

# **IQBAL REVIEW**

**Journal of the Iqbal Academy, Pakistan**

**April 1994**

**Editor**

**Dr. Waheed Qureshi**

**IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN**

Title : Iqbal Review (April 1994)  
Editor : Wahdeed Qureshi  
Publisher : Iqbal Academy Pakistan  
City : Lahore  
Year : 1994  
Classification (DDC) : 105  
Classification (IAP) : 8U1.66V12  
Pages : 63  
Size : 14.5 x 24.5 cm  
ISSN : 0021-0773  
Subjects : Iqbal Studies  
: Philosophy  
: Research



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# THE PROBLEM OF METHOD IN IQBAL'S THOUGHT

**Dr. Asif Iqbal Khan**

The 'method' can be generally defined as a set of rules of procedure which are employed to attain some end. In more of a theoretical context, method implies the logic of justification or the rationale underlying an argument and the ensuing inference. Thus, the mode of validation and justification and the logic of enquiry provide the validity and force to a philosophical argument. It is, therefore, generally accepted that a systematic analysis and logical organization of the rationale and experiential processes are essential to achieve specific philosophical goals.

In the history of philosophical thought, the use of method has assumed various forms, though its application has always been for the express purpose of systematization and logical organization of thought and argument. There have been, for example, the Socratic method, the synthetic method developed by Plato, the ascetic method of Plotinus, the psychological method of Descartes, the transcendental method of Kant, the dialectical method, the intuitive method and the positivistic method etc., to name some of the few. All the various types of method generally adopt the primary ideal of descriptions of truth when thought. Concomitantly they are concerned with systematization, reform and development. There is a general consensus that the course of thought must be such as to approach reality in the subtlety of its constituents and the complexity of their inter-connections, to reconstitute concepts Judgements and inferences in correspondence with it and to realize the mutual support that these give to each other, as dealing with the same cosmos.

A more comprehensive and systematic origin of the method can be traced back in history to the Aristotelian formulation of his Analytic and Dialectic. It won a place in modern logical theory, chiefly through the use of the topic made by Descartes in introducing his reformation of philosophy, and through the laws of empirical science introduced by Bacon. The subsequent Kantian definition of method was: in fair accord with the Cartesian tradition. This sense of method is an estimate of the extent to

which the several faculties proper to a conviction have actually played their part in it. A reference to the course of our thinking is desirable largely because only in some relation to an ordered sequence can the ideals of concept, judgment and inference become a personal discipline. It is not merely awareness and grasp of the 'validity' or of 'fallacy' as the case may be, but a development of our natural 'sense of method'.

Strangely enough, one fails to find such a sense of method in Iqbal's treatment of various philosophical issues. He generally follows (at least in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*) the same philosophical tradition and jargon of which Plato, Descartes, Kant and Hegel are the typical representatives. The Western philosophical tradition, generally, portrays a uniformity of thought and argument in various systems of thought. For example, the distinct systems of idealism, rationalism, and empiricism respectively apply their methods of validation and logical justification uniformly in the areas of knowledge, reality, being etc. In Iqbal's case, however, one finds an attempt to reconcile these opposing philosophical standpoints both at the metaphysical as well as epistemological levels. Thus, while his theory of reality seems to have been characterized by some distinct features typical of empiricism, rationalism and transcendentalism at one and the same time, his theory of knowledge tries to bring together the diverse strains of thought exemplified in Plato, Hume and Kant. In this way, the cause of the lack of method and the consequent absence of logical rigor can be explained on the basis of divergence and diversity of thought in Iqbal- a style dominating most of his philosophical discussion. Consequently, a well-defined, distinct philosophical position is not easily recognizable in his case.

The ego or the self is considered to be the most, thoroughly articulated concept in Iqbal's thought. It is not only basic to his metaphysical standpoint but also provides the setting within which he operates philosophically. It is reasonable to expect a well substantiated, logically justified point of view to emerge out of his discussion' concerning the nature and composition of the 'self'. On the contrary, what we come across is a loosely argued concept of the ego with contrasting positions dominating the same issue at various stages of his analysis.

Iqbal characterizes the self as a personal activity<sup>1</sup> plus homogeneous unity<sup>2</sup> and then tries to reconcile it with the sheer numerical multiplicity<sup>3</sup> of successive states. This heteroclitical position may lead one to either of the two options: (i) nominalism of Hume, or (ii) transcendentalism of Kant. Thus, one may either have to limit the self to mere successive addition of particular impressions (sensory images) or to super-impose it as an impersonal noumenal entity. But, neither Hume's atomic sensations nor Kant's rational categories are acceptable to Iqbal for his idea of the self. Hume, on perceptual grounds was unable to say anything about the real nature of the self. The ego portrayed here is a flux of sensations organized by the principle of association - impressions pass and re-pass in an infinite variety of situations. He also rejects al-Ghazali's notion of self as a simple, indivisible, immutable substance to which mental states are somehow tagged as so many qualities and which lingers on and persists as an immovable, static entity behind and over and above them. Iqbal, however, agrees with Kantian objections to the notion of the soul as a metaphysical entity. "The 'I think' which accompanies every thought is, according to Kant, a purely formal condition of thought, and the transition from a purely formal condition of thought to ontological substance is logically illegitimate."<sup>4</sup> Further, as Kant asserts that indestructibility of the substance cannot be logically inferred from its indivisibility; for, the indivisible substance either gradually or all of a sudden may disappear into nothingness. Iqbal accepts this argument and agrees with Kant that indestructibility<sup>\*</sup> of the soul cannot be proved from its indivisibility.

The generous assimilation of Kantian point of view, however fails to solve the problem being faced by Iqbal. So, ' he shifts ground and turns his

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Sh. M. Ashraf, Lahore, 1968. "...unity of human consciousness which constitutes the human personality" ... "Ego constantly acts on me, and thus permits me to build up a systematic unity of experience." ... "Thus my real personality is not a thing, it is an act. My experience is only a series of acts." (pp.95-104).

<sup>2</sup> "The ego reveals itself as a unity of what we call mental state" ... "The organic unity ... of these interrelated states is a special kind of unity" (Ibid. pp. 98-99). " ... not a substance but an organising principle" (Ibid. pp.40-41).

<sup>3</sup> "I do not mean to say that the ego is over and above the mutually penetrating multiplicity we call experience" (Ibid. p. 102).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.101

attention to the experience of consciousness as we find it in ourselves. But, this change of stance itself is not in line with the spirit of consistent philosophical inquiry. There is a marked vacillation between normal human experience and inner experience as two diverse points of departure for comprehending the concept of ego. There are striking pointers throughout his work which betray his desire to stay within the empirical framework. In the Reconstruction, he equates the self with "the system of experiences"<sup>5</sup> while in the Secrets of the Self, he is convinced that the "inexplicable finite center of experience is the fundamental fact of the universe."<sup>6</sup> In fact, his criticism of the ego regarded as soul-substance clearly follows from his view that the interpretation of conscious experience is the only road by which we can reach the ego. Significantly, he then designates the body as the basic element in the construction of the ego as the 'unity of consciousness'. Projecting the soul as an organ of the body, he elaborates:

"The body is accumulated action or habit of the soul; and as such undetectable from it. It is a permanent element of consciousness which, in view of this permanent -element, appears from the outside as something stable. What, thus, is matter? A colony of egos of a low order out of which emerges the ego of a higher order, when this association and interaction reach a certain degree of co-ordination."<sup>7</sup> But, then, Kantianism takes over again and, finally, Iqbal comes to hold that there had to be an "I" a profound agent above the empirical domain which acts constantly through the 'colony of sub-egos', enabling one to build a 'systematic unity of experience.'

Apparently, it is an impossible task to try to reconcile opposing views of rationalism, empiricism and transcendentalism. It is obvious that Kant, Hume and al-Ghazali who have developed their distinct systems of thought and their ideas on various philosophical issues cannot be considered in isolation from their respective systems. Any attempt to combine these diverse positions will lead naturally to philosophical difficulties. Understandably, therefore, Iqbal needs to change his stand all the time and in quick succession. Fascinated by the appeal of Humean empiricism, he

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p.106

<sup>6</sup> Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *Secrets of the Self (Asrar-i-Khudi)*, translated by R.A. Nicholson, London, 1920, Preface, p.xvii.

<sup>7</sup> *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, op. Cit., p.106.

appears to reject both Kant and al-Ghazali. But, then, he takes another turn, and avers, very much like Kant, that there had to be 'a profounder ego' designated by the word 'I', existing outside and above experience. Initially, he rejects both parallelism and interactionism as unsatisfactory and visualizes mind and body as composed of one single element.<sup>8</sup> But, then, he suddenly agrees to admit the supremacy of the mental over the physical. Thus, the failure to make a break with the legacy of Kant effectively blocks the possibility of an original solution to the problem.

The diversity of thought and argument in Iqbal not only creates a certain inbuilt tension in his analysis but also requires looseness in organization and systematization. Thus, the lack of precise validation criteria allows for inferences not logically justified by the premises. His theory of knowledge is also typically marked by a similar state of affairs. In the field of epistemology, he tries to bring together perception, thought and intuition and binds them together in an 'organic' relationship. 'Psychologically speaking, all states are organically determined'<sup>9</sup> this is a turn even more difficult to negotiate than the Kantian attempt to utilize the findings of empiricists and rationalists at one go. Notwithstanding the inherent weaknesses of a psychological basis for epistemological conclusions, no effort worth the name is made to formulate a common cognitive ground for the different levels of knowledge. Neither the appropriate categories for different levels of experience are provided nor is the manner of their application to perception, conception and inner experience made clear. The whole affair peresumably hinges on an extended use of thought and feeling as epistemological notions<sup>10</sup>. While on the one hand, Iqbal assigns thought the crucial roles of both analyzing and synthesizing the elements of experience; on the other hand, no serious effort is made to clarify and determine the function and meaning of percepts and concepts in the sphere of knowledge. He merely moves from inner experience<sup>11</sup> to concrete experience<sup>12</sup> and back again and visualizes these levels as developing into the common element of human insight bordering on the intuition.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 105, Yet, finally, he succumbs to the supremacy of the mental over the physical.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p.23

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. pp. 20-21, 26, 52

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. pp. 15-16

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p.131



Iqbal is; thus, ready to proceed from sense-perception to intellect and then on to intuition and religious experience. Declaring that "the facts of religious experience are 'facts' among other facts,"<sup>13</sup> the problem of verification criteria for religious knowledge is not exhaustively treated. Taking recourse to the notion of religious experience as "a state of feeling with a cognitive aspect"<sup>14</sup>, he emphasizes that it lends itself to the forms of idea by seeking expression in thought. While there are striking remarks about idea as the object of feeling and about idea and word both emerging out of feelingly', no attempt is made to develop the thesis further about feeling as a vehicle of knowledge. The crucial terms, viz., feeling<sup>15</sup>, object, idea and word are neither thoroughly analyzed nor their inter-relations worked out fully. Without devising the mechanism to translate feeling and word into world-language how can one logically claim to have found the cognitive element in feeling.<sup>16</sup>

A similar lack of philosophical rigor can be deciphered in Iqbal's treatment of other issues as well. Apparent disregard for the need to clarify and arrive at consistent conclusions is evidenced in his views of religious import as well. Initially, his philosophy of religion shows a peculiarly ambivalent attitude towards the great Muslim mystic Ibn' Arabi. While on the one hand, he seems fascinated by the depth and scope of Ibn Arabi's ideas, on the other hand, he unleashes a scathing attack against pantheistic interpretation of his thought. Further, Iqbal's unusual conception of man-God relationship makes it rather difficult for him to reconcile God's supreme transcendence with His immanence, and consequently, he fails to resolve the finite-infinite controversy concerning the nature of his deity. He is also unable to resolve finally the basic contradiction between man's freedom and God's omniscience and omnipotence in a satisfactory manner. A similar lack of consistency and method is manifested in his attempt to find knowledge-

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p. 16. "The facts of religious experience are facts among other facts of human experience and, in the capacity of yielding knowledge by interpretation; one fact is as good as another."

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p. 26.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p.22.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p.21. " it is the nature of feeling to seek expression in thought. It would seem that the two-feeling and idea - are the non-temporal and temporal aspects of the same unit of inner experience."

content in religious experience. Equating it with normal human experience he is unmindful of the fact that a positivistic approach to religion is doomed to lead to negative consequences.

Iqbal's style of philosophical composition is marked by a certain amount of desultoriness. He appears to ramble from idea to idea, from one theme to another, without caring much for logical sequence. Even in the Reconstruction, his way of arguing is not sufficiently rigorous and methodical. Ideas pregnant with meaning are scattered across the whole of his philosophical spectrum; but he provides only the most tenuous links. While he invokes the authority of different philosophers to support and substantiate his own favored position, in the same strain, their basic stand is made the target of a blistering attack. Very often, authorities, ancient and modern, Western and Eastern, are summoned to support a particular shade of opinion at such a pace that the reader is left breathless. In the scope of seven pages, for instance, the principal figures cited include Berkeley, Whitehead, Einstein, Russell, Zeno, Newton, al-Ash'ari, Ibn Hazm, Bergson, Cantor and Ouspensky.<sup>17</sup> It is humanly impossible to do justice in such a short space by analysing and evaluating and then assimilating and digesting their ideas for supplementing or constructing a new view point.

It may be argued that Iqbal was unaware of these philosophical shortcomings. \_ It is also a fact that the requirements of method in thought and argument was neither so crucial nor as acutely felt by Iqbal as is the case with the 'system builders' in philosophy. Probably, the lack of logical rigor in Iqbal is a need rather than a flaw. Presumably, he saw the resolution of all inconsistencies and contradictions in his humanistic attitude towards life - the evolution of man through an ever ascending order of ideals. Though he never articulated humanism precisely in the sense in which Protogoras made 'man the measure of all things,' he nevertheless incorporated in his thought all the major ingredients of a genuine humanistic standpoint. As an eclectic in the widest meaning of the term, he was open to and assimilated diverse principles and opinions emanating from a variety of schools of thought. But all these contrasting views converged on a concept of man which became a point of reference for various strands of thought in Iqbal's philosophy. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that he should come close to reflecting

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp.33-39.

humanism of the classical mould, i.e. conceiving man as the center of all things. He not only recognized the value and dignity of man but also made human nature, with all its limitations and weaknesses, interests and aspirations, as the dominating, all encompassing theme of his writings. Since he deliberately made human experience the point of departure for his world-view and life-prospects, humanism naturally becomes the pivot of the rest of his philosophical concerns. Consequently, he must treat and pass judgment on related issues in accordance with the humanistic ideals. Generally, this means that philosophy had assumed a new and a novel meaning for Iqbal. Thus, with man and his life as his fundamental themes, philosophy became for him a practical, problem solving enterprise.

In the above context, the problem of Iqbal's rather supercilious style of formulating theories and his disdain for logical rigor become, crucially though implicitly, interlinked with his general attitude towards philosophy. It is implied here that Iqbal, in the interest of the scope and range of his thought, deliberately refused to reduce the divergent trends in his philosophy to a narrow, unified system of meaning. Consequently, he never seriously tries to resolve the tensions found in his thought and which result from an indiscriminate openness to a variety of perspectives. This is one of the reasons why he treats various philosophical issues at a very general level and disregards detailed specification involved in a serious form of analysis. Since his real aim was a generalized philosophy of humanism, he took liberties with the facts underlying his arguments and reached conclusions which are only vaguely substantiated. For this reason, his arguments often fail to stand up to minute philosophical scrutiny. This state of affairs is indicative of a certain resilience of mind. But, it also lends Iqbal's thought to a variety of interpretations.

The humanistic approach in philosophy need not necessarily lead to a lack of rigorous thought. It is one thing to be sincere in and committed to one's ideals while it is quite a different thing to be impatient with arguments which fortify one's position against genuine philosophical criticism. Though one may genuinely believe in the barrenness and futility of a purely philosophical speculation, this cannot be admitted as a justification and rationale for a lack of precision in what is admittedly a philosophical exercise.

If, for example, one engages in a particular game by accepting its rules, is it possible to justify the win if it is attained by violating the same rules?

What, then, is the validation mechanism adopted and employed by Iqbal? It appears that Iqbal makes use of a kind of pragmatic method to justify the conclusions drawn by him. Now, pragmatism claims that philosophical disputes can be settled by discovering the practical consequences of the notions involved. Originally developed as a theory of meaning by Pierce, it avers that meaning of concepts and statements is exhausted by the effects they may have on our experiences and actions. The pragmatic theory of truth was developed by William James<sup>18</sup> who emphasized the effect of concepts on our senses and emotions. Truth, for him, was characterized by its agreement with reality which meant, in effect, that the truth is what works. The workability of truth, thus becomes contingent upon whatever we ultimately consider believable though believability itself may be influenced by our emotions.

Ostensibly, if Iqbal's philosophy is treated as pragmatic and humanistic in nature, it would go against the generally agreed distinction between philosophy and practical, worldly way of doing things, neither is there the scope for forcing the test of critical scrutiny and logical analysis. Nor does it correspond to the case represented by Heidegger, for example, who is openly hostile to critical analysis and professes to arrive at general conclusions by a direct, personal intuition. The distinction between the 'philosopher' and the 'sage' and even the one between 'critical' and 'speculative' philosophy is irrelevant to what Iqbal, as a matter of fact, is involved in. Obviously, the difference between a sage and a philosopher is not that one is imaginative while the other is not. The difference lies in the fact, that the philosopher submits his speculation to the discipline of minute criticism. Philosophy is neither pure intuition, nor pure speculation, nor even pure criticism. It is speculation and intuition controlled by criticism.

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<sup>18</sup> Incidentally, James and Iqbal shared many convictions and beliefs. Both sport diversity of interest and are not much bothered by the need for method in their thought. It is possible to work out a significant area of influence under which Iqbal formulated some of his views strikingly in line with those of James.

Iqbal himself seems to have no quarrel with such a characterization of philosophy. The conflict lies in the predicament where philosophical criticism tends to assume a variety of forms. Unlike science, philosophy has no common method for testing its speculations. For Hegel, it was dialectic; for Bergson, intuition; for Wittgenstein, the un-covering of non-sense; for Husserl, phenomenological description, and so on. The diversity of these views means, in effect, that devising a new method or deciding in favor of one is, as a matter of fact, 'taking sides in a philosophical dispute'. To a great extent, it is a matter of choice. In the history of philosophy, indeed, a number of procedures have been used to formulate a method and apply it. But, when we look closely at the claims for the discovery of the correct method of proceeding in philosophy, we always find that these are not always borne out by the writings of the philosophers. In this category, even such philosophical giants' as Descartes, Hegel, and even Wittgenstein can be included. So, apparently, there is no reason to reserve censure 'for Iqbal alone on this count. The lack of a closed system in his thought might as well stand him in good stead in his task of devising a new method.

As mentioned above, in thought and argument, the method is targeted at systematization, reform and development. The reality must be approached in the subtlety of its constituent parts as well as the complexity of its inter-relations. One must aim at reconstituting and re-structuring concepts, judgements and inferences in accord with the reality in question, and to realize the mutual support that these give to each other. But, the 'method' and its use in this context represent only the secondary ideals of a serious philosophical activity which is specifically relevant with definite reference to the order and process of thinking.

The primary ideals are the descriptions of truth while thought and the method plays only the role of a supporting instrument. This is reflected, to some extent, in what may be termed as a double approach to reality as exemplified in Aristotle's distinction of reason and essence or Descartes' rule of method to divide the difficulties of an inquiry, and his rule to conduct our thought in the order of simple and complex. But the description of truth is possible only when logical systematization becomes a 'personal discipline': not only an awareness of a 'fallacy' or a 'validity' but also taking birth of a natural sense of method'. The sense of method is an estimate of the extent to

which the several faculties proper to a conviction have actually played their due part in the process.

The attribute of 'conviction' is what constantly marks the views and opinions expressed by Iqbal. It is due to this conviction in the truth and validity of his standpoint that he shows much more concern for projecting 'life' in a genuinely human situation at the cost of constructing a systematic account of his philosophy. The humanistic ideal he started with, in due course, led him to pragmatism which, implicitly or explicitly became the touchstone for the truth of all his convictions. Thus, he formulated his epistemological views, directly or indirectly, with reference to their workability. In other words, pragmatism, for him, became vaguely a 'method' for solving basic philosophical disputes. Such a perspective is, indeed, direly required for a satisfactory explanation of his wide-spread unconcern for systematic philosophy it is crucial to note that his primary concern lay with the effect and workability of his ideas and not their logical coherence. He was more interested in whether what he said conduced to practical considerations and what consequences could be visualized for them. What logical form his arguments took was, for him, of secondary importance. Consequently, while he is committed to a number of contrasting claims all through his intellectual life, he is consistent in the sense that he is all the time looking at and judging his accomplishments by the pragmatic value of his arguments, beliefs and convictions and not by their logical cogency. There is, therefore, an implied suggestion that he operated within a pragmatic framework in which his writings were directed at producing results and must be judged in accordance with their practical worth and value.

It is difficult to see how important choices and decisions can be made on the sole basis of workability principle and a number of objections can be raised against recourse to this method. Apparently, 'belief' in what one is doing plays a crucial role in this regard. In fact, philosophy for Iqbal was something to live by, to be evidenced in the course of life. It had either to become integral to the corpus of one's personality or to be rejected as academic chaff. But, then, he was also not thorough enough in rejecting what did not fit in with his scheme of things. He was too liberal with his assimilation of diverse opinions which required continuous shifting of positions and re-arranging of his views. Consequently, he appears to accept views which, sometimes, stand

in diametrical opposition to his avowed stand. While such an attitude may be dubbed as the ensuing irrationalism of an humanistic outlook, it makes him more and more dependent on the workability criterion'. While this results in a sort of lack of precision in his work, it also leads to a kind of tension that runs through out his writings. While as philosopher he considers himself duty bound to exercise logical rigour and methodical coherence in his thought, his humanistic/pragmatic enterprise refuses to accept the logical limits of such an exercise. This happens to give the impression of a philosopher at work with a divided mind.

# **IQBAL AND DEMOCRACY**

## **Part II**

**Dr. WAHEED ISHRAT**

**TRANSLATION**

**Dr. M.A.K. KHALIL**

Allamah Iqbal's criticism of democracy was firstly because of the creation of special circumstances and secondly was the pointer to some basic defects in democracy. If corrective measures for these defects were adopted these objections not only ceased to exist but democracy became even acceptable to him. This criterion of democracy by Allamah Iqbal cannot be taken to imply his support for monarchy or dictatorship, as our dictators have done in attempting to justify their dictatorial behaviour by quoting some verses of Allamah Iqbal against democracy. Such attempts have always been rejected by the people. The dictator's attempts are equivalent to dishonesty with Iqbal's thought. The Allamah has always rejected monarchy and dictatorship and has always rejected monarchy and dictatorship and has considered them as un-Islamic systems.

In his "Lectures" Allamah Iqbal has designated "Spiritual democracy as the goal of Islam and has adjudged its establishment as a fountainhead of hope for the human race. He says in his lecture on Ijtihad in Islam:

"The growth of republican spirit and the gradual formation of legislative assemblies in Muslim lands constitute a great step forward. The transfer of power of Ijtihad from individual representatives of schools to a Muslim legislative assembly, which in view of the growth of opposing sects is the only possible form ijma can take in modern times, will secure contributions to legal discussions from laymen who happen to possess a keen insight into affairs."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Reference 23: pp, 173-74.



Allamah Iqbal, not only liked the democratic experiment in the Islamic State of Turkey, consisting of a Muslim majority, but also accepted their *ijtihad* that the elected parliament of an Islamic country should have the power of elucidation, interpretation and explanation of Islamic laws. In the Allamah's view, the interests of the Islamic *fiqh* whose reconstruction and consolidation in the new age in conformity with its demands, was his ardent desire, would be best served if this duty should be assumed by the elected parliaments of Muslim countries. This was the reason for the Allamah considering the growth and development of the democratic spirit and the gradual establishment of legislative assemblies in the Islamic world as a great progressive step forward. This also shows that the Allamah was critical of democracy in the sub-continent on account of its special circumstances, but welcomed it in the Islamic world where Muslims constituted the majority. Allamah Iqbal was even convinced that if the system of the Divinely guided *khilafah* had continued it would have been reshaped into democratic institutions and legislative assemblies, and the legislature, instead of individuals, would have legislated by collective decisions. According to him individuals got the right of *ijtihad* on account of the absolute monarchy of the Umayyad and Abasi who wanted to make themselves powerful instead of making any legislature to be its fountainhead. The ardent desire of Allamah Iqbal for an independent legislature can be gauged from the analysis of the tragedy of the journey from the *khilafah* to monarchy during the period from the divinely guided *khilafah* to the Umayyad and Abbasid *Khaleefahs*. He says:

Possibly its (*ijma's*) transformation into a permanent representative institution was contrary to the political interests of the kind of absolute monarchy that grew up in Islam immediately after the fourth *Khaleefah*. It was, I think, favorable to the interests of the Umayyad and Abbaside *Khaleefahs* to leave the power of *ijtihad* to individual *mujtahids* rather than encourage the formation of a permanent assembly which might become too powerful for them.<sup>20</sup>

This means that in the Allamah's view, frustrating the efforts to establish a permanent legislative assembly or *ijtihad*, assembly was the achievement of Muslim monarchies. In view of this are not the people who want to prove

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<sup>20</sup> Reference 23: p. 173

opposition to the establishment of legislative assembly or parliament from the Allamah's works blowing the trumpets of the kings and dictators? The Allamah considers the following to be the only solution of the problems of Muslims:

For the present every Muslim nation must submerge into its own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics.<sup>21</sup>

The Allamah even believes that:

The teaching of the Holy Qur'an that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation guided, but unhampered, by the model of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems.<sup>22</sup>

These two extracts clarify the Allamah's desire that fiqh should not be an obstruction in the way of Muslims in living their lives at present, but should be explained and interpreted according to the demands of the present day world where necessary. They should obtain and use maximum guidance from their predecessors. This means that it is desirable to keep in view the experiences of their predecessors while chartering a new path in reshaping of fiqh. Still there is no harm in differing from them. Secondly, the Allamah desired that all Muslim countries should establish legislative assemblies in their respective areas should interpret fiqh according to their circumstances and should benefit from each other's experiences and then all should unite to form a federation or administration of Islamic republics, and thus should pave the way for the unity of the Islamic world. According to him this was a practical and exemplary state of affairs which the Muslims could adopt. They can still do so. This, according to the Allamah, is the demand of the renaissance of Islam in the present day world.

It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for

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<sup>21</sup> Reference 23: p. 159

<sup>22</sup> Reference 23: p. 168

facility of reference only and not for restricting the social horizon of its members.<sup>23</sup>

With reference to the ijihad of the Turks the Allamah considers democracy indispensable for Islamic State. He says

Let us now see how the Grand National Assembly has exercised the power of ijihad in regard to the institution of Khilafah. According to the Sunni Law the appointment of an Imamae or Khaleefah is absolutely indispensable. The first question that arises in this connection is this: Should the Khilafah be vested in a single person? Turkey's ijihad is that according to the spirit of Islam the Khilafah or Imamahae can be vested in a body of persons, or an elected assembly. The religious doctors of Islam in Egypt or India have not yet expressed themselves on this point. Personally, I believe that the Turkish view is perfectly sound. It is hardly necessary to argue this point. The republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam.<sup>24</sup>

After understanding the Allamah's detailed stand underlined above what further reasoning is necessary to bring his democratic perception into evidence. Here, the Allamah, adjudging the democratic system of government to be exactly in accordance with the spirit of Islam, considers it indispensable in the present age. In fact, going a step further he considers the courageous reinterpretation of the Islamic fiqh as essential and states clearly:

Equipped with penetrative thought and fresh experience the world of Islam should courageously proceed with the work of reconstruction before them. This work of reconstruction, however, has a far more serious aspect than mere adjustment, in modern conditions of life.<sup>25</sup>

The Allamah did not want only remodeling of Islam according to the dictates of the present age, but he wanted to see an insight among Muslims which could interpret the Islamic principles so as to provide them guidance

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<sup>23</sup> Reference 23: p. 159

<sup>24</sup> Reference 23: p. 159

<sup>25</sup> Reference 23: p. 179

in the present day and age. The Allamah has advised us to keep the Russian Revolution also in view in this connection so that arrangements can be made for the State to provide economic assistance also to the people. Consequently, the Allamah says that on the one hand the experience of the Western world and the new economic experiments tried in the neighborhood of Muslim Asia must open our eyes to the inner meanings and destiny of Islam.<sup>26</sup>

According to the Allamah, while reinterpreting Islam we should keep in view the new ijthad of Turkey, the denial of prophetic consciousness of the European civilization and its unbridled inclination towards materialism leading to ethical decline, and the Russian experience in which the maximum emphasis has been placed on the economic aspect. In the opinion of the Allamah “Europe today is the greatest hindrance in the way of man’s ethical advancement.”<sup>27</sup> And “The idealism of Europe never became a living factor in her life and the result is perverted ego seeking itself through mutually intolerant democracies whose sole function is to exploit the poor in the interests of the rich”<sup>28</sup>. Consequently, humanity is passing through a period of extreme commotion. According to Allamah Iqbal the present day spiritual; or even material needs of the human race can neither be satisfied by the Western capitalist system nor by the Russian communism but only by Islam. He has provided very good analysis of the situation and a reasoned cure when he says”.

Humanity needs three things today-a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of mankind and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis.<sup>29</sup>

He further explains:-

Let the Muslim of today appreciate his position, reconstruct his social life in the light of ultimate principles, and evolve, out of the hitherto partially

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<sup>26</sup> Reference 23: p. 179

<sup>27</sup> Reference 23: p. 179

<sup>28</sup> Reference 23: p. 179

<sup>29</sup> Reference 23: p. 179

revealed purpose of Islam, that spiritual democracy is the ultimate aim of Islam.<sup>30</sup>

According to Iqbal the spiritual interpretation of the universe should be made under the principle of tauheed whose spirit leads from the visible to the invisible. Islam is the only way for the spiritual freedom of mankind and establishment of “spiritual democracy” is the basic universal principle which will lead to the evolution of human civilization on spiritual basis. Now let us see what this “spiritual democracy” is:

## **IQBAL’S CONCEPTS OF SPIRITUAL DEMOCRACY-**

After understanding the fact that Allamah Iqbal considered the establishment of “spiritual democracy” indispensable for Muslims and comprehending his views that this democracy should be established “through “an elected assembly.<sup>31</sup> and that “the republican form of government is thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam”<sup>32</sup>. it becomes easy to understand the concept of spiritual democracy. Allamah Iqbal, warning the West about the ephemerality of its civilization said:

دریا مغرب کے رہنے والو کی بستی دکاں نہیں ہے  
کھرا جسے تو سمجھ رہے ہو وہ اب زر کم عیار ہوگا!  
تمہاری تہذیب اپنے خنجر سے آپ ہی خودکشی کرے گی  
جو شاخ نازک پہ آشیانہ بنے گا، ناپائیدار ہو گا

O people of the West! the God’s world is not for exploitation

What you consider to be economically genuine will turn out to be worthless

Your civilization will commit suicide with its own dagger

The nest built on a frail branch will be unstable.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Reference 23: p. 180

<sup>31</sup> Reference 23: p. 157

<sup>32</sup> Reference 23: p. 157

<sup>33</sup> Reference 23: p. 150

This was due to the fact that the Western civilization was enamoured of the visible, had distanced itself from prophetic consciousness, had ignored the real purpose of the creation of the universe and life, and had accepted matter as its goal instead of keeping it at its proper place of being only a means for understanding the reality. In the same way, in the social sphere, the West separated politics from deen and an unbridled democracy held sway everywhere which, while endowing man with unrestricted freedom estranged him from the real purpose of his existence. According to Iqbal the real reason for this was the separation of politics from deen. Consequently, he clearly warned that:

جلال پادشاہی ہو یا جمہوری تماشا ہو  
جدا ہوویں سیاست سے تو رہ جاتی ہے چنگیزی

It may be the majesty of the royalty or the fanfare of democracy

If deen is separated from politics the latter becomes mere tyranny.<sup>34</sup>

Considering deen essential for encompassing the entire life, Iqbal believed in keeping politics also subservient to it and wanted the shaping of political systems only under the guidance of deen. Iqbal's spiritual democracy is synonymous with harmony between deen and politics. Sovereignty is the sixth pillar of deen and deen cannot be established without sovereignty and the State.

## **MAN AS GOD'S VICEGERENT ON EARTH-**

According to Islam man is the spiritual leader, is God's Vicegerent on earth, and the establishment and enforcement of God's will on earth is a duty and Divine Command for the entire human race. Not any one person but the entire human race inhabiting the earth constitutes spiritual leadership and has been commissioned for the enforcement of God's Will on earth. God's Guidance, the Holy Qur'an is His last Command, and the Muslims being its acceptors are specially obligated to enforce it, not severally but collectively. This responsibility devolves on all Muslims and not on any one class of society only. All Muslims are as such answerable for that before God. Every

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<sup>34</sup> Iqbal, Dr. Sir Muhammad Bal-i-Jibreel. Published by Maktaba-i-Jamia, Delhi, India, p. 62  
2nd Edition.

Muslim will be examined for the part he had played in establishing the Islamic system and enforcing God's Will. If somebody falls short of his responsibility in this regard he will be answerable for his shortcoming. In other words establishment of God's Kingdom on earth is incumbent not only on one group but is the over riding Divine Commission for all Muslims. Hence, all Muslims must initiate action for enforcing God's Will. According to Allamah Iqbal the sovereignty of the universe belongs to God. Sovereignty, authority and power befit Him alone and if somebody considers the exercise of these attributes to be his prerogative he is guilty of idolatry.

سروری زبیا فقط اس ذات ہے ہمتا کو ہے  
حکمران ہے اک وہی باقی بتان آزادی!

Sovereignty befits only the Unique Being

He is the only Sovereign, all the rest are false idols<sup>35</sup>

## SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATE

Sovereignty of a State in the political sense befits God alone and the Divine Command for the Vicegerent of God, i.e. man is to use this authority transferred to him for the enforcement of God's Will. In the Western democracy this sovereignty belongs completely to the people. A country's people can declare intoxicants lawful or unlawful as they wish and are fully empowered to deal with lewdness in the same way. This is so because sovereignty of the State is considered to be their statutory right. Sovereignty in "spiritual democracy" is not the right of any individual or nation but that of God. Mankind, being Vicegerents of God is obligated to enforce His Will and nobody is empowered to alter it, whereas in Western democracy the people are fully empowered to alter it and exercise their own will. There can be various interpretations of the Will of God in an Islamic "spiritual democracy" but any change, in even a word or its purport in the real source of the Law, i.e. the Holy Qur'an, is not possible. This leads to the shaping of a responsible democracy having a positive and permanent value system for controlling 'society, which can create social and cultural stability instead of perpetrating social anarchy, promotion of lewdness and unbridled freedom.

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<sup>35</sup> Reference 15: p. 296.

The eminent Iqbalist, the late Bashir Ahmad Dar, casting light on the political philosophy of Iqbal, changing Abraham Lincoln's famous saying about democracy "the rule of the people, for the people, by the people", writes about sovereignty:

If we could change the famous saying of Abraham Lincoln on defining democracy in the light of the Islamic democracy it would read "Rule of God, for the people, by the people". The government established by the people is in the interests of humanity. but such a government must be operated under the laws framed by God. Man can never be the sovereign. Sovereignty befits God alone. People govern through their representatives under the laws framed by God.<sup>36</sup>

Moreover, as stated above this sovereignty is the joint heritage of all Muslims, and so no single class can claim the interpretation of the Holy Qur'an, Hadith and the Sunnah as its exclusive right. It is the joint right of all Muslims and jointly they evolve a system which can help them in establishing the Will of God in any State. Now, it is obvious that the joint will of Muslims cannot be included in a monarchy or dictatorship, and all Muslims cannot discharge their responsibility of establishing the will of God through either of these systems. Hence, this leaves the single alternative i.e. the one in which decisions can be made on the basis of the joint opinion of the Muslims. In the early days that alternative was the ba'at through which people used to renunciate their right of opinion in favour of the Khaleefah by surrendering their hands into his, which also demonstrated their confidence in him, In the present age the vote is the instrument of expressing opinion and for showing confidence in the ruler. This vote is the emblem of a Muslim's opinion and will and his confidence in the ruler, through which every person, i.e. every Muslim considers himself to be a partner in the conduct of the government and regards himself an equal partner in the responsibility of his ruler's actions and conduct. He can evaluate the ruler through a vote of no confidence and can call to account the ruler of the State who fails to enforce God's Will. It is not possible in the present day complex and mechanised States to assemble in the mosque or an open space for a common ba'at. or expression of opinion. To adopt the current method of vote in preference to the old time

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<sup>36</sup> Dar, B.A. A Study of Iqbal's philosophy. Published by Shaikh Ghulam Ali & Sons. Lahore, Pakistan: pp. 276-77, 1971.



ba'at is like relinquishing travel by camel in favour of the car, rail or the ship. In these circumstances if somebody insists on travelling by camel we can only pray for him having such an unsound mind.

It is necessary to remove a common misunderstanding here. In Islam sovereignty does not belong to the people, but is only a trust from God and they are only custodians of the sovereignty of God. Remember that in Islam sovereignty is a joint trust with all Muslims and not with any particular race, society or class. Hence, no aspect of theocracy applies to Islam. In theocracy sovereignty lies in some group, which considers itself to have been commissioned by God and presents itself to be the -interpreter and propagator of the Will of God. In our society some conservative religious scholars have endeavoured to acquire this portion of theocracy, but it has never been accepted, because in Islam the responsibility for enforcing God's Will falls on all Muslims. No group or class has the 'sanctity and the authority to present itself as ordained for the interpretation and enforcement of God's Will, By adjudging the Islamic State a form of theocracy, Maulana Abul A'ala Maududi has presented an incorrect image of the ideal Islamic State. The Maulana says:

The Islamic State, the establishment and promotion of which alone is our goal, is neither a theocracy nor a democracy as understood in Western terminology. It is a unique political and cultural system intermediate between them. The intellectual confusion preying on the minds of the present day Western educated people about "Islamic State" is really the product of Western terminology, which necessarily carries with it western concepts and rallies the whole plethora of Western history before the mind. Theocracy in the Western terminology is a combination of two basic concepts, viz., (i) Divine rule in the sense of legal sovereignty, and (ii) the ecclesiastical class which, presenting itself as God's representative and interpreter, would practically enforces this Divine rule in a legal and political form.<sup>37</sup>

According to the Maulana "Islam contains only one component of this theocracy and that is the belief in God's sovereignty. The second component certainly does not exist in Islam. As for the third component we have the

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<sup>37</sup> Maududi, Maulana Syed Abul A'alal Islami Riasat Published by the Islamic Publications, Lahore, Pakistan: pp. 479-80. N.D.

Holy Qur'an, with its comprehensive and detailed commandments, for the interpretation of which we have such instructions in the sayings and the actions of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) for sifting the Truth, and thus have access to authentic procedures' for distinguishing the right from the wrong.<sup>38</sup>

In disagreeing with this opinion of the Maulana one feels that his point of view was not clear about the Islamic State as well as theocracy, this is so because the Islamic State is an Ideological State based on the concept of Tauheed. It is in no way connected with any concept of theocracy because the basic substance of theocracy is not Divine rule but the concept of the superiority of a special class in the name of God, which considers itself a group of the self-righteous people and interpreters of God's Will. Probably, the Maulana's this very concept of theocracy produced the inclination among the members of his party to consider themselves righteous and led them to claim their right on the State and its government in consequence. In reality Islam is not connected with any group of the righteous people, but imposes the responsibility of God's Vicegerency on all Muslims. Adjudging this very concept of theocracy to be contrary to the spirit of Islamic governmental system professor Muhammad Mazhar-ud-Deen Siddiqu says:

The basic reason for theocracy being excluded from Islam is the absence of any special class in Islamic Society specifically entrusted with the preaching and service of Islam. All Muslims are expected to mould their lives according to Islam wherever and whoever they are, to adopt Islamic concepts and introduce new methods of their presentation. Islam has vigorously opposed monopolistic tendencies in religion and has bestowed the high rank on every Muslim by making him personally responsible before God. Islam has not distinguished between "a religious person the clergy in Christianity and the Maulvies in Islam and a common person," and has prohibited monasticism in all its forms.<sup>39</sup>

Maulana Muhammad Haneef Nadvi says that Islam does not have theocracy in any form because "In the fourteen hundred year history of

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<sup>38</sup> Reference 45: p. 480.

<sup>39</sup> Siddiqui, Muhammad Mazhar-ud-Deen, Islam and Theocracy, Published by the Institute of Islamic Culture: pp. 42-43.

Islam there is not a single incidence in which the ulamah (religious scholars), faqihs and muhadditheen as an institution or class have ever acquired political power or have ever expressed their longing or even a desire to do so. Therefore, saying that the Islamic State also is a theocracy of a kind in a sense is tantamount. to impressing on the minds a wrong concept about the Islamic State. In Islam every Muslim's opinion is equally respected because every Muslim has been accepted to be God's Vicegerent and a custodian of His Trust and answerable to Him.<sup>40</sup>

## **SOME ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY**

A survey of Islamic history would lead to the conclusion that the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) neither appointed any of his relations as his Khaleefah nor hinted at any of his close friends for the Khalifah and leadership after himself. He only signalled to Hadhrat Abu Bakr Siddique (R.A.) once for leading the prayer, which also does not establish his right for the Khilafah after the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) After the death of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) all the claimants for the Khilafah based their claims to that high office only on the basis of their services to Islam. None of them presented any credentials from the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) entitling him to the Khilafah the Imamah. This clearly means that the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) delegated to all Muslims the right of electing the Khaleefah or their ruler after his death, so that they could entrust this authority to whom so ever they considered most suitable. Then at the time of the appearance of differences between the Ansars, the Muhajireen and the supporters of Hadhrat Ali (R.A.) the action which played the decisive role was the ba'at of Hadhrat Umar (R.A.) at the hands of Hadhrat Abu Bakr Siddique (R.A.) This means that Hadrat Umar (R.A.) used his right in favour of Hadhrat Abu Bakr Siddique (R.A) and then, following his example, the remaining companions of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) also cast their vote in favour of Hadhrat Abu Bak'. Siddique (R.A) This was the first method of ba'at or voting adopted by the Muslims, After this, Hadhrat Umar (RA) did not appoint anybody as his successor but, suggesting some people, advised the companions to elect any one of them for the Khilafah and ba'at i.e. obtain the general consensus of the Muslims to this election. The allegation that Hadhrat Umar (R.A.) had not been elected but nominated by Hadhrat Abu Bakr Siddique (R.A.) is an

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<sup>40</sup> Reference 1:p. 181

oversight of facts. It is worth noting that though Hadhrat Abu Bakr Siddique (R.A.) had nominated Hadhrat Umar (R.A.) the ba'at was obtained for him also, which alone gave credence to his Khilafah. Hadhrat Umar (R.A.) was not exempted from the procedure of the ba'at by virtue of his nomination by Hadhrat Abu Bakr Siddique (R.A.). The nomination was only a suggestion. The same applied to Hadhrat Ali (R.A.) That is why the deviation of Hadhrat Ameer Muawiya (R.A.) from this principle led to his opposition by several companions of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) And when the attempt was made to extort the ba'at from Hadhrat Imam Hussain (R.A.) in favour of Yazeed the Imam preferred the sacrifice of his entire household to supporting Yazeed.

سرداد نه دا د دست در دست يزيه

حقا كه بنائے لا اله هست حسين

“He gave his head but not his hand in Yazeed’s hand (as ba'at)

By God, Hussain (R.A.) is the very foundation of La llaha.<sup>41</sup>

No other human civilization has any precedence of so much respect and reverence for ba'at, or vote as used in the present day political parlance. Can there be any stronger argument in support of democracy? Again, does not the division of Muslims into the three groups of ansars, muhajireen and Hadhrat Ali’s supporters on the basis of political stand, after the death of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.) prove that the people in an Islamic State can belong to different opinion groups on the basis of differences on an issue? Also, if different schools of thought can emerge from the juristic explanation and interpretation of religion, why can the people not be polarized into different associations on the basis of the elucidation, clarification and enforcement of the political system of the Holy Qur’an, and why can they not struggle for the establishment of the political framework in the light of their respective stands? It must be remembered that the initial Islamic society had limited resources and needs which led to its being characterized by its simplicity. As the society grew and expanded the Muslims managed their affairs by planning their courses of action by ijtehad in the light of the Qur’anic knowledge adapted to the changing conditions. If the original straightforward

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<sup>41</sup> Khaaja Mu’een-ud-din Chushti.

society had continued its efforts of evolving its own course in the same manner the Islamic system would have traversed the evolutionary path and would have reached the conclusions arrived at by the present day human race. The Divinely guided Khaliifah can provide only doctrinaire guidance in our effort to meet the demands of the present day's complex and mechanized world. We can make decisions by the analysis of our circumstance in the light of the present day conditions. Gloating over past glories, any attempt to bracket the present age with the old times is a vain effort, because the current of history moves forward and not backwards. Hence, if the same method of ba'at had progressed, it would have assumed a shape which would not have been different from the present day vote or ballot. Also, instead of viewing the ba'at superficially we must understand its real spirit, which is getting or giving opinion. Voting is also the same viz obtaining or giving opinion and the act of changing government or transferring political power by the same method of seeking or giving opinion is the real spirit of democracy.

## **ARGUMENTS FROM THE HOLY QUR'AN AND THE HADITH-**

Though deductions about any particular form of government are not possible from the Holy Qur'an and the Hadith literature, the basic fact emerging from these sources is the vital requirement of deciding our affairs, that is the business of the society and the State, by mutual consultation, and that the Muslim populace is the ruler as well as the ruled simultaneously, and all of them are answerable to God for their deeds. Therefore, Muslims must shape a system of government in the operation of which they can all participate. Muslims must shape the government and conduct its business by mutual consultation. In the days of yore the ba'at was the form of opinion or vote and was the vehicle of expression of opinion. The same ba'at or opinion at present is expressed through vote under the new technique. The Holy Prophet P.B.U.H commands.

Beware, each of you is like a shepherd a guide and is accountable for those he rules, and the highest chieftain of Muslims who rules over all is also a shepherd and is accountable for those he rules over.<sup>42 43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Sahih Bukhary Shareef, Kitab-ul-Ahkam: Bab.1

This means that every Muslim is accountable to God and the people for his actions - to God, on the day of judgement and to the people in this world. Similarly, the ruler of Muslims is also accountable to God and the people. All rulers, i.e. all Muslims are empowered to elect and appoint their ruler and to hold him accountable. Obviously, this ruler is neither ordained by God, nor is appointed by an individual or group but has to be appointed by Muslim masses. There can be no way of doing this except by election. Anybody who claims to be the ruler or tries to become one by means of force is a usurper. If he tries to obtain ba'at or vote by treachery, temptation or force, the Muslims have no other alternative but to obtain riddance from him. In the present age both forms of obtaining riddance can be used, i.e. education of public opinion against him and expression of lack of confidence, in him and in the event of failure of the democratic methods for peaceful removal of such a ruler from power, the combined power of the people can be used.

There cannot be a stronger argument than the Holy Qur'an - Surah Al-Nisa: 58 in which God commands:

God dost command you to render back your trusts (i.e. authority and confidence to those to whom they are due, i.e. trustworthy people); and when ye judge between man and man, that ye judge with justice.<sup>44</sup>

How can this verse be practised by Muslims? Obviously, political power and authority is the most valuable trust and the only way to consign it to the care of the trustworthy people is that of ba'at or vote. God commands in The Holy Qur'an in Surah Al-Nisa: 59

“O ye who believe, obey God and obey the Apostle. (P.B.U.H) and those charged with authority among you.<sup>45</sup>

Now, the meaning of obedience to God and His Apostle (P.B.U.H) is clear, i.e. all authority belongs to them alone and that their command is the real Law. Obedience to the people in authority is also clearly commanded and it is required that they should be from among you. The requirement that

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<sup>43</sup> Sahih Muslim Shareef, Kitab-ul-Ahkam: Bab. 5

<sup>44</sup> The Holy Qur'an. Surah Al Nisa: Verse 58

<sup>45</sup> Reference 52: Verse 59.

the people with authority should be from among Muslims clearly shows that they should be elected from amongst Muslims. This is so because a person acquiring political power by force can neither be one from among the people nor can he consider himself to be so. He does not consider himself in any way less than supernatural and the shadow of God on earth. If he is from among the Muslims he would be accountable to them, Still obedience to the people in authority is enjoined in good deeds but not in wrong or bad ones. For the wrong doers in authority it is an act of virtue to remove them from authority in such circumstances. There is a Hadith in Sahih Bukhari as well as Sahih Muslim narrated by Hadhrat Ibada Bin Sammit, which says:

We will not have dispute with our rulers till we see open incredulity which may be a Divine argument with us against them.<sup>46</sup>

This means that differing from, disputing with and deposing, a ruler who openly defies the Commandments of God and His Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) is incumbent on all Muslims. because obedience is only in virtue and not in vice.<sup>47</sup> Beside this there are several verses in the Holy Qur'an and in Hadith literature in which Muslims have been commanded to conduct their affairs with mutual consultation.<sup>48</sup> This consultation covers the entire field of shaping the government, removal of the usurper government and in mutual human relations. A Muslim who contents himself with mere advice disobeys the spirit of this command. Advice includes the method of its enforcement and accountability for refusal to enforce it. Therefore, if Muslims establish a consultative assembly its status would not be merely that of a consultative board but would include the authority to fix the limits of the ruler's authority, establishing the internal structure for the enforcement of God's commandments and accountability in the event of the ruler's failure to do so. Also, this consultative assembly would be elected because they cannot be deemed to be from among us till we elect them with our consensus.

## **ESSENTIALS OF DEMOCRACY**

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<sup>46</sup> Sahih Bukhari Shareef:

<sup>47</sup> Sahih Bukhari Shareef

<sup>48</sup> The Holy Qur'an. Surah Al Shoorah: verse 38

As stated above Allamah Iqbal's objections to democracy highlight the defects pointed out by other intellectuals as well. Therefore, democracy can be considered only as a technique for shaping governmental system. This is a method by which people elect their own representatives for the legislature. These representatives are bound to enforce the commandments of God, and the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) In case of neglect or shortcoming Muslims can hold them accountable and remove them with the same vote and even a no-confidence motion can result in extreme cases. These representatives are accountable to God, the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.) as well as God's Vicegerent on earth, i.e. to the Muslim populace. Accordingly, there are certain prerequisites for the formation of a successful, ideological Islamic government which should be introduced gradually into the society. They are essential for making this system of the government exemplary, successful and stable. These are:

1. To make the system of Islamic government succeed every Muslim individual, including men and women, should be equipped with religious as well as secular education. It is incumbent on the Islamic State to give the highest priority to the improvement of the status of Muslim education immediately on acquiring political power because without education the people can neither understand society's problems nor can distinguish between good and bad and cannot even fully benefit from the enforcement of the deen and its blessings. Therefore, progress in education, both religious and secular, is an essential demand of democracy.
2. Every Muslim should pay attention to economic betterment because democracy itself cannot take root in any society without economic prosperity. It is incumbent on every Islamic State to improve the people's economic, medical and residential conditions, i.e. arrange for food, clothing and home, This can be achieved only by increasing lawful occupations for people, to guide and help them in this respect and put in proper place the economic planning which would result in equitable distribution of society's wealth among Muslims to free them from the fear of poverty. Every Muslim can appeal to the Islamic State for seeking an occupation and



satisfaction of his economic needs, and can obtain economic protection for himself by recourse to legal means. Economic prosperity of the people is essential to the success of democracy.

3. The rule and superiority of law is very essential for the success of democracy. A system of justice should be established which would enable a common man to hold the ruler accountable, and should be able to question the ruler for any excesses of his. It should be easy to obtain justice. The oppressed should not have to beg for justice, but the State should punish the aggressor and should meet out justice unrequested. The highest placed aggressor should not be above the law, and the lowliest oppressed should not be left deprived of justice. To provide justice is the legal obligation of the State.
4. Satisfaction of the above three requirements for democracy would lead to the automatic satisfaction of the fourth one. However, it is necessary to give full attention to that as well. This is the ethical and political training of the masses. The more attention the Islamic State bestows on this the more the people would acquire political and ethical awakening and power, which would enable them to be useful to their country's political system. This can also lead to the control of the defects of democracy and to its being moulded into an exemplary system whose benefits and blessings would emanate from it and reach even the common people.

## **IQBAL AND APPLICATION OF DEMOCRACY TO PAKISTANI SOCIETY**

All discussion of democracy, Khilafah or Islamic system in our country during the past fifty years have been the masterpieces of idealistic abstract thought. Only Maulana Maududi, Dr. Khaleefah Abdul Hakeem, Maulana Muhammad Haneef Nadvi and a few other scholars, though rejecting the basic concepts of Western democracy, have considered its basic spirit to be somewhat concordant with Islam. In the same way the Allamah, notwithstanding his declaring the Western civilization to be the greatest hindrance in the way of man's ethical advancement, has adjudged the

approach towards the tangibility of Western civilization and its religious experimentation in the spirit of inquiry as thoughtfulness. Nevertheless many people, under the cover of Western civilization, have rejected Islam's consultative system, which is only an early form of Western democracy, in a manner and has provided stability to the country's dictatorship and has frustrated the people's democratic and Islamic aspirations. This has created the false impression that Islam supports dictatorship. Every dictator raised the slogan of Islam's rejection of Western democracy in order to stabilize his dictatorship. With this alleged rejection of democracy by Islam they provided a licence for their dictatorship. This period has also produced a generation of people who provided arguments from Islamic history in support of the dictatorship. This went so far that a well known religious scholar declared that "the first martial law was enforced by Hadhrat Abu Bakr Siddique (R.A.)"<sup>49</sup>

Thus, martial law was defended in this country. The Consultative Assembly was nominated and, reducing it to the status of a mere consultative board, the "Islamic system" was enforced under the dictator's own authority. However, under the people's strong pressure some progress has since been made, through unwillingly and ultimately a limited democracy has been restored somehow. In spite of passing through all the crises may God keep Pakistan as the first real democracy of the Islamic world whose lead may be followed by other Muslim countries? We are confident of the restoration of a completely Islamic or, in Iqbal's words, a "spiritual democracy" if the country proceeds in the right direction, albeit with limited democracy. Still it is very necessary to introduce and watch the above mentioned prerequisites for democracy, which are also its goals,

I want to emphasize here that the complete Islamic democracy cannot be established with a stroke of the pen. The enactments of the above stated prerequisites are essential for establishing an ideal democracy. Democracy will gain stability, progress and stature as education spreads among the people, improving their economic condition and imparting political and ethical training to them. All this will lead to general social welfare. According

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<sup>49</sup> Maulana Muhammad Malik Kandhalavi, Ex. Member Consultative Assembly of Pakistan made this ijthad in support of Martial Law. The ijthad was published in all newspapers countrywide and was the target of criticism.

to A.S. Ewing. “The success of democracy depends mainly on the creation among its citizens of a consciousness of good and evil of adages and idealism the country’s resources and problems should be viewed in a practical and feasible way and efforts should be made towards the achievement of the Islam’s idealistic system of government, or Iqbal’s “spiritual democracy” The work of establishing assemblies in the country on the basis of adult franchise should continue. The opportunities for the fulfillment of the ambitions of the dictators and political fortune hunters should be frustrated and national disputes should be referred to the supreme Court, The judicature should be strong enough to issue judgements in the interests of the national weal and without fear or favour to the rulers, instead of entrusting the destiny of the people to them. The country’s president should be empowered to order a referendum on specific problems in times of need. Consequently, we present the following suggestions with reference to the Pakistan’s special conditions and problems so that Allamah Iqbal’s “spiritual democracy” may find roots in the country.

1. As has been clarified in the objectives Resolution it should be a part and parcel of the constitution that the establishment of Islam’s “spiritual democracy” in the country is the object of our lives. If somebody establishes dictatorship or martial law by force he would be a traitor to the constitution, country, God and the Holy Prophet P.B.U.H. The country’s sovereignty resides in God, and the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H). and the Holy Qur’an and the Sunnah are the basic ingredients and sources of the country’s constitution, By virtue of being the Vicegerents of God on earth all Muslims are the custodians of the Supreme Sovereignty of God and the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H).
2. By virtue of being God’s Vicegerents on earth all Muslims are jointly responsible for enforcing Islam’s “spiritual democracy”. Consequently, fixation of the destiny of Islamic society will rest with the consensus of the Ummah and the Ummah will create the Consultative Assembly, through its elected representatives. Members of this Consultative Assembly can be elected from all

walks of life. The government, i.e. the Executive will be created by the Consultative Assembly and will be answerable to it. This assembly will have full legislative powers; it will be authorized to perform ijtehad in the interpretation of the Holy Quran and the Sunnah and will be answerable to the people for its decisions. The people will be empowered to reject or other the Ijtehad of the consultative Assembly through a referendum. Still, the shaping of the government, legislation, and dismissal of government will be enacted by the common Muslims of the country instead of by a single institution, person or authority. The people will be allowed to form political parties to achieve these objectives. If the different schools of juristic thoughts are acceptable for the interpretation and explanation of deen they should also be similarly acceptable for the attainment of political objectives of the country and the shaping of the Islamic political system. They have the right to state their stand and to obtain its acceptance by the people as long as the effort is in conformity with the democratic principles. At the time of the election of the first Divinely guided Khaleefah the Muslims had been divided into three political schools of thought, i.e. Muhajireen, Ansars and Supporters of Hadhrat Ali (R.A.), If these schools had thrived they would have progressed in the form of political parties with different opinions instead of being divided into shortsighted religious groups. They would have- been capable of managing the country's affairs with tolerance, endurance and patience instead of being narrow mindedly violent in their own stands. But autocratic monarchy stopped the natural political evolution of Muslims and laid the foundation of their downfall.

3. It will be the basic duty of the Islamic State to help and guide every citizen in his effort to be an exemplary Muslim, and will furnish free education to every citizen provide free justice and above all provide occupation for

every citizen or, in the alternative, to assume complete responsibility for his economic needs. Every citizen will have constitutional assurance for the above four rights and will be entitled to obtain these rights through legal procedures. This is necessary also because as Whitehead says: “Democratic society is not established till people acquire a philosophic outlook by general education.”<sup>50</sup>

4. Initiatives will be taken for the gradual elimination of the privileged classes on social, religious, political and economic levels and efforts will be made for the equitable distribution of country’s resources among all the citizens.<sup>51</sup>
5. The State will guard the interests of Muslims throughout the world, wherever they are ruled or live as an under-privileged class and will help them in gaining independence and establishing the Islamic way of life.
6. The State will invite all mankind towards the Islamic system, will provide all possible help to all the oppressed and down-trodden people, will cooperate with peace loving nations to prevent oppression, and will do every thing possible for establishment of world peace and will protect all mankind from adventurers and enemies of humanity.

These are the standards and ideals of the Islamic State or Islamic spiritual democracy, which we should always keep in view and which has been repeatedly explained by Allamah Iqbal in his thoughts and works, and for the attainment of which he has repeatedly urged Muslims. If we start moving towards the attainment of these ideals gradually through democracy we can fulfil the Allamah’s dream in which he has said:

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

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<sup>50</sup> Ewing, A.S. The Basic Problems of Philosophy. Urdu Translation (Flasafe ke Bunyadi Masail). Published by the National Book Trust India, New Delhi, India: p. 14.

<sup>51</sup> Whitehead, A.N. Referred to in Reference 58: p. 14

Muslims show unite into a single body for Haram's defence

From the shores of the Nile to the land of Kashghar.<sup>52</sup>

This was the new fervour produced by the Allamah from Lahore to the land of Bukhara and Samarqand, i.e. he created the longing in Muslims to mould themselves in the frame of an independent "Islamic spiritual democracy", shape new societies on the basis of equality and freedom and revive Islamic civilisation and culture, i.e. to become the messengers of Tauheed of God and Wahdat of humanity, and strive for peace and prosperity of all mankind:

اک ولولہ تازہ دیا میں نے دلوں کو  
لاہور سے تاخاک بخارا و سمر قند

"I infused a new fervour in all hearts

From Lahore to - the Lands of Bukhara and Samarqand<sup>53</sup>."

The state will guard the interests of Muslims throughout the world wherever they are ruled as an under privileged class where necessary and will help them in gaining independence, establishing the Islamic way of life.

## EXPLANATORY NOTES-

- a. **Ijtihad** - The efforts of jurists to determine the right course of action in new situations in the light of the sources of the Shariah A mujtahid is the person who makes an independent ijthad.
- b. **Maulana Muhammad Haneef Nadvi (1808 - 1987)** He was Research fellow in Institute of Islamic Culture. Lahore Pakistan. He has written a many books on Islamic Philosophy. Quran and Islamic Fiqa.
- c. **Dr. Khaleefah Abdul Hakeem (1901 - 1959)** Professor of Philosophy in Hayderabad University Daccon,

<sup>52</sup> Reference 15: p. 301

<sup>53</sup> Reference 18: p. 15

Principal Amir Sing College Srinagar, Kashimer, Director Institute of Islamic Culture Lahore, Islamic Ideology, Prophet and His message, Fikar-i-Iqbal and Metaphysics of Rumi are his well known books.

- d. **Abraham Lincoln (1809 - 65)** the sixteenth President of the United States of America. He was a lawyer by Profession, and rose rapidly in Political from a member of the House of Representatives of the State of Illinois (1834) to the office of the President of the United States (1860-65). His presidency is famous for the successful conduct of the Civil War which had been fought on the issue of abolition of slavery. With all his responsibilities, which were increased manifolds by the Civil War, he could find time for reflection and meditation. The favourite subject for his meditation was the inscrutable will of God. He is also famous for his definition of democracy cited in the text.
- e. **Thomas Jefferson (1743-1825)** - The third president of the United States of America. He was a planter, architect, scientist, educator, and an ardent speaker on human liberty. He is the author of the famous Declaration of Independence. He was elected to the presidency in 1800. The American nation was divided at that time and the federal administration was very repressive against those who were advocating id weak federal and strong state political structure. He was against this policy. During his presidency he successfully gathered round him a group of very loyal subordinates. He did not try to achieve his goals by coercive measures as his predecessors had done, but by strong faith, hard work, high priority for public interest, systematic habits of thought and effort, encouraging science and free inquiry, and by his strong zeal for the “holy cause of freedom”.
- f. **Socrates (Fifth Century B.C.)** - He is a famous ancient Greek philosopher, He believed that to know one’s self is a more pressing task than to know about nature. He claimed hearing a “divine voice” frequently, which gave

him guidance to act or not to act, this is very controversial and several conjectures have been presented to explain it. His religious beliefs differed from those of the State religion of Athens, for which he had to drink the famous cup of hemlock rather than compromise his beliefs. The Socratic method, named after him, is didactic, consisting of questions and answers,

- g. Will Durant (1885 N.D.)** American historian. He astonished the academic world by publishing his famous book, “The Story of Philosophy” in 1926, which became a best seller. It made him economically prosperous, and enabled him to devote himself exclusively to writing. He wrote a few novels but his important works are on history, including “Rousseau and Revolution”, which earned him the Pulitzer Prize in 1967. He is famous for his enthusiasm and lucid style.
- h. Jean Jaques Rousseau (1712 - 78)** A french political philosopher and author. He was perhaps the most influential person in French literature and philosophy. He wrote many books, of which “The Social Contract” and “Confessions and What I believe” are very famous.
- i. Professor Tahseen Firaqui** - He is working as Assistant Professor in Urdu department in the University of Punjab. Lahore, Pakistan. He has written books on Criticism, Literature and Iqbaliat.
- j. Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844 - 1900)** - Though he is famous as a German philosopher he had a multi-dimensional personality- university professor, civil servant and medical orderly. He even became insane at the end of his life. He is the author of many books, of which the most famous and celebrated is ‘Also Sprach Zarathustra’ (Thus Spoke Zarathustra), published in 1892. He was against the other worldliness of Christianity. He held that what men need most is power over self and creative mastery. He preached that the “other world” was an illusion, and that instead of



worshipping God, who lives in an alleged beyond, man should concentrate on his own elevation, which he called “Übermensch” or “Superman”, for which philosophy he is famous. The Nazis made use of this thought to develop their philosophy of life and politics, which produced Adolf Hitler and his followers.

- k. **Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881)** Scottish historian, social critic and the most important historical novelist of the Victorian age. His cult of the hero in history propounded in his hook, “Heroes and Hero Worship” (1841) has influenced the present day supporters of authoritarian government. He prophesised a mechanistic, materialistic, paper-haunted England as a result of the Industrial Revolution. He also forecast the social and Spiritual disorders of an age of degenerating religious way of life. He was very critical of the privileged classes of England, both the feudal aristocracy and the neophytic industrial rich.
- l. **George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950)** British playwright, critic, literature, socialist pamphleteer and lecture. He was one of the most influential figures in contemporary literature and won the Nobel Prize in 1926. He is most famous as a playwright and wrote fifty plays, many of which are among the classics of Western theater. He was very unconventional in his views. His plays combine wit and satire on contemporary society.
- m. **Oswald Spengler (1880-1936)** He was a German historian and philosopher and author of “The Decline of the West”, which made him famous. Iqbal has contradicted Spengler’s views on Islam: (i) that Islam is a negation of khudi (self), and (ii) that Islamic culture is based on Magian culture, and, having passed through its youth and senility, it is approaching its death for details see “The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (1982 Edition): pp. 109-10. 132-33. and 142-43,
- n. **David Herbert Lawrence (1885-1930)** English novelist, poet and essayist who was one of the most gifted literary

figures of the twentieth century. He was a radical and warned his country men of the coming dangers resulting from the West's abuses of power, and the dangerous power vacuum created by World War I.

- o. Eric Frum** He is a modern writer. He has written on Socio cultural problems of his land, which is also looted by western empirialism. Identity crisis of a modern man is the subject of his writings.
- p. Harold Laski (1893-1950)** - He was a British socialist, a member of the Fabian Society and the British Labour Party. Professionally, he was a professor of History, first at the McGill University at Montreal, Canada (1914-16), then at Harvard University, U.S.A. (1916-20) and lastly at the London School of Economics. In Canada and U.S.A. his views were looked upon with disfavour. He also wrote editorials fir the daily Herald (1914-16), and while at the London School of Economics he concentrated on writing books on politics and political philosophy. During the course of his life his views changed from socialism. (In which he defended the rights of special groups, such as labour and in. religious classes against the State) through individualism (under the influence of John Stuart Mill) to strict Marxism.
- q. Lord Bernard Arthur William Russell (1872-1970)** - British philosopher and mathematician. In his own words "three passions", simple but overwhelmingly strong, had governed his life: "the longing for love, the search for knowledge, and the unbearability of the suffering of mankind". He was most -actively interested in social and political problems. Though in his youth he was a member of the Fabian Society he was as much disappointed with the Russian communism as he was with the western capitalism-imperialism.
- r. Professor Muhammad Munawwar (1923 - )** - Director Iqbal Academy Pakistan since 1984. Author of more then fifteen books on Iqbal, Pakistan, Literature and History. He Teacher of Urdu in Govt. College Lahore

for Thirty years. He can head, speak and write in Arabic Persian, English, Urdu and Punjabi. He is a authority on Iqbaliat.

- s. **Fatima (R.A)** He was the first among the youth of Makka to accept Islam and was one of the most trusted and closest companions of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) At the time of the Holy Prophet's (P.B.U.H) immigration from Makka to Madina in 622 C.E. he stayed behind in Makka to settle outstanding affairs. He also slept in the Holy Prophet's (P.B.U.H) bed to forestall suspicions among the Quraish and in doing so risked his own life. I-ladhrat Ali (R.A.) was always in the forefront of the struggle of his prowess during jihads for which he has become proverbial in Muslim society as Well as in Islamic history and literature. Iqbal has frequently alluded to his qualities of bravery and leadership, In addition to all this he was an eminent scholar and leterateur of Arabic. He has a place of honour in these fields due to his poetry and his famous book, "Nahjul Balaghah" (ways of Eloquence), which is a collection of his sayings, lectures, sermons and letters. During the rule of the first three Divinely guided Khaleefahs he fully cooperated with them. However, when he was elected to the Khilafah after the martyrdom of Hadhrat Usman (R.A.) in 656 C.E. Hadhrat Ameer Muawiya (R.A.) did not take ba'at at his hands. A period of controversy and struggle between him and Hadhrat Muawiya ensued which lasted till his martyrdom in 661 C.E. by a man seeking personal vengeance. Views differ on the apportioning of blame for this fighting. However, the motivating force behind this fighting is agreed upon to be the clannish rivalry between the Bani Hashim (Hadhrat Ali's (R.A.) clan) and Bani Umayya (Hadhrat Ameer Muawiya's (R.A.) was not duly elected, but declared himself to be the Khaleefah. and enthroned his son yazeed at the time of his death. However this unfortunate affair resulted in the' first schism in Islamic

history and the end of the divinely guided Khilafah, as well as its usurpation by monarchy. The Islamic world has suffered for about fourteen centuries from its effects.

t. **Hadhrat Ameer Muawiya (602-680)** He was the son of Abu Sufyan who was a rich merchant of Makka. Abu Sufyan was one of the strongest enemies of Islam and was the leader of the Quraish in all the strongest enemies of Islam and was the leader of the Quraish in all the military combats between Muslims and the pagan Quraish. He accepted Islam only after the conquest of Makka and was forgiven by the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) for all his anti-Islamic activities. The unfortunate role played by Hadhrat Ammer Muawiya (R.A.) in Islamic history has been alluded to in the previous note. However, in spite of these shortcomings he did some good work. He reorganized the army, created a navy, and attempted to take Asia Minor from the Byzantines, in which he did not succeed. His armies moved east as far as Central Asia and west as far as Algeria.

u. **Yazeed (642 - 683)** - He was the son of Hadhrat Ameer Muawiya (RA.) and was nominated by the latter to the Khilafah. This action confirmed the conversion of the Khilafah into monarchy, which has continued since then in the Islamic world. hadhrat Imam Hasan (R.A.) and Hadhrat Imam Husain (R.A., the two sons of Hadhrat Ali (R.A.) did not take ba'at at the hands of Yazeed on account of the latter's illegal appointment to that position by his father, as stated above. The controversy between Yazeed and the two brothers culminated in the martyrdom of both the brothers, that of the former by poisoning and of the latter's in the Battle of Karbala, in which many other Muslims were also martyred. This battle is one of the most painful chapters of Islamic history and has sealed the future of the Divinely guided Khilafah for ever, till now at least.

v. **Bleat - Oath of allegiance to the Khaleefah.**

w. **Khaleefah and Khilafah - Khaleefah is the person**

responsible for keeping order and enforcing the laws. This term as used in the Holy Qur'an denotes a deputy who takes care of and manages the affairs of the original. The original, accordingly, is the group of the ruled people who authorizes the deputy to keep order and enforce the law of the Shari'ah. Khilafah is the political system or institution in which the Khaleefah works. (Kurdi, Abdulrahman Abdul Kadir (1984)-The Islamic state \_ a study based on the Islamic Holy Constitution. Published by the Mansell Publishing Ltd., New York: pp 23-24.

**x. Deen** - Deen and mazhab are often interchangeably used and variously translated into English, which gives the false impression of their synonymity. However, in Islamic literature they are used as technical terms and are not as synonymous. Deen means a way of life, covering all human activity, in which sense Islam is a deen or a way of life, based on the Holy Qur'an and the traditions of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) Muzhab is one of the five recognized fiqh systems or systems of Islamic jurisprudence.

**y. Ummah** - A nation constituted on the basis of ideology and not geographical boundaries, e.g. the Muslims.

**z. Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658)** - Parliamentarian, General in the English Civil War, and Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, after the Civil War. Although he fought the Civil War to a successful conclusion, terminated the cruel rule of Charles I and improved the government's Lord Protector, he did not free it from military control elevate it to a rule by national consent as is required in democracy.

**A. Mohyuddin Alamgeer Aurangzeb (1618-1717)** - He was the sixth and the last effective Mughal Emperor of India. He ascended the throne at a time when the cause of Islam in the Indian sub-continent had been badly damaged by the lax and permissive rule of his predecessors. He had to seize the throne by fighting against his father and brothers. After

acquiring authority he tried his best to expand his rule and enforce Islam. However, he met very severe opposition from the Marathas, Jats, Rajputs and Sikhs. He spent the greater part of his reign in fighting against them. He could not succeed in his aims as all his efforts amounted to being on little, too late. Though his treatment of his father and brothers leaves much to be desired it is also true that he has been much maligned by the combined efforts of the British and Hindu intelligentsia. All their accounts of Aurganzeb and his reign should be read with much caution.

- B. Fath Ali Tipu Sultan (1749 - 1799)** He was the Sultan of Mysore and is famous in the history of the Indian sub-continent of the late eighteenth century. At the initiative of his father, Haider Ali, he was trained in military tactics by French officers. He fought several wars with the Marathas and the British. The last one with the British was fought on May 4, 1799 in which Tipu Sultan was martyred and the State of Mysore fell to the British. This defeat was due to treachery, mainly that of Meer Sadique, who was Tipu Sultan's prime minister. Tipu Sultan was an able general and administrator and was a man of fetter too. He has the place of a mujahid, and a martyr in the history of the sub-continent, especially in Muslim literature, particularly in Iqbal's works, such as Javid Namah. He was also eulogised in the marching songs of the Indian National Army organized in Burma by Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose during World War II with the intention of invading India and seizing it from the British. Thus, he was the symbol of India's independence and anti-imperialism, for Muslims and Hindus alike,
- C. Ijma** - Consensus among jurists.
- D. Fiqh** - Islamic jurisprudence.
- E. Imam and Imamah** - Literally leader'. The term is used in common parlance for the person who leads prayer. However, in Islamic literature the term is used for an overall leader and is almost synonymous with Khaleefah. Imamah is the institution in which the Imam functions as the Khaleefah functions in the Khilafa.

- F. Tauheed** - To believe and testify that God is one and to fulfil the demands of that belief by struggling in and making sacrifices for His cause.
- G. Professor Muhammad Mazhar-ud-Deen Siddiqui**- He has written a many books on Islamic philosophy, on Hegal and Karl Merx, Philosophy and Islamic culture.
- H. Ansars and Muhjireen** - The Ansars were the residents of Madina who welcomed the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) and the Muslims who migrated with him from Makka to Madina and were called Muhajireen.
- I. A.S. Ewing (1875 - 1961)** - He was a modern English Philosopher. He was a teacher of Philosophy. He has written among books on Philosophy, Social Problems and Education.
- Alfred North Whitehead (1861 - 1947)** - English philosopher and mathematician. He was educated at the University of Cambridge. Though his under-graduate studies were mainly in mathematics they were augmented by regular and long discussions on religion, philosophy and literature. He taught at Cambridge (1885-1910), and at the University College, London (1910-14), and became Dean of the Faculty of Science. He was appointed Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University in 1924, and became a Fellow of the British Academy in 1931. He was awarded the British Order of Merit in 1945: He is the author and co-author of several books on mathematics and philosophy.

# FEZ: CITY OF ISLAM

BY TITUS BURCKHARDT.

*Translated from the German by*

**WILLIAM STODDART**

The Islamic Texts Society, Cambridge,

1992. pp. 175.

*Reviewer: Taimoaz Khan Mumtaz*

Though Fez: City of Islam was first published in German in 1960 it still remains a valuable document of a civilization and its values which have more or less disappeared for ever. Although a large number of Muslims still have traditional values and some still live in traditional environments, the outward supports, (including craftsmanship and traditional art) and more importantly, the sources of inward wisdom hikmah have nearly vanished. This is a result of the onslaught, since, the last century or so, of Western technology, its productions and most of all secular (and ultimately materialistic) modes of thought.

Nevertheless an increasing number of Muslims are becoming doubtful of Western models and, through the persevering efforts of a few enlightened individuals, becoming aware of the higher dimensions of their own tradition. It has thus become a journey of rediscovery for many, and a book such as the one under discussion is an extremely precious source for understanding the beliefs, attitudes, systems and dynamics of a traditional Islamic society. A change in the general direction of the collectivity may not be possible but individuals can always live according to their ideals. As Burckhardt says, one is inwardly always free even if outwardly one is dominated. It is this inward freedom which we have given up as a collectivity.

The book is handsomely produced. The author's style as captured by the translator is poetic, precise and illuminating. Sixteen of the seventeen monochrome plates are by the author himself, and are a priceless record of traditional Islam (these were first printed in the original 1960 German



edition). In addition the many colour plates (added for the English edition) are a visual treat.

Fez, apart from being informative, also succeeds in conveying the spirit and meaning of traditional Islam in its various aspects. The great merit of the book is in showing how Islam in the first place moulds the very soul of a people and how it consequently affects all aspects of life --- a quality common to all genuine religions. Especially when one realises the emphasis Islam places on Divine Unity --- Tawhid --- which allows it to look at all phenomena as reflections of t his Unity. This gives rise to a holistic concept of life in general. Thus, “all traditional forms, from law and morality to the art of the craftsman, are of such a nature that they can lead, from outward to inward, to the eternal meaning of life.” Each chapter, presenting various aspects of traditional culture in Fez bears out the truth of this statement.

In addition to the fact that a theocratic civilization is moulded by its religion, a divine religion providentially has the capacity to incorporate the positive qualities of a particular sector of humanity to produce equilibrium in the social order. The author brings this out in the chapter “City and Desert” by using Ibn Khaldun’s Muqaddimah to set down the pattern of political power in the area between the Mediterranean and the great deserts of further Asia, Arabia and Africa.” According to Ibn Khaldun, the “perfect condition of human society does not find its peak in the one-sided development of sedentary life but in a balance between nomadism and sedentarism.” In this scheme, city cultures degenerate with time, to be rejuvenated by conquering desert nomads, who then get absorbed by the city till their power declines to be replaced by another nomadic conquest, This pattern .is repeated periodically. The history of Morocco, as set down briefly by the author, follows this pattern thus keeping its traditional culture from degenerating.

In the same chapter an account of the nomads --- Barbarians and Arabs being the major groups --- points out the chivalric and virile qualities which they tend to possess naturally, as being the “masculine and combative virtues which Islam favours.”

Another connection between nomadism and Islam which has existed from the beginning of Islam is that nomadic tribes come together only under, “a leadership of a higher orders... prophethood or a function deriving from

it.” In all the tribal waves of conquest in the history of Morocco a religious mission led by an exemplary leader, forms the basis or catalyst.

This “quasi-natural course of events” was disrupted with the first contacts with European technology (cannons) in the 17th century. The French, through superior arms, subsequently made Morocco a protectorate in 1912. The Europeans saw traditional culture as stagnant in the light of their ideals of ‘progress’ and ‘civilization’ --- whose goal is the attainment of earthly well-being exclusively. They didn’t realize that for traditional Man the degeneration of all communities is inevitable and he lives his life with the ultimate goal of humanity in view. He therefore does not seek an earthly paradise but the creation of equilibrium in society which is conducive to his physical, psychic and spiritual well-being while constantly reminding him of the next-world. The theocentric world-view is reflected in the concept and practice of governance as well: “The prototypical Islamic state is theocratic, for in it spiritual power and temporal power are combined.” Being an “institution for this world’ it needs a real power-base which the nomadic tribes provide. As Ibn Khaldun says, “the law of religion cannot rightly demand something that is in contradiction to the law of nature.”

This statement is instructive, quite apart from the present context, in illuminating a typical Islamic criterion of judgement applied in diverse domains of life.

On the subject of Fez (Fas is Arabic) itself the book gives a comprehensive picture of the city: its physical impression, settlement patterns, commercial and civic activities - suqs, baths, inns etc. -- its civic amenities like schools, Mainmort Foundations, Administrative structure and finally, craftsmanship. The text includes accounts of traditional historians, foreign visitors, personal anecdotes, and vivid and sensitive description. These are moreover the qualities found throughout the book.

Speaking of the craftsman’s plight in the face of modern industry a conversation with a comb-maker is included. The craftsman, along with talking of the skill involved in his craft and its durability, explains that it contains a subtle wisdom and that the craft’s origin can be traced to Seth, the prophet. He concedes that everyone may not understand the elements of wisdom in its various procedures, but. “It is still stupid and reprehensible to

rob men of the inheritance of Prophets, and put them in front of a machine where, day in and day out, they must perform a meaningless task.”

Instructive insights abound throughout the book. Talking of the human dignity found universally (indicating consciousness of man's theomorphism) Burckhardt elucidates a typical traditional-attitude: “almost anyone who has not been sucked into the whirlpool of the modern world lives his life here as if it were something provisional which does not definitively engage his soul, but which belongs to the *Divina Commedia*' of earthly existence,” only God being eternal and the after-life much more real than earthly existence.”

Penetrating to the roots of this attitude he shows that through the regular performance of the prayers everyone is “penetrated by a common spiritual liberation... It confers on everyone a particular inward attitude, which shows... (for example) in a deep-seated courtesy that is common to rich and poor, cultivated and uncultivated alike.”

Coming down to the scale of the family, a chapter is denoted to *The House*. Here the author dwells briefly on the physical form, layout, decoration, methods and stages of construction and the patterns of usage. It includes insights into the symbolic significance of the art of ornamentation and calligraphy and the contemplative function of all Islamic arts.

Often the tendency to reject one's traditions results from either the extent to which many practices, institutions, norms etc. have degenerated and atrophied or the inability to see the symbolic significance of traditional forms. For example, the Islamic injunction regarding veiling has traditionally been interpreted according to circumstances --the author cites the contrasting examples of Bedouin women as compared to city dwellers. Speaking of the latter the author says.” “Once again city customs have led to exaggeration and narrowness, which today, under the influence of the modern world, threaten to turn into their exact opposite.”

In the chapter on “*Traditional Science*” one gets a glimpse at the intellectual world of Islam through the sciences taught at the *Qarawiyyin University* namely language, theology, jurisprudence and the *Qur'an*. Above all one meets *Mulay 'Ali* a scholar and mystic, who teaches at this university and under whom in 1933-34 Burckhardt as a young man studied Arabic,

theology and mystical doctrine. One gets a first hand account of traditional teaching and learning.

On the subject of the Qur'an Burckhardt once again shows his understanding of the significance of things according to the Muslim world-view as well as the underlying basis of Muslim belief. Thus, "It is only when one considers individual Quranic verses and begins to be aware of their many levels of meaning, that one can assess the powerful effect this book has been able to exert, and realize why it has become the daily nourishment of thousands of contemplatively inclined people."

It is in Islamic mysticism or the 'science of the inward' that one finds the heart of the Islamic community. Though the wisdom of the Sufis is esoteric, it percolates throughout society in innumerable ways, including sun poetry and the art of the craftsmen who are invariably connected to spiritual orders. Burckhardt defines the basis and explains the aim of sufism (which is ultimately knowledge of God) with great clarity. The chapter 'The Go] den Chair' dealing with this subject is probably the crowning chapter of the book. Accounts of major Sufis whose influence has been felt in Morocco are given. Through these accounts, which include autobiographical writings by Sufis, one gets a taste of Islamic mysticism --- its attitudes, doctrines, methods --- as well as getting to view some of the greatest Sufis, of contemporary sufis the author's first hand meetings with sufis like Mulay Ali --- and some of the forms sufism takes in Morocco are valuable and instructive.

It is in this inner dimension of Islam that an answer may be found to counter, the irruption of the Modern World (as the last chapter is titled). One sees in the Muslim world how modern ideologies have taken over people's minds in the wake of colonialism. In Morocco too the city youth leading the independence struggle based their struggle on West-inspired political ideologies --- this influence may have come in an Egyptian or Turkish garb or been due to French education. Many of these youth were influenced, by the Egyptian Salafiyah movement "which sought to adapt Islamic Law to the modern way of life by elements of European rationalism" (not an uncommon type of movement for Muslim countries). Thus Morocco's independence in 1956 instead of halting the spiritual decline only speeded it up. This was inevitable because, "A state cannot be independent today without possessing the technical means which were invented in Europe" and

which results in the disappearance of traditional forms along with their spiritual content. To oppose this degradation one has to base oneself on perennial and objective wisdom which provides Divine criteria to judge the real value of things. In Burckhardt's own word, "only the vigilant consciousness of an inexpressible spiritual heritage can appose it; and such a consciousness is in the nature of things rare."

# REVIEW-ARTICLE: HOW THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES CAN BECOME PART OF MAN DURING HIS SPIRITUAL QUEST

MARYAM JAMEELAH

The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God. Al-Ghazali, translation and notes by David B. Burrell and Nazih Daher, The Islamic Texts Society, 5 Green Street, Cambridge CB2-3JU. U.K, 1992, pp.205, L11.95 pbk, L25.95 HB.

How can man seek knowledge and contemplation of God? In the present work under review, al-Ghazali, one of the most influential thinkers in Islamic history (1058-1111) seeks to answer that crucially important question by a comprehensive explanation of each of the ninety-nine Names or Attributes of God as mentioned in Quran and Hadith. In a sound Hadith narrated by Abu Hurairah in Sahih al-Bukhari, the Holy Prophet upon whom be peace, has told Believers to recite and contemplate the ninety-nine enumerated beautiful Names of God. Al-Ghazali not only does this but demonstrates how each of these attributes can become an integral part of the spiritual-seeker.

All creation reflects signs of the Creator - minerals, plants, animals and man. But only man, being central, was made in the image of God, all other creatures being peripheral. Islam teaches that man was not made for himself but for God, He neither owns himself nor is his earthly happiness and well-being an end in itself. Holy Quran says that. "I (God) created man and Djinn only that they may worship Me."

The sacred Divine Names or Attributes as listed and explained by al-Ghazali are as follows:

ALLAH

Al-Rahman, the Merciful

Al-Rahim, the Compassionate

Al-Malik, the King  
Al-Quddus, the Holy  
Al-Salam, the Perfect  
Al-Mumin, the Faithful  
Al-Muhaymin, the Gurdian  
Al-Aziz, the Eminent  
Al-Jabbar, the Compeller  
Al-Mutakabbir, the Proud  
Al-Khaliq, the Creator  
Al-Bari, the Producer  
Al-Musawwir, the Fashioner  
Al-Ghaffar, the Forgiver  
Al-Qahhar, the Almighty  
Al-Wahhab, the Bestower  
Al-Razzaq, the Provider  
Al-Fattah, the Opener  
Al-Alim, the All-knowing  
Al-Qabid, He Who contracts  
Al-Basit, He Who expands  
Al-Khafid, the Abaser  
Al-Raff, the Exalted

Al-Mu 'izz, the Honoured  
Al-Sami, the All-Hearing  
Al-Basir, the All-Seeing  
Al Hakam, the Judge Al-  
Adl. the Just  
Al-Latif, the Benevolent  
Al-Khabir, the Aware  
Al-Halim, the Mild  
Al-Aziru, the Tremendous  
Al-Ghafur, the All-Forgiving  
Al-Shakur, the Greetful  
Al-Ali, the Most High  
Al-Kabir, the Great  
Al-Hafiz, the All-Preserver  
Al-Muqit, the Nourisher  
Al-Hasib, the Reckoner  
Al-Jalil, the Majestic  
Al-Karim, the Generous  
Al-Raqib, the All-Observer  
Al-Mujib, the Answerer (of prayers)  
Al-Wasi, the Vast



Al-Hakim the Wise

Al-Wadud, the Most Loving-Kind

Al-Majid, the Glorious

Al-Baith, the Raiser of the Dead

Al-Shahid, the Universal Witness

Al-Haqq, the Truth

Al-Wakil, the Guardian

Al-Qawi, the Strong Al-Matin, the Firm

Al-Walii, the Friend

Al-Hamid, the Praised

Al-Muhsi, the Knower of each separate thing

Al-Mubdi. the First Cause

Al-Mu 'id, the Restorer

Al-Muhyi, the Life-Giver

Al-Mumit. the Slayer

Al-Hayy, the Living

Al-Qayyum, the Self-Existing

Al-Wajid, the Resourceful

Al-Majid, the Magnificent

Al-Wahid, the Unique

Al-Samad, the Eternal Al-Qadir, the All-powerful

Al-Muqtadir, the All-Determiner

Al-Muqaddim, the Promoter

Al-Mu 'akhir, the Postponer

Al-Awwal, the First

Al-Akhir, the Last

Al-Zahir, the Manifest

Al-Batin, the Hidden

Al-Wali, the Ruler

Al-Muta'ali, the Exalted Al-Barr, the Doer of Good

Al-Tawwab, the Ever-Relenting

Al-Muntaqim, the Avenger

Al-Afu, the Effacer of sins

Al-Rauf, the All-Piting

Malik al-Mulk, the King of Absolute Sovereignty

Dh'ul Jalal wa'I Ikram, Lord of Majesty and Generosity

Al-Muqsit, the Equitable

Al-Jami. the Unite'.

Al-Ghani. the Rich

Al-Mughni, the Enricher

Al-Mani, the Protector

Al-Darr, the Punisher

Al-Nafi, He Who benefits

Al-Nur, the Light

Al-Hadi, the Guide

Al-Bach, the Absolute

Al-Baqi, the Everlasting

Al-Warith, the Inheritor

Al-Rashid, the Righteous

Al-Sabur, the Patient

In a most illuminating exposition of the Name, Al Baith, (p, 120) or the Raiser of the Dead, Al-Ghazali asserts, Islam teaches that man was created for Eternity. Contrary to what most- people today believe, death is not oblivion. There is no way for a man to become non-existent. The dead are either happy in Paradise or wretched in Hell. If people were really convinced of that fact, suicide would be unthinkable.

Because Islam means total submission to the Divine Will, in explaining the Name, Al-Basir, the All-Seeing, Al-Ghazali exclaims, “How insolent is the one who commits an act of disobedience when he knows God great and glorious sees him and how profane is the one who thinks that God the most high, does not see him!” (p.85)

Today the notion is widespread among modern Muslims that monarchy is forbidden in Islam. This makes nearly all rulers of Dar-ul-Islam for more than twelve centuries regarded now as usurpers, that, if only the monarchies were transformed into republics, all good for Muslims would automatically follow: Like their counterparts in Christendom, modernist leaders within Dar ul Islam were fully aware that traditional cultural, social, moral and spiritual values would be given a deadly blow by the destruction of the monarchy. All the traditional hierarchies that stratified society around the monarch, including all qualitative distinctions between the classes, would be eliminated by the overthrowing of the Khalifa, Sultan, Amir, Imam or King as the case

may be. This would revolutionize Muslim society into a standardized proletarian mass easily controlled or manipulated by democratic demagogues. Much more crucial would be the destruction of the hierarchal relationship between God and creation for, if kingship in this world is intrinsically wrong, then on what basis to establish relationship between man and God, one of whose most important Divine Names or Attributes is Al-Malik Al Qahhar, The Almighty King!

This is a book which could not possibly have been written by a modern Muslim writer today but only in the “medieval” Age of Faith where religion was taken for granted as the indisputable fact of life and, when the overwhelming majority of believers had probably never in their lives encountered an unbeliever and absolute transcendental values reigned supreme.

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