosophy and intellectual illumination which is the result of spiritual purification, marks a turning point in the history of Islamic philosophy. From Suhrawardâ onward, philosophers emphasized and relied on the immediate and illuminative knowledge of Islamic revealed principles and doctrines rather than on rational and speculative philosophical principles only.

The essays on Afial al-Dân Keshânâ, Na'âr al-Dân ñesi, QuÇb al-Dân Shâkzâ and Rashâd al-Dân Faïlallah in Part IV are especially important in providing invaluable information on the revival of intellectual and philosophical activities in thirteenth century Persia. It is a period which is greatly neglected in the history of Islamic thought but which is particularly significant for the later intellectual history of Islam. According to Nasr, the thirteenth century witnessed the revival of Ibn Sina's philosophy, the elaboration of Suhrawardi's *ishraqâ* doctrines and the more systematic expressions of Sufi metaphysics and also the beginning of a rapprochement between the different schools of thought. There were many thinkers between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries who were interested in synthesizing the perspectives and principles of the different school of thought and their

works laid the foundation for the grand synthesis of Mulla Âadra the seventeenth century Safavid Mull« Âadr«s philosophical works are often regarded as a remarkable synthesis of *mashsh«â* (peripatetic) and *ishraqâ* (illuminationist) philosophy, kalâm (theology) and (gnosis).

Nasr's essays, first published in the 1960s and 1970s. are among the earliest comprehensive and authoritative discussions of post Ibn Rushd Islamic philosophy available in the English language. Thus. they help to fill in the lacuna in literature available in the West on the structure, history and development of post-Averroes Islamic philosophy.

The Islamic Intellectual Tradition in Persia demonstrates Nasr's profound and extensive knowledge of the Islamic intellectual tradition and his exceptional scholarship which is the result of a rare combination of a traditional Islamic intellectual training and a Western education. It is also a witness to his tremendous contribution to studies on the structure, history and development of Islamic thought and philosophy which is of great importance and value to scholars and students of Islamic thought and philosophy both in the West and in the Muslim world.

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ISMAIL RAJI AL-FARUQI, ED. ATAULLAH SIDDIQUI, *ISLAM AND OTHER FAITHS*

The Islamic Foundation and the International Institute of Islamic Thought, Leicester, U.K., pp. 370.

REVIEWED BY MARYAM JAMEELAH, Sant Nagar, Lahore.

One of the most active and dedicated workers for *Da'wah* and inter-faith dialogue in America during the late 20th century before his brutal murder in 1986, was the well-known Palestinian-American scholar and author, Prof. Ismail Raji al-Faruqi. Born in Jaffa, Palestine in 1921, he grew up in a prosperous highly-educated family. After graduation from the American University of Beirut in 1941, he became the District Governor of Galilee in Palestine under the British mandate. The 1948 Palestine War left him and his family homeless refugees. Seeking refuge in the U.S.A., he earned two Masters degrees in Philosophy at Indiana and Harvard Universities. Seeking his roots, he studied at Al-Azhar University from 1954-1958. At the invitation of Dr. Wilfred Cantwell Smith he returned to America where he studied Judaism and Christianity at the Faculty of Divinity at McGill University 1959-61. He began his professional career as Professor of Islamic Studies at the Central Institute for Islamic Research, Karachi, (1961-1963) followed by a year (1964) as visiting Professor of the History of Religions at Chicago University. Then he joined the faculty of Syracuse University and in 1968 became Professor of Islamic Studies and History of Religions at Temple University, a post he held until his death in 1986.

Not long after al-Faruqi successfully established his academic career in America, he experienced an acute identity crisis.

There was a time in my life.....when all I cared about was proving to myself that I could win my physical and intellectual existence from the West. But when I won it, it became meaningless. I asked myself; Who am I? A Palestinian? A Philosopher? A liberal humanist? My answer was: I am a Muslim:

* * *

M. TARIQ QURAIISHI, *Ismail R. Faruqi: An Enduring Legacy*, Muslim Students Association, Plainfield, Indiana, 1987, p.9.

REVIEWED BY MARYAM JAMEELAH, Sant Nagar, Lahore.

The book under review is a well-edited anthology of Professor al-Faruqi's most representative essays and articles, written over a span of two decades of studies in comparative religion, focusing mainly on Christian/Muslim relations and *Da'wah*.

Dr. Faruqi began his intellectual life deeply influenced by Arab secular nationalism and modern western philosophy. The loss of his homeland in the 1948 Palestine War left an indelible scar on his soul for the rest of his life which plainly shows in his vehement hatred against the modern Zionism movement throughout this book. Nevertheless, he is always careful to distinguish between Judaism and Zionism and never indiscriminately condemns all Jews. His innate powerful faith in Islam increasingly made him turn away from secularism and devote his later life to inter-faith dialogue and *Da'wah* with the zeal of a crusader.

Although Prof. Al Faruqi readily concedes that all the major world religions, particularly the Abrahamic faiths, share common ground with Islam, he never makes the mistake of treating them all as equally valid. Throughout this book, he is unshakably convinced of the absolute supremacy of Islam. He bases his entire inter-faith dialogue on his conviction that Christianity is closer to Islam than any other religion. The reviewer would beg to differ. Despite its nationalistic exclusivism, Orthodox Judaism is closer to Islam than Christianity, not only due to its much purer monotheism, but even more, on the fact that it reveres the authority of the *Halakah* or its unchanging all-embracing code of Divine law as Muslims do their *Shari'at*, resulting in many similar practices of Orthodox Jews and Muslims, totally absent in Christianity. Lacking any comprehensive code of Divine law, Christianity had to take over pagan Roman law, thus compromising from the outset with secularism.

Likewise, al-Faruqi is hopeful about the ultimate consequences of Vatican II for better relations with Christianity which he thinks can bring it closer to Islam. He also regards the Protestant Reformation in a positive light. Based

on evolutionism and progassivism. Modernism has nearly destroyed Christianity in the West by Vatican II, (1962-1965) followed by a mass exodus from the Church. Rather than trying to change the doctrines and rituals of other religions, Dialogue should seek, above all, to defend traditional orthodoxy. To defend absolute transcendental values and orthodoxy in all religions is to defend orthodoxy in Islam itself. Unfortunately, the author does not seem to realize this.

Throughout this book, Professor al-Faruqi strongly condemns the modern West for its colonialism and imperialism, sexual promiseuity, family breakdown, crime, druges, alfoholism, subjectivism, exaggerated individualism, relativism and nihilism. Yet at the same time on the other hand, he regards the Renaissance, Enlightenment, French and American revolutions, scientific, technological and industrial progress and unrestricted economic growth in a positive light, repeatedly pointing out “medieval” Islam contributions to modern western civilization. In other words, he attacks and condemns all the effects and results of the modern West but not the root-causes. He never rejects modernism or Humanism themselves but only other abuses and excesses.

To be effective, *Da'wah* must accept the entire historical and cultural legacy of Islam. Tragically, this the author fails to do.

His works contain certain theses which would not be acceptable to many Muslim scholars, traditional of modern. Dr. Ismail R. al-Faruqi's espousal of a certain kind of what one might call neo-Wahabi/Salafism – emphasizing the teachings of Ibn Taimiya and Muhammad Ibn Abd al Wahab and their students which preached only the transcendence of God at the expense of His nearness and immanence, caused him to reject the whole tradition of Islamic philosophy as well as opposing most of the religious thought of Sufism....

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SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR, *The Essence of Dr. Faruqi's Life Work*, Islamic Horizons, Plainfield, Indiana, August-September 1986, p-26.

REVIEWED BY MARYAM JAMEELAH, Sant Nagar, Lahore.

Indeed in his earlier book, *Islam*, (Argus Communications, Niles, Illinois, 1979. pp. 77-80), Dr. Faruqi openly blames Sufism for Muslim decline. He never appeared to realize that if one rejects classic Muslim scholars, thinkers and saints of the past, what else can fill the void except the atheism and materialism of modern western thought?

Despite these shortcomings, this book highlights the significant contributions of an important 20th century Muslim scholar to inter-faith dialogue and the development of Islamic studies in American colleges and universities today.

* * *

SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR, PHOTO, ALI KAZUYESHI NOMACHI, *Mecca the Blessed, Medina the Radiant: the Holiest Cities of Islam*. Aperture Foundation, New York, 1997, pp. 192.

REVIEWED BY MARYAM JAMEELAH, Sant Nagar, Lahore

After Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 and the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th and early 20th centuries climaxed by the abolition of the Khilafate in 1924, many western politicians and orientalist believed that Islam would completely disappear within their lifetimes. Islam was then studied in the West as a cultural phenomenon that should be carefully recorded for posterity before it vanished. During the 19th century the number of Hajjis was decreasing every year. In 1814 it was only 70,000 and already down to 30,000 in 1860 the 19th century adventurers and explorers – Burkhardt, Richard Burton and Christian Hongronje, meticulously recorded their observations of Haj before they supposed it would soon disappear without a trace.

As most of the culture of traditional Islamic civilization has indeed been destroyed during the last two centuries by colonialism and post-colonialism, the recent revival of Haj is amazing and mercy from Almighty Allah. Today the great *Haram* in Mecca is always full and *Çamçaf* round the holy Ka'aba is constant during every hour of the day and night.

The book under review with its magnificent colour photography of all the Holy Places is certainly the most beautiful on *Haj* to day to appear in

English. The moving essays by Dr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, director of Islamic Studies at George Washington University, Washington D.C., reverently convey to the non-Muslim reader, not only the historical background of these sacred cities, but also the meaning and precise spiritual significance of the *Hajj* rituals to the Muslim.

Photos depicting the sacred shrines today under Saudi rule are contrasted with archival pictures of the same places under the Ottoman Turks a century ago. What has been gained in magnificence, splendour and grandiosity of the present Saudi shrines has utterly lost their humble modesty to the human scale characteristic of the Ottoman structures which was certainly more pleasing to the Almighty. The greatly expanded Bruphet's mosque in its newest sections more closely resembles the palace of the monarch than a place of worship. While the Ottoman Turks always scrupulously preserved the sanctity of all the Holy Places, the expansion of the *Haram* at Mecca and the Prophet's mosque at Medina was accomplished at the cost of massive demolitions of nearly all the traditional historic architecture of the Holy Cities, including the callous destruction of numerous irreplaceable sites associated with the life of the Holy Prophet, the *Ahl-i-Bait* of his family and the *ÁaÁabab* (his Companions). Worst of all, inappropriate, imported technology as been allowed to run rampant, including hideous fly-overs, billboards, neon lights, traffic jams, smog, suffocating tunnels and even escalators within the precincts of the sacred *Haram*, all mercifully excluded from the pages of this book.

Despite so much desecration and defilement of Arabia in the last few decades, it is a miracle that the rites of the *Hajj* survive unchanged and the worshippers' fervour, depicted so movingly in this book, undaunted.

These photos show Hajjis of all races, nationalities and stations of life patiently enduring the rigours of *Hajj* and *Ummrah* during Ramadan together solely for the pleasure of Almighty Allah, thus negating the artificiality of the colonial secular state and vigourously affirming the universality of the *Ummah* and its message to the modern world.

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IQBAL DAY— SINGAPORE

23RD FEBRUARY 2000

TOHEED AHMAD

Ambassador

Prof. Schimmel spoke on “Dr. Muhammad Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of the East” in the auditorium of the RELC International Hotel on 23rd February. Her talk was preceded by a 12-minute musical recitation of passages from the poem *Masjid-i-Qurtuba* by Tina Sani, with reading of English translation. This item thrilled the audience. Prof. Obaid-ul-Haq made a brief introduction of the speaker and spoke about the importance of Allama Iqbal for Pakistan in particular, and the Indian Muslims in general. Prof. Schimmel’s talk was introductory; she went over the major themes in Allama’s poetry and quoted the original verses. About 200 persons listened to her with rapt attention. This was the first public lecture on the Allama in Singapore. Because of the effort and encouragement of this High Commission, from this year, the Sociology Department of the National University of Singapore has introduced Iqbal Studies in their curriculum. Dr. Farid al-Attas is the coordinator. Copies of Sharif al-Mujahid’s introductory monograph on the Allama and Schimmel’s autobiographical essay *A Life of Learning* was distributed among the audience. The Iqbal Academy Pakistan collaborated with the Embassy for the event. An exhibition of photographs on Allama was also arranged by the Academy at the venue. After the talk, all guests were served light refreshments. A report from the daily *Berita Harian* (Malay Language Daily of Singapore) is given in the following pages.

IQBAL'S DETERMINATION

NAJAD AL-ATTAS

Berita Harian (Malay Language Daily of Singapore) Friday 3rd March 2000 (26 Zulka'dah 1420) Page 17 reported: Iqbal's Determination should be evoked again. Is the determination of Muhammad Iqbal among us? For Professor Annemarie Schimmel, 78 years, this determination has decreased.

Seeing the situation in Pakistan and the Muslims in India today, this determination should re-emerge, she said, "Muhammad Iqbal has endowed his spirit in poems and beautiful masterpieces that deeply touch his soul. The Muslim generation of today should inculcate this spirit again," said the Professor that was attracted to the Eastern poet-philosopher since 1946

According to her, Iqbal was ahead of his time because of his strong views in most of his poems, especially those in Persian and some in Urdu. Iqbal's masterpieces in prose are limited and the most popular one is the '*Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*' that was delivered in six lectures in 1930 to three universities in Madras, Hyderabad and Mysore and published later on with the addition of a seventh Lecture.

According to her, Iqbal (born 9th November 1877 and died 21st April 1938) was a modern Muslim personality who managed to absorb not only the knowledge of Islam but also Western knowledge and philosophy Iqbal's excellence was shown in his poems, compositions and thesis about the expansion of Sufism in Persia and was given a Doctorate of Philosophy from Munich University. His thesis included the ideas of Goethe (Germany's great philosopher) and William Shakespeare (English Dramatist) which interests Professor Schimmel

"From his masterpieces, you can feel the depth of Iqbal's spirit as a Muslim man who is balanced and is highly competent in his words" said Professor Schimmel in an interview at the residence of the Pakistan High Commissioner to Singapore, Mr Toheed Ahmad. He gave a speech on Iqbal on 23 February at RELC Hotel

Back to Spirit

The main problem that Muslims encounter, according to Professor Schimmel, in facing modern challenges, is the slacking spirit or 'nur Islam'. Actually, great Muslim personalities like Iqbal have pioneered the path to evoke this spirit

“Iqbal enlightened his people when the Indian sub - continent was undergoing the challenges of independence. He motivated and showed that Islam is still relevant even when being faced with the emergence of European Science” he said

According to history, Iqbal was one of the personalities that formulated the idea of the Islamic state of Pakistan, an education system that combines both Islam and Science, the eradication of illiteracy, poverty and the rights of women to education

Although a self-righteous person, he realised that the separation of Pakistan and India was a practical decision in reducing bloodshed because of prominent differences since the old days

In his three years in Europe (1905-1908) and after having obtained many awards because of his scientific excellence, Iqbal found that there was still room for success. His trip was motivated by his teacher in Lahore, Professor Thomas Arnold who later taught at Cambridge University Besides this, there were three points he made about the Europeans

Firstly, they are ravenous about progress

Secondly, Science, mentioned Iqbal, expanded life-chances

Thirdly, capitalism or competition in Europe were leading to war. His assumptions were right as World War I broke in Europe (1914-1918), as well as the second which was more terrible (1938-945)

The Strength of Islam

With a strong Islamic family background and having been exposed to European cultures, Iqbal began to form a broad vision. Besides being a Doctorate of Philosophy, he was also a lawyer from Lincoln's Inn, Britain. During his time, he was considered to be an educationist on par with

Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi and Sir Ross Masud (son of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who was from Aligarh University)

To Iqbal, said Professor Schimmel, the strength of Islam can be obtained by:

Return to Solidarity

“It is known that Muslim countries are both rich and poor. Their population is also great. However, Muslims are not united. I have experienced with the Muslims in Germany, the Turkish and non-Turkish, the conservatives and liberals. Each and everyone of them had their own ideas but in the end, nothing was achieved” said Professor Schimmel who has lived in many Muslim countries, especially Turkey, Iran and Pakistan

Creating the Arts

Iqbal used poems to express the thoughts of his people from poetry about the tears of orphans (*Nala-I-Yatim*, from Lahore in 1900) to lengthy poetry, *Javid Nama* which was regarded as great as the European poem of the 15th century, the *Divine Comedy* of Dante. In his last masterpiece, *Armughan-I-Hijaz*, he bid farewell and reminded all the Muslims to be courteous as was enjoined by the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.)

The role of poetry is as ancient as Islam. The prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) praised poets who fought in the path of Allah. However, after the invasion of the West, Islamic poetry was weakened. Iqbal was the one who lighted the fire of Islamic poetry.

Resolute and Determined

To continue to serve to the people without giving burden to the families, Iqbal led a simple life. He constantly found time to preach for the sake of inspiring especially during the independence of India.

The ruler of Bhopal sympathised and gave 500 rupees from his pension every month. With this, in 1931, he resigned from law so that he could write and meet the people at home. He placed his bed in his garden where he rested, wrote poetry and entertained guests

“Iqbal was not a business teacher like what is needed today. However in his writings especially his poetry, his future insights could be seen in depth. “He could foresee the process of test-tube babies, war and advanced communication systems. Imagine! These happened during the last century. Clearly, he wanted Muslims to have a broad vision of the future” said Professor Schimmel who urged that Iqbal’s masterpieces to be studied in the original language, Persian and Urdu, to understand the greatness of this Asian personality. *“It is known that Muslim countries are both rich and poor. Their population is also great. However, Muslims are not united. I have experienced with the Muslims in Germany, the Turkish and non-Turkish, the conservatives and liberals. Each and everyone of them had their own ideas but in the end, nothing was achieved”* – Professor Schimmel

Biography

Name: Professor Annemarie Schimmel

Birth: Erfurt Germany, 7th April 1922

Education: Doctorate of Philosophy in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Islamic Arts from University of Berlin 1941

Experiences: Taught at Marburg University, Ankara University, Bonn University, Harvard University and received honours from Pakistan, Austria, Holland and first class honours from her homeland, Germany. She was also the President of International Islamic Organization since 1980

Background: Probably due to being a descendant of generations of frequent travellers, Professor Schimmel has travelled almost all over the world

Islam was introduced to her at the age of 8 during which she read a story of a mystic Arab youth who said, “Human beings sleep. When they die, they actually live”. When Professor Schimmel was 18, she realized that those words were from the *hadith*. As an outstanding student who loved reading, she completed her studies in a short period of time. The war in Germany which led to the hatred of the Jews did not suppress her determination. During World War II, Professor Schimmel was an interpreter after mastering the Arabic Language. Her interest in Islam was spreading since then and one

of the countries which attracted her, was Pakistan, Iqbal's country of origin. Her fluency in Persian, Urdu, Arabic, German and English made her a famous interpreter and bridge joining East and West. She is also attracted to with the poetry of Jalal-ud-din Rumi, one of the greatest Sufis of Turkey.

OBITUARIES

Dr. A. L. Tibawi

THE NAME OF DR. A. L. TIBAWI IS WELL KNOWN. HE CONTRIBUTED OVER THE YEARS A NUMBER OF LEARNED ARTICLES TO THE LEADING JOURNALS IN THE FIELD OF ISLAMIC STUDIES AND ALSO CONTRIBUTED MONOGRAPHS ON VARIOUS TOPICS, THE MOST RECENT OF WHICH WAS THE "ENGLISH SPEAKING ORIENTALISTS". DR. TIBAWI WAS BORN IN THE VILLAGE OF TEIBAH IN PALESTINE IN 1910. HE WAS ONE OF THE EARLIEST GRADUATES, PERHAPS THE FIRST, OF THE ARABIC COLLEGE ESTABLISHED IN JERUSALEM.

He was inducted into the Palestine Education Service and rose to be a Senior Education Officer in Jerusalem. When the catastrophe of 1948 descended upon the people of Palestine, Dr. Tibawi was one of those Palestinians fortunate enough to be in this country. He became a refugee and was given compensation and after finishing his studies, was given the post of Lecturer of Comparative Education at the Institute of Education, London, a position which he held until 1977 when he retired completely from teaching. Dr. Tibawi was a prolific writer in both Arabic and English. A historian by training, he wrote extensively on the history of the Middle East and with particular reference to Palestine and Syria. His work was distinguished not so much by its broad outlook as by the meticulous care that he took in attending to details. Very few contemporary writers could rival him in his painstaking work and in looking into the most minute aspects of the topic, which he studied. He was an exacting teacher as well as a meticulous author. Many of his students found his demands for excellence unrivalled. By temperament he was a lone worker.

Few others could have put the amount of hard work and dedication so characteristic of Tibawi into their work. He was not afraid of argument and was not troubled by the *biceties* of relationships. He expressed himself with little regard for anything other than what he saw as the truth, but his forceful language and the highly emotional expressions he used sometimes detracted from the substance of his case. He immersed himself intensely in his battles to the exclusion of any other consideration.

Many are those who felt injured by his treatment and who preferred not to cross swords with him nevertheless he occupies a unique position in the history of Muslim education since he alone amongst those of his generation

took an interest in writing about Islamic education and no self-respecting Library in the world which deals with Muslim society could ignore his valuable works on this topic.

The academic world will miss his learned articles, his perceptive reviews and his pugnacious style.

PROF. SYED KARRAR AUSSAIN

Prof. Syed Karar Hussain former Vice-Chancellor, Professor of English Literature and an eminent intellectual left for his heavenly abode. Born at Meerut (Bharat), he completed his education from Allahabad University and started his career as a Lecturer in English in the Meerut College. He had a political affiliation with the Khaksar Movement and had been associated with this organization through out his whole life. He migrated to Pakistan in 1948. In Pakistan, he taught at the Islamia College, Karachi, Government College, Karachi, Government College Khairpur and Government College Mirpur Khas, Sindh. He also taught at Jamia Millia, Karachi. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Baluchistan University Quetta in 1976. After his retirement, he joined the Islamic Centre Karachi. His lectures on the teachings of the Holy Quran were brought out under the title "Study of the Quran". His famous book is *Quran Aur Zindagi*. He had deep insight in Iqbal Studies and some of his articles on Iqbal are of great importance.

Prof. Muhammad Yunus Hasrat

Prof. Muhammad Yunus Hasrat died on 13th September 1999. He was born in 1933 in former state of Patila. He had been a Professor of Urdu at Government Gurunank College, Nankana. He was a writer of about 100 books on different topics. He was famous as a writer for children and suspense stories. He wrote several textbooks. He also prepared indexes of Urdu and Persian poetry of Allama Iqbal, which were published by the Iqbal Academy Pakistan under the title *Kalâd-i-Iqbal Urdu*, *Kalâd-i-Iqbal Persian* and *Āikāyat-i-Iqbal* are yet to be published. His book *Āikāyat-i-Iqbal*, was written in an easy and lucid prose style for children.

Dr. Abë Sa'ád Nër-ud-Dân

DR. ABË SA'ÁD NËR-UD-DÂN AN EMINENT IQBAL SCHOLAR AND WRITER OF BANGLADESH PASSED AWAY IN THE YEAR 2000. HE WAS BORN IN FEBRUARY 1929 IN DISTRICT MEMUN SINGH. HE DID HIS MASTERS FROM DHAKKA UNIVERSITY IN 1952. HE WAS APPOINTED AS RESEARCH FELLOW IN IQBAL ACADEMY IN 1953. HE WAS GIVEN THE ASSIGNMENT TO WORK ON *ISLAMIC MYSTICISM AND IQBAL (ISLAMÁ TAÄAWWAF AUR IQBAL)*. HE WAS AWARDED DOCTORATE DEGREE ON HIS THESIS BY THE DHAKA UNIVERSITY. HIS PHD THESIS WAS PUBLISHED BY THE IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN. HE WORKED FOR LONG IN THE DHAKA STEEL MILLS. HE ATTENDED A NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES ON ALLAMA IQBAL. BESIDES HIS BOOK ON IQBAL STUDIES, HE ALSO WROTE THE BOOK TITLED *HISTORY OF URDU LITERATURE (URDU)*.

Prof. MuÁammad Munawwar

Prof. MuÁammad Munawwar, a prominent Iqbal Scholar, historian, writer and intellectual passed away on 7th February 2000. Born in 1923, Professor Munawwar did his Masters in Urdu, Arabic and Philosophy from the University of the Punjab. He started his illustrious teaching career in 1953, which continued, to his Government Collage years till his retirement in 1980. He was appointed the Chairman, Department of Iqbal Studies, University Oriental College, Lahore from 1981 to 1985. He was appointed Director Iqbal Academy Pakistan from 1985 to 1988 and then from 1991 to 1993. He was a Member and office holder of many Committees and formations. Prof. MuÁammad Munawwar wrote a large number of books relating to Iqbal Studies, Pakistan Movement, Islamic Studies, Literature and other topics. He contributed hundreds of articles on various topics, which were published in journals of International repute. He also translated a number of books from Arabic and English to Urdu. He attended a large number of National and International Conferences held in Pakistan and abroad. His book relating to the Iqbal Studies entitled *Iqbal and Quranic Wisdom* won the National Presidential Iqbal Award in 1986. As an acknowledgment and token of appreciation of his contributions, Prof. MuÁammad Munawwar was awarded *Sitara-i-Imtiyaz* by the Government of Pakistan.

Prof. Dr. Iftikhār AĀmad Āiddâqâ

Prof. Dr. Iftikhār AĀmad Āiddâqâ, a former Professor, writer and an eminent Iqbal Scholar passed away on 8th June 2000. Born at District Sultanpur U.P., (late) Professor Iftikhār AĀmad Āiddâqâ did his Master in Persian from Ilahabad. He was appointed as Lecturer in Urdu and Persian at 36-Garh College Raipur. In the year 1950, he migrated to Pakistan and associated with Islamia College, Lahore. He was appointed in the University Oriental College in 1963. He was awarded Ph.D. Degree on his thesis on Deputy Nazir Ahmad Delhvi in 1966. Prof. Āiddâqâ wrote a number of books on various topics. The Government of Pakistan awarded Presidential Iqbal Award to his book '*Urĕj-i-Iqbal*' being the best book in Urdu.

ñĥir Shĥdĥnâ

Mr. ñĥir Shĥdĥnâ, an educationist, teacher and poet passed away. He had a deep interest with the Persian language and literature. He had been a teacher at Government Central Model School, Lahore. Then, he joined the Crescent Public School. He worked on the project of the Academy '*Tashâl-i-Kakm-i-Iqbĥl*'. He wrote the '*Tashâl of Armaghĥn-i-Āijĥz*', which was published by the Academy.

Dewĥn MuĀammad Āiraf

Dewĥn MuĀammad Āiraf, President, Allama Iqbal Sangsad (Society) Dhaka passed away on November 2, 1999. (Late) Dewĥn MuĀammad Āiraf was a renowned philosopher and a highly respected religious personality known for his contributions towards Islamic causes. He remained associated with Allama Iqbal Sangsad since its inception in 1986 till his passing away.