### THE WORLD OF IQBAL

A COLLECTION OF PAPERS



DRM. MOIZUDDIN

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#### A COLLECTION OF PAPERS BY DR M. MOIZUDDIN

Edited by M. ASHRAF DARR

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN
116 McLEOD ROAD LAHORE

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1st Edition ... 1982
Copies printed ... 1100
Price ... Rs. 15.00

Published by Dr. M. Moizuddin Director, Iqbal Academy Pakistan 116 McLeod Road, Lahore

Printed at
Everlight Printing Press
33 Nisbet Road, Lahore

#### Preface

In presenting this collection of papers by Dr Moizuddin no apology is needed. These papers, some published in the press and others read before large gatherings, have already been well received. They indeed are the outpourings of a devoted heart. It is a record of the writer's feelings and sentiments which he has shared with his readers and audience.

The reader will find, in these articles, Iqbal portrayed from different angles: as a poet-philosopher, as a politician, as a great seer and as a visionary of Pakistan. Dr Moizuddin talks with authority and appropriately quotes both from Iqbal's prose and poetry.

It is hoped this collection will be found a rich contribution to the vast literature on Iqbal.

M. Ashraf Darr

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# A Short Biography of Allamah Iqbal

Dr M. Moizuddin

Iqbal's family originally came from Kashmir. They were Brahmins by caste. One of his ancestors embraced Islam and later on the family migrated to the Punjab.

Iqbal was born in Sialkot on 9 November 1877. The poet-philosopher and the dreamer of Pakistan died at the peak of his glory and fame in the early hours of 21 April 1938 in Lahore and is buried in the precincts of the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore.

Iqbal received his early education at the Scotch Mission School and the Murray College, Sialkot. Then he came to the Government College, Lahore, and took his M.A. Degree in

Philosophy. He was appointed as a lecturer in the Oriental College and also at the Government College, Lahore. His teacher, Sir Thomas Arnold, recognising his merits, persuaded him to go abroad for higher education.

Iqbal stayed in Europe from 1905 to 1908. He studied Philosophy at the Universities of Heidelberg, Munich and Cambridge and was awarded a Ph.D. Degree from the Munich University. The title of his thesis was "The Development of Metaphysics in Persia".

Iqbal started composing poetry from his young age. His early poems are based mostly on nationalistic and patriotic ideas and love of Nature. His stay in Europe brought a complete change in his outlook. After coming back from Europe he was no more a poet of narrow nation-listic and parochial feelings but of broad humanistic outlook of Islam and is aptly called a poet of humanity.

His epoch-making long poems Asrar-i Khudi and Rumuz-i Bekhudi became very famous and were translated in different languages. Professor R.A. Nicholson, a great admirer and teacher of Iqbal, at Cambridge, translated the Asrar in English (The Secrets of the Self), while the Rumuz was done into English by Arberry (Mysteries of Selflessness), Iqbal was knighted in 1923.

#### A Short Biography of Allamah Iqbal

Iqbal was actively associated with politics and the struggle for the cause of Indian Muslims and their emancipation. He was a member of the Provincial Legislative Council of the Punjab from 1926 to 1929. In 1930 he was called to preside over the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad. In his Presidential Address, for the first time, he proposed the concept of an independent Muslim State in the north-west of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, thus offering a solution to the vexed politicoreligious problems of India. The scheme of Pakistan was later on adopted by the Muslim League and subsequently realised and brought into actual existence as a separate homeland for the Muslims of India.

In 1931-32, Iqbal was present at the Round Table Conferences, held in London for the solution of the Indian constitutional problem. He was also nominated as the Vice-President of the Muslim Congress at Jerusalem.

Iqbal today occupies a unique position in Pakistan. He is not only considered a poet of unparalleled repute, but a great thinker, a great statesman, a messenger of hope and truth and an upholder of Muslim unity and also a gateway to world culture.

Iqbal's philosophy has two aspects: (1)

universal, (2) particular. He believed in the reality of the individual ago and he argued as well for life in a higher, comprehensive, all-embracing spiritual world. These philosophical thoughts provide two premisses for Iqbal's political thought. He believed, on the one hand, in the emancipation and freedom of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and, on the other, he argued for the unity of Muslim nations. His politics became both national and international. This also shows that Iqbal's political philosophy is not atomistic but organic in that it implies the formation of an association of Muslim countries to better their own lot and be the upholders of peace and justice throughout the world.

His verses in Urdu and Persian and his monumental work The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam in English have been translated into almost all the important languages of the world and have a wider recognition in Iran, Turkey, Egypt, England, France, Germany, Italy, USSR, etc.

The following are his important works in English, Persian and Urdu:

yang mikuld be rabladan as

English (Prose)

(1) The Development of Metaphysics in Persia

#### A Short Biography of Allamah Iqbal

(2) The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam

#### Persian (Poetry)

- (1) Asrar-i Khudi and Rumuz-i Bekhudi
- (2) Payam-i Mashriq
- (3) Zabur-i 'Ajam
- (4) Javid Namah
- (5) Pas Chih Bayad Kard and Musafir
- (6) Armughan-i Hijaz (Part of it in Urdu)

#### Urdu (Poetry)

- (1) Ilm al-Iqtisad (prose)
- (2) Bang-i Dara
- (3) Bal-i Jibril
- (4) Dark-i Kalim

# Iqbal—An Ardent Lover of The Prophet

Like all devotees of Islam, Allamah Iqbal was an ardent lover of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). But his love was not like that of other devotees of Islam. It was a love of unique character. He firmly believed that the life of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) is the beacon light for the world.

There is a famous line of Iqbal which in fact is the summum bonum of his Islamic spirit:

گر تو می خواهی مسلمان زیستن نیست ممکن جز بقرآن زیستن<sup>1</sup> [If thou woulds, live the Muslim life anew This cannot be, except by the Koran Thou livest.]

According to a hadith, the Holy Prophet is reported to have said that God created this universe because the Holy Prophet was to be created: "لو لاک که خات الافلاک".

Iqbal has very passionately described this aspect of his love for the Prophet:

[If thou look to prove the truth that lies within my words,

Gazing with Abu Bakr's verocious eyes,
The Prophet, power and strength of soul and heart,
Becometh more Beloved than God Himself.]

His environment and impact of early education and constant study of the Holy Book all go a long way to make him a great lover of the Prophet (peace be upon him).

Iqbal has narrated his father's religiosity in his famous book, Rumuz-i Bekhudi, "The Mysteries of Selflessness". He hit a beggar in his early life. His father rebuked him and exhorted him not to be cruel. This put him in deep repentance. He reminded him that he was a bud from the branch of Mustafa (peace be upon him) and became a

rose due to his gentle breeze. While he was reciting the Qur'an once his father stood by him and said to him: "When you recite the Qur'an, consider that the Book has been revealed to you."

> ترے ضمیر پہ جب تک نہ ہو نزول کتاب گرہ کشا ہے نہ رازی نہ صاحب کشاف<sup>4</sup>

[Unless the Holy Book is revealed to your heart, Neither Razi nor the author of Kashshaf can untie your knots (solve your problems).]

His father had taken a vow from him that after completing his education he would spend his life for the cause of Islam. His mother, too, was a pious Muslim lady. Iqbal in one of his famous verses written in memory of his mother says:

دفتر بستی میں تھی زریں ورق تیری حیات تھی سراپا دین و دنیا کا سبق تیری حیات<sup>5</sup>

[In the archives of existence your life was like a golden page,

Your life was a perfect lesson both in religion and the world.]

In his early formative stage, his teacher, Maulana Mir Hasan, also left a lasting impression on him through his religious teachings. His teacher at higher level, Professor Arnold, was also deeply interested in Islam. His famous book, The Preaching of Islam, stands unique

in its subject. During Iqbal's stay in Europe, he realised the hollowness of materialism and was determined to infuse a new life in his nation and worked for the revival of Islam. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam is a classic example in this field. It is the sum total of his whole thought process and is indeed a magnum opus.

A biographer of Iqbal says that when he spoke on the Prophet (peace be upon him), he discussed intuition, revelation, state of prophet-hood, dignity of mankind and concept of fraternity in Islam in such a way that even the worst critics of Islam had to admit the Prophet (peace be on him) to be a Perfect Man on earth and the last Messenger of God.

In his book Asrar-i Khudi ("The Secrets of the Self"), he explains the secrets which make a man perfect in society. These principles are strict adherence to the tenets of Islam, and complete harmony with the sayings of the Prophet (peace be upon him), to observe the commandments and prohibitions of God. A man's ultimate aim is to attain nearness to God which can be achieved only by following the moral and spiritual code specified by the Holy Prophet (peace be on him).

In his book Rumuz-i Bekhudi, he points to the Islamic principles which govern a society according to the real Islamic concept. In one of his letters, he states that Muslims must have their literary and social ideals from Islam. He wanted to convey the true spirit of Islam as preached by the Prophet (peace be on him). Individuals and society, to Iqbal, are complementary to each other. An individual gains respectability through a nation and the nation gets strength through individuals. But an individual should endeavour to be a Mard-i Mumin and a society should be an ideal society of true believers.

فرد تا اندر جاعت گم شود قطرهٔ وسعت طلب قلزم شود<sup>6</sup>
[When in the Congregation he is lost
'Tis like a drop which, seeking to expand,
Becomes an ocean].

The edifice of Islam is unity of God and complete faith in the finality of Prophethood.

[O thou, whose manifesting won the youth Of strenuous life, whose bright epiphany Told the interpretation of life's dreams.... Whatever things have being find in thee True exaltation, and thy poverty !s their abundant riches.]

Iqbal wanted to infuse new blood in the

Muslims and remove the dust of despondency and decadence from them. This was possible only by following the Prophet's teachings.

In one of his poems, he describes the dignity of the society the Holy Prophet of Islam had built up.

Such a society was based on the principles of social justice, fraternity, equality as engrained in Islam resting on spiritual and moral strength.

This brought a complete metamorphosis in the decadent society. All this was possible only through *Uswah-i Rasul*. Iqbal says:

[God fashioned forth our form
And through Apostleship breathed in our flesh
The soul of life. We were a word unvoiced
Within this world, that by Apostleship
Became a measured verse; and that same grace
Both shaped our being, gave us Faith and Law
Converted our vast myriads into one,
And joined our fractions in a mighty whole
Inseparable, Indivisible.]

Islam brought a message of universal peace and love which is the key point of Iqbalian philosophy and his message to the world at large. Iqbal-An Ardent Lover of the Prophet [1

آن كتاب زنده ، قرآن حكيم حكمت او لايزال است و قديم

[It is the living Book, that wise Koran Whose wisdom is eternal, uncreate. . . .

The final message to all humankind Was borne by him elect of God to be A mercy unto every living thing.]

Iqbal explains further that for universal brotherhood and unity, we must have a centre as our spiritual home:

در جهان جان اسم جمعیت است 10 در نگر سر حرم جمعیت است 10

[Upon this earth

By congregation lives a people's soul,

And congregation is the mystery

Of Mecca's power.]

According to Iqbal, the secret of our existence lies in our oneness. He was convinced that it is Islam and the teachings of our Holy Prophet which would give us an ideal welfare society for universal peace and progress. To him Islam is the only religion which is a complete code of life.

He very much wished to spread the teachings of Islam throughout the world. He wanted to see a library where the full literature of Islam be available and such an institution could be a

centre of Islamic learning. Thus the true Islamic teachings could be revived through it. In such an institution modern philosophy, economics, politics and sociology could be taught. Through this he could see the possibility of the revival of moral values and Islamic culture.

Letters addressed to Allamah Mustafa al-Maraghi,11 Rector, Jami'at al-Azhar, and Maulana Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi bear testimony to his ideas. He wrote to the latter that he met a young Arab who knew French but was unaware of Islam. He expressed his anguish and his disappointment on this matter. He wanted that a detailed history of Islamic jurisprudence be written and requested Maulana Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi to write such a book. He discouraged the late Hasiz Muhammad Fazlur Rahman Ansari (the late Dr Ansari) for his journey to Europe for higher research in Islam. He advised him to go to Egypt to acquire proficiency in Arabic and for studying Islamic learning, Islamic history, jurisprudence, tasawwuf and to reach the spirit of Muhammad (peace be on him).12

He considered the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) an emblem and embodiment of the Qur'an. He says:

نگاه عشق و مستی میں وہی اول وہی آخر وہی قرآں وہی فرقاں وہی یاسیں وہی طابا <sup>13</sup>

[He, whose is the wisest life, the last of Prophets, the holder of full authority,

Who gave light to the valley of Sina, to the dust of path,

In the eyes of love and ecstasy, he is the first, he is the last.

He is the Qur'an, he is the sifter of truth and falsity (Furgan), he is the "Yasin" he is the "Taha".]

Maulana Salik writes that Iqbal could not check his tears when there was a talk about the Holy Prophet.

He did not like cosy and comfortable bed. He wanted to sleep on coarse bed in the manner of the Holy Prophet.

He wanted to perform Hajj and, in anticipation of his journey from Mecca to Medina, he had composed a ghazal. Addressing God he says:

تو باش ایں جا و با خاصاں بیاسیز کہ سن دارم ہواے منزل دوست<sup>14</sup>

[You remain here and be with distinguished persons, But I have the desire of the abode of my beloved friend.]

His wish could not materialise in life. Seeing his love and passion for the Prophet (peace be on him) Mir Ghulam Bhik Nairang apprehended that if he had performed *Hajj* he would not have

survived and would have died at the very sight of the Holy Prophet's grave.

He has a conviction that:

[Armed with love of Muhammad, one commands Complete dominion over seas and lands.]

Delineating the personality of the Holy Prophet, Iqbal says:

[The cosmos ever fealty makes to him, Who called himself "His worshipper". This rank Is past thy ken, as he is all at once A human being aud yet an essence pure.]

In Iqbalian philosophy if a Muslim is faithful to the Prophet he is faithful to God. God himself announces this:

[If you are faithful to Muhammad (peace be on him), I am yours.

What to speak of the world, the table and the pen are in your hand.]

The Prophet's Mi'raj is the highest culmination of man's respectability. Paying tribute to

[I have learnt from the Mi'raj of Muhammad (peace be on him)

That the whole of the sky is in the grip of man.]

In the controversy with Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani who said that the existence of a nation lies in a country, he admonishes that:

[You must reach the Holy Prophet, he is the embodiment of the whole of Islam; If you cannot reach there, it is all blasphemy.]

#### References

- 1. Rumuz-i Bekhudi (Kulliyat-i Iqbal Farsi), p. 123. English translation by A.J. Arberry, The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 39. All references to Iqbal's verses are to Kulliyat (Persian and Urdu).
  - 2. Bal-i Jibril, p. 67.
  - 3. Rumuz-i Bekhudi, p. 101. Arberry, p. 20.
  - 4. Bal-i Jibril, p. 78.
  - 5. Bang-i Dara, p. 229.
  - 6. Rumuz-i Bekhudi, p. 86. Arberry, p. 5.
  - 7. Ibid., p. 166 Arberry, p. 79.
  - 8. Ibid., p. 101. Arberry, p. 19.
  - 9. Ibid., pp. 121-22, Arberry, p. 37.
  - 10. Ibid., p. 135. Arberry, p. 51,

- 11. For Urdu translation of the letter written to him, see Sh. Ata Allah, Ed., Iqbal Namah, I, 251-52.
  - 12. Ibid., I, 251.
  - 13. Bal-i Jibril, p. 25.
  - 14. Armughan-i Hijaz, p. 19.
- 15. Payam-i Mashriq. p. 20. English translation by M. Hadi Hussain. A Message from the East, p. 7.
- 16. Javid Namah, p. 128. English translation by Sh. Mahmud Ahmad, Pilgrimage of Eternity, p. 120.
  - 17. Bang-i Dara, p. 208.
  - 18. Bal-i Jibril, p. 27.
  - 19. Armughan-i Hijaz (Urdu), p. 49.

### Iqbal and Husain's Martyrdom

Iqbal was an ardent lover of the Prophet (peace be on him), and a great admirer of Hadrat 'Ali's qualities of head and heart. He had deep respect for Hadrat Fatimah and deep affection for the Prophet's grandsons Hadrat Hasanand Hadrat Husain. He was moved to profound sorrow on the tragic events leading to the martyrdom of Hadrat Husain. Allamah Iqbal views this painful event, not only from an emotinal aspect, but he considered it to be a turning point in the Muslim history. It is also a guiding principle for every Muslim to remain firm for the cause of justice and, if necessary, to sacrifice unhesitatingly his

own valuable life or that of his near and dear ones.

The veneration and adoration Iqbal had for the Prophet (peace be on him) and his scion is proverbially unique. Out of numerous verses of Iqbal glorifying the Prophet (peace be on him) only a few are sufficient to quote here.

وہ دانا ہے سبل ختم الرسل مولا ہے کل جس نے غبا ر راہ کو بخشا فر وغ وادی سینا نگاہ عشق و سستی میں وہی اول وہی آخر وہی قرآن وہی فرقان وہی یاسیں وہی طاہا ا

[He, whose is the wisest life, the last of the Prophets, the holder of full authority,

Who gave light to the valley of Sina, to the dust of the path,

In the eyes of love and ecstasy, he is the first, he is the last,

He is the Qur'an, he is the sifter of truth and falsity (Furgan), he is the Yasin, he is the Taha.]

Iqbal's poetry exemplifies the Divine Attributes which are to be imbibed by a man to become a perfect man or Mard-i Mumin. In his own words, his Mard-i Mumin overcomes the evil forces of life and features of virtue dominate permeating the environment as a whole. As a matter of fact Iqbal lays special emphasis upon the Islamic code of life, and desires that this be the guiding principle for every Muslim to uphold

the truth and trample the evil as the cardinal principle of life.

Iqbal in a beautiful line summarises the historic events thus:

غریب و سادہ و رنگیں ہے داستان حرم نہایت اس کی حسین ابتدا ہے اساعیل<sup>2</sup>

[The tale of Holy Ka'bah is unique, simple and colourful.

It begins with Isma'il and ends with Husain.]

The sacrifice begins with Hadrat Isma'il, the son of Hadrat Ibrahim, who symbolises the traditional ritual of sacrifice in the Islamic world. It is simple but adoring. The martyrdom of Hadrat Husain is the story of conflict between truth and evil resulting in the ruthless killing of the Al-i Rasul. This is the culminating point in the history of Islam which adds to its beauty as well as glory.

Thus Hadrat Husain is the emblem of ardent love and sacrifice.

صدق خلیل بھی ہے عشق صبر حسین بھی ہے عشق معرکۂ وجود میں بدر و حنین بھی ہے عشق<sup>3</sup>

[Love is Ibrahim's faithfulness and Husain's forbearance.

In the struggle for existence it is the battle of Badr and Hunain.]

He ascribes this eternal truth a high place in

Muslim history. The treachery of the people of Kufah and Syria may be repeated in different forms from time to time, but the sacrifice for a true cause is the deed of a real follower of the Prophet (peace be on him). It retains the glory of man on earth, saturated with truth, benevolence, contentment, generosity, bravery, self-respect, combined in Hadrat Husain, and Iqbal terms these virtues as Sarmayah-i Shabbiri (real wealth of Hadrat Husain) and Mirath-i Musalmani (heritage of the Muslims).

[One faqr is that of Husain which elevates man, The heritage of Muslim is the capital of Husain.]

The glorious tragedy of Karbala is an epoch of sacrifice which gives a dramatic scene of human chivalry and glorification of man, a favourite theme of Iqbal's poetry. Allamah Iqbal in innumerable verses glorifies Hadrat 'Ali with reverence and eulogises him as a man of great wisdom and presents him as an Islamic hero of unparalleled strength who is a source of inspiration for everyone. Allamah Iqbal in Payam-i Mashriq reiterates the same thing in a very effective manner when he says:

المتعدد التيرو سنان و خنجر و شمشيرم آرزوست ۱۳۵۲ ۱۳۵۲ میداده المتعدد ا

[I long for manly weapons—
Bow, dagger, spear and sword.
O, do not come with me,
For mine is Shabbir's way.]

Iqbal was disillusioned with the dazzling economic emancipation of the West devoid of moral values and enlightened his soul with the inner light bestowed upon earth by the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and his actions. He had, as said earlier, an emotional attachment with Hadrat 'Ali as an excellent example of the Prophet's (peace be on him) Shari'ah and Tariqah. This is not to be found in Western culture. It is the traditional virtue of Islam.

تیرے محیط میں کہیں گوہر زندگی نہیں ڈھونڈ چکا میں موج موج، دیکھ چکا صدف صدف!

خیرا نہ کر سکا مجھے جلوۂ دانش فرنگ سرسہ ہے سیری آنکھ کا خاک مدینہ و نجف<sup>6</sup>

[There is no pearl of life in your (West) ocean, I have searched every wave and every oyster.

I was not dazzled by the glory and wisdom of the West, as my eyes had the collyrium of the dust of Medina and Najaf.]

To Iqbal the complete submission to God

synchronises with the devotional prostration (sajdah) and immense strength of heart and soul of Hadrat 'Ali.

Iqbal stands for strength and power. With constant struggle and traversing through hazardous path of life, achieve its beauty and grandeur. He says that life gets its zeal from Husain and a true Muslim learns the bravery to fight against evil forces.

In the song of life pathos comes from Husain.

A Mumin gets the sense of freedom from Hadrat Husain.

In the indomitable character of Hadrat Husain. Iqbal found the happy blending of love and faith (Divine). It is a goal of sacrifice and matchless glory. This in fact is the *Uswah-i Hasanah* and it is the real practice of *Shari'ah* and *Tariqah* and complete submission to God.

نقش الا الله بر صحرا نوشت مطرعنوان نجات ما نوشت رسز قرآن از حسین آموختیم زآتش أو شعله با اندوختیم

تارسا از زخمه اش لرزال سنوز تازه از تکبیر او ایمال سنوز

[Inscribing in the wilderness Save God He wrote for all to read the exordium Of our salvation. From Husain we learned The riddle of the Book, and at his flame Kindled our torches. . . .

Yet still the strings he smote within our soul
Vibrate, still ever new our faith abides
In his Allahu Akbar.]

This is the ideal and goal of every Muslim and gives permanence to life by following the teachings of the Prophet (peace be on him), getting zeal from Hadrat 'Ali and a lesson of sacrifice from Hadrat Husain.

مرد سوسن خوابد از یزدان پاک آن دگر مرکے که برگیرد زخاک! آن دگر مرگ! انتہا ہے راہ شوق آخریں تکبیر در جنگاہ شوق! گرچہہرمرگ است برسوسن شکر! مرگ پور سرتضیل چیزے دگر!<sup>8</sup>

[The man of faith seeks from his God the death That should upraise him from the earth: the death That is the goal of love. This other death Is always like the final battle-cry In love's war-field. Though, to the man of faith, Decease, however it came, is sugar-sweet, The death that was attained by Haydar's son Is yet a thing apart. . . .]

#### References

- 1. Bal-i Jibril, p. 25.
- 2. Ibid., p. 63.
- 3. Ibid., p. 113.
- 4. Ibid., p. 160.
- 5. Payam-i Mashriq, p. 156. English translation by M. Hadi Hussain, A Message from the East, p. 120.

- 6. Bal-i Jibril, pp. 39, 40.
- 7. Rumuz-i Bekhudi, p. 111. English translation by A.J. Arberry, The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 28.
- 8. Javid Namah, p. 185. English translation by Sh. Mahmud Ahmad, Pilgrimage of Eternity, pp. 175-76.

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all over the world fully equipped with modern element the world fully equipped with modern element and making. He said that '... I slam, recognished the content of the ideal with the real, save year to the artill of matter and points the way to master it with a view to discover a basic form business considered and not have a summer to their and not assistance.

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## Iqbal and Muslim Universalism

Iqbal is not the name of an individual. His was a multi-dimensional personality—a poet-philosopher and political seer. He was, in fact, an institution, an age and above all a champion of Muslim Renaissance. He worked throughout his life for Islamic solidarity and universalism. Through his writings he exhorted the Muslims of the subcontinent to action at a time when there was complete disarray, disunity and despondency of the worst type in their camp. They were victims of inaction and lacked confidence. Iqbal gave them a new vision and the path to action. He showed them the way to glory and fame. He,

as a matter of fact, wanted to see the Muslims all over the world fully equipped with modern science and technology. He said that "... Islam, recognizing the contact of the ideal with the real, says 'yes' to the world of matter and points the way to master it with a view to discover a basis for a realisic regulation of life" and not asceticism.

In a letter to Maulvi Zafar Ahmad Siddiqi he wrote:

"If in the past, Muslim thinkers and statesmen had carefully reflected on the contents of the Qur'an a League of Nations in the Muslim world would have come into existence centuries ago. This history of the League of Nations which has been created in the twentieth century is a living testimony to the fact that unless the ego of the nation is hedged around by divine laws there is no way by which peace of the world can be assured."<sup>2</sup>

Iqbal envisaged a worldwide Islamic unification when he said that Islam was neither "nationalism" nor "imperialism" but a "commonwealth of nations" repudiating all barriers of colour, race, language and territorial nationalism. He saw unity in diversity and pleaded for merging into one organised whole and complete loyalty to God.

In 1931, addressing the Conference of the al-Mutamar-i 'Alam-i Islami at Bait al-Maqdis he discussed with important Muslim leaders of the Arab world including the Mufti-i Azam of Palestine, al-Haj Muhammad Amin al-Husaini, and with the dignitaries of other Muslim countries the problems of Muslims of the world and stressed on unity. He emphasised that in the unity of the Arabs lies their own salvation and strength for Muslims of the other countries as well. Ever since the Balfour Declaration in 1917, he was keenly interested in the Palestinian issue and wanted to see it as a separate homeland for the Arabs of Palestine.

He expressed his strong desire that Arabicspeaking countries should start more than one university on the model of Jami'at al-Azhar, and translate into Arabic all the modern knowledge of science and technology. It is gratifying to see that not only in Riyadh, Jeddah and Egypt such universities are working enthusiastically on such schemes, in Pakistan, too, we have two Islamic Universities established with similar end in view.

The greatest contribution of Allamah Iqbal is that he warned the Muslims at the right moment not to be attracted towards the glittering Western civilisation. The Western civilisation was based on material outlook and territorial nationalism devoid of all moral values. Rene Guenon's

book The Crisis of the World, Dr Jung's book Modern Man in Search of Soul, illustrate the moral degredation in Europe. Allamah Iqbal has discussed the whole problem with a new angle in his monumental work The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. The chapter on Islamic Culture particularly explains fully what should be our own attitude. He saw great danger for Muslims to be duped by their enchantment.

The territorial nationalism, according to Iqbal, is the root of all social and political evils. It has set nations against each other leading to worst suffering for humanity at large. Iqbal writes that:

"Islam was from the very beginning a civil society, having received from the Qur'an a set of simple legal principles which, like the blue tables of the Roman, carried, as experienced subsequently proved, great potentialities of expression and development by interpretation. The nationalistic theory of State, therefore, is misleading inasmuch as it suggests a dualism which does not exist in Islam."

One may ask: How could Iqbal pass from his universal brotherhood to the idea of Pakistan, as a distinct nation? How can a person reconcile Iqbal's internationalism with his nationalism as expressed in terms of Pakistan? We must not forget that Iqbal had two bases for the demand of a separate homeland for Muslims of the subcon-

tinent. Firstly, Islam is not, like other religions, a private affair; secondly, the concept of Pakistan is based on Islamic principles of life, not on territorial nationalism which tears society into pieces. These principles of life are distinctly different from those of other societies and accordingly generate a different value structure. The boundaries of Pakistan are thus no obstacle for realising our ideals of universal Muslim cohesion.

Iqbal was the first person amongst the modern Muslim thinkers who gave a lead to the Muslim world in unambiguous terms that territorial loyalty is a curse in the body politic of the Muslim nation.

Iqbal, in reply to a statement of Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani, said:

"I have been repudiating the concept of nationalism since the time when it was not known in India and the Muslim world. At the very start it had become clear to me from the writings of European authors that the imperialistic designs of Europe were in great need of this effective weapon—the propagation of the European conception of nationalism in Muslim countries—to shatter the religious unity of Islam to pieces."

Iqbal's vision as a matter of fact was not limited to any geographical boundary. The entire Muslim bloc encompassed in the realm of his thinking for ideal, universal Muslim centre

(markaz) when he says:

ایک ہوں مسلم حرم کی پاسبانی کے لیے اسلام مرم کی پاسبانی کے لیے اسلام کی بات کے ساحل سے لیے کر تا بخاک کاشغرام مرم کی پاسبانی کے لیے اسلام کی بات کی

[Right from Nile's banks to Kashghar's soil,

Let Muslims all united stand and guard Haram in

holy land.]

He visualised a world of universal brother-hood in the whole of the Muslim world. Pakistan would serve a nucleus providing a unifying force for Muslim unity, fraternity and one goal. He wanted to see different Muslim countries into a strong "League of Nations" or Jam'iyyat-i Aqwam. It would serve as a beacon light for a new world. It is encouraging to see that we are heading towards that goal. But our internal and external differences are to be erased first avoiding frustration and disillusionment. Iqbal's fervent zeal and unbounded enthusiam for Islam kindled new light in the dark horizon of the Muslim world.

I would like to quote here the very important New Year's message which he gave only three months before his death. He said:

"Only one unity is dependable, and that unity is the brotherhood of man, which is above race, nationality, colour or language. So long as this so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism and this degraded imperialism are not shattered, so long as men do not demonstrate by their actions that they believe that the whole world is the

family of God, so long as distinctions of race, colour and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely, they will never be able to lead a happy and contented life and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialise."5

It is interesting to note that Iqbal's concept of Muslim universalism is clearly exemplified in the recent endeavours Pakistan is making towards an amicable solution to Iran-Iraq differences. The moral, spiritual and economic support lent to the Afghan refugees in Pakistan is in fact a practical demonstration of the same international Islamic brotherhood predicted by the Poet of the East.

## References

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- 4. Bang-i-Dara, p. 265.
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### Iqbal and Muslim Unity

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Iqbal's philosophy has two aspects: (i) particularity, (ii) universality. He believed in the reality of individual ego and he argued as well for life in a higher, comprehensive, all-embracing spiritual world. These philosophical thoughts provide two premisses for Iqbal's political thought. He believed, on the one hand, in the emancipation and freedom of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and, on the other, he argued for the unity of Muslim nations. His politics became both national and international. This also shows that Iqbal's political philosophy is not atomistic but organic in that it implied the forma-

tion of an association of Muslim countries to better their own lot and be the upholders of peace and justice throughout the world.

In the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Iqbal writes:

"For the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics. . . . Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members."

In these lines, Iqbal suggests: (1) that Muslim nations should have the capacity to undertake an introspective analysis and assessment of their conditions; (2) that their geographical national boundaries are merely a matter of convenience and not an occasion for hostile acts; (3) that this self-identity will show these nations their objectives for self-realisation; (4) that this will in the years to come make Muslim nations strong; and (5) that finally this will lead them to form a "family of republics or League of Nations".

The Islamic Summit held at Lahore in 1974 was, in fact, the translation of Iqbal's abstract thought into the language of practical international politics. The declaration of the Islamic Summit voiced the same Iqbalian thoughts.

At this historic conference it was solemnly proclaimed by the Heads of Muslim Sates:

"Determination to preserve and promote solidarity among Muslim countries, to respect each other's independence and territorial integrity, to refrain from interference in each other's internal affairs and to resolve their differences through peaceful means in a fraternal spirit."

The Islamic Summit not only made it possible for the Muslim nations to sit round a conference table, but also gave them confidence and self-respect. Iqbal has argued all along that the particular has value and significance and self-identity is the clue to existence. Whether we are talking about individuals or small nations, we must accept the principle of self-identification. The Summit declaration correctly emphasised this fact.

Iqbal believes that once the level of selfidentification is achieved, the Muslim nations ought to look for strength through social ends and objectives. Iqbal has said that territorial boundaries should not cloud the "social horizons of its members".

The task of the Redeemer of unity was not as easy one.

Having lain long in their own ignorance, the Muslims had forgotten the glories of Islam—forgotten the golden era of their ancestors when

they ruled more than half the known world. To arouse such masses he had to infuse in them the will to survive. He exhorted them to give up mental slavery and derive inspiration from Islam.

During his stay in Europe Iqbal acquainted himself with the ideas and thoughts of the West. The absence of religious sentiments on the one hand and the presence of hollow materialism on the other nauseated him. Greedy and selfish competition between man and man and between nation and nation could not be the basis of a society of which Iqbal was dreaming.

دیار مغرب کے رہنے والو خداکی بستی دکاں نہیں ہے

کھرا جسے نم سمجھ رہے ہو وہ اب زر کم عیار ہوگا

تمھاری تہدیب اپنے خنجر سے آپ ہی خودکشی کرے گی

جو شاخ نازک پہ آشیانہ بنے گا ناپائیدار ہوگا

[O residents of the West, God's earth is not a shop; The gold that you are thinking to be genuine will now prove to be of low value.

Your civilisation is going to commit suicide with its own dagger;

The nest which is made on a frail bough cannot but be insecure.]

He is concerned with the entire world of Islam which knew no bounds of territory, race or caste. It is non-racial and non-spatial and cuts at the root of nationalism which is based on rece and

territorial affiliations.

جوهر ما با مقامے بسته نیست بادهٔ تندش بجامے بسته نیست بندی و چینی سفال جام ماست رومی و شامی گل اندام ماست قلب ما از بند و روم و شام نیست مرزیوم او بجز اسلام نیست<sup>3</sup>

[Our Essence is not bound to any Place;
The vigour of our wine is not contained
In any bowl; Chinese and Indian
Alike are the sherd that constitutes our jar,
Turkish and Syrian alike the clay
Forming our body; neither is our heart
Of India, or Syria, or Rum,
Nor any fatherland do we profess
Except Islam.]

His efforts bore fruit. His spiritual poems infused new blood, new vigour and new vitality in the veins of a sleeping race. Muslims all over the world struggled for their independence and broke away the chains of slavery. His fervent zeal and unbounded enthusiasm for Islam fired the imagination of the Muslim world. His firm conviction that "Islam is itself destiny and will not suffer a destiny" stirred the Muslim intelligentsia. Apart from inspiring the Muslims of the subcontinent he guided them to the path of salvation. With his prophetic vision, he could see the future course of history. In the words of the Quaid-i Azam: "He was the interpreter and voice of Islam. Although a great poet and philosopher

he was no less a practical politician." Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar also paid him high tribute. "He," said the Maulana, "was the poet of Islamic reawakening in the twentieth century, and to no man does Muslim India owe greater debt than to this modest, shy and retiring barrister of the Punjab."

Iqbal believed that Muslims all over the world must unite together to achieve their lost glory.

ایک ہوں مسلم حرم کی پاسبانی کے لیے نیل کے ساحل سے لے کر تا بخاک کاشغر<sup>4</sup>

[Right from Nile's banks to Kasghar's soil,
Let Muslims all united stand,
Of Islam's faces designs to foil,
And guard Haram in holy land.]

He prayed to Almighty and sought Divine Guidance for the success of his mission.

اے چو جاں اندر وجود عالمی جان ما یاشی و از ما سی رسی

ما پریشاں در جہاں چوں اختریم ہمدم و بیگانہ از یک دیگریم باز ایں اوراق را شیرازہ کن باز آئیں محبت تازہ کن باز ما را برہاں خدمت گار کار خود با عاشقان خود سپار رہرواں را منزل تسلیم بخش قوت ایمان ابراہیم بخش عشق را از شغل لا آگاہ کن آشنا ہے رسز الااللہ کن ت

[O thou that art as the soul in the body of the universe, Thou art our soul and thou art ever fleeing from us. . . . We are dispersed like stars in the world;

Though of the same family, we are strange to one another,

Bind again these scattered leaves,
Revive the law of love!

Take us back to serve thee as of old,
Commit thy cause to them that love thee!

We are travellers: give us resignation as our goal!

Give us the strong faith of Abraham!

Make us know the meanings of "There is no God."

Make us acquainted with the mystery of
"except Allah!"]

The dawn of Friday, 22 February 1974, was perhaps an answer to these prayers—a realisation of these dreams, when hand in hand the Heads of the Muslim States, foreign ministers and high dignitaries pledged unity, amity and solidarity. This marked a new epoch in the annals of the world history—the beginning of a new era for the Muslims. The start of one of the greatest marches of civilisation which will yet teach, and the world—in his own words—"so long as this so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism and this degraded Imperialism are not shattered, so long as distinctions of race, colour and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely, they will never be able to lead a happy and contended life and the beautiful ideal of liberty, equality and fraternity will never meterialise."6

Iqbal, the champion of the oppresed, must in-

deed be satisfied with the discussions and deliberations considering the Middle East problem—the
evacuation of territories acquired by force, the
restoration of Muslim rights over Jerusalem and
the restitution of the rights of the Palestinian
people. Ever since the Balfour Declaration in
1917, he was keenly interested in the affairs of
Palestine and wanted it to be a separate homeland for the Arabs af Palestine.

Buried beside the historic Badshahi Mosque, Iqbal's soul must have experienced the Divine Grace when the Heads of States offered their Friday prayer together and perhaps murmured with approval and reminded them of his universal message once again:

[Called whether Tartars, Turks or Afghans, we Belong to one great garden, one great tree, Born of a springtide that was glorious, Distinction of colour is a sin for us.]

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Iqbal's Conception of History

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Iqbal's early interest in history is evident from the fact that, as early as in 1913, he compiled an elementary book of history as text-book under the title Tarikh-i Hind for school students similar to text-books of Urdu and Persian. He firmly believed that the fall and rise of nations, if studied in historical perspective, may save nations from decline and disaster and help them preserve their cultural heritage. He had deep insight of human history and Muslim society and penetrating eyes on their social and cultural evolution. He studied particularly the history of Islam. References and allusions to events in

Islam are copiously given in his works of prose and poetry and events and anecdotes are found in abundance in his writings.

In the year 1910 he gave a lecture in the Strachey Hall, Muslim University, Aligarh. It was later translated into Urdu by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan under the title "Millat-i Baida Par Ek 'Imrani Nazar".

This was a very important lecture from the point of view of his analysis of the causes of the rise and fall of nations particularly with reference to the decline of the Muslims in educational, social and cultural fields. Like Ibn Khaldun, a great Muslim historian, he analyses the moral and cultural experiences of different nations and states that human experiences are governed by a definite set of historical laws. If examined from anthropological and sociological point of view, it appears that there are stages of development of human faculties of different nations. Bravery, kindness and self-control are the virtues exemplified in notable personalities. If we take examples from the history of Muslim India these qualities are reflected in Timur, Babur and Alamgir, respectively. Iqbal considered Aurangzeb Alamgir as a pioneer of Muslim nationhood in the history of Muslims of the subcontinent—the same Alamgir who is described by some historians as a tyrant, fanatic and a symbol of machinations against non-Muslims.

To grasp fully Iqbal's concept of history, it must be remembered that the absolute unity of God and the innate freedom of man's inner self are the basic principles through which, according to him, the socio-economic and moral values in a society are governed. As a matter of fact, moral and ethical degradation resulted in the economic and political backwardnesss of the Muslims in the subcontinent. Nations which do not change their lot by moral, economic and social improvement have no right to exist on earth. They are bound to crumble and collapse. History does not sympathise with any individual or nation. It is cruel to those who deviate from the pattern prescribed by historical forces and is favourable only to those who follow the Divine laws. Survival of the fittest does not mean only the physical fitness but moral and spiritual strength is also necessary to gain power and a place in the annals of history. He illustrates this point in the following line:

سبب کچھ اور ہے تو جس کو خود سمجھتا ہے زوال بندۂ سوسن کا بے زری سے نہیں !<sup>2</sup>

[You are fully aware of the reasons of the decline of the Muslims;

It is certainly not on account of want of money.]

According to Iqbal, history changes its course. New events take place with the forces of evolution; nevertheless the basic facts of history remain the same. According to him, the love for power, lust for money, domination over the weak—all are universal facts of life and have remained the same throughout different periods of history.

"Adam is old but the idols are young."

Thus his vision of human history is not merely the narration of facts; it is rather realisation of the empirical truth. According to him, life is not only for the conquest of the universe; its ultimate achievement is nearness to God. Living individuals, by their collective self, change the course of history. They create history. When this chain of historic man and God is weakened, it ends in tragedies. Thus the philosophical side of history, according to him, is that the events in this world never lead to mental peace. Man has to struggle to conquer happiness.

In his note-book. Stray Reflections, he notes:

"History is a sort of applied ethics. If ethics is to be an experimental science like other sciences, it must be based on the revelations of human experience. A public declaration of this view will surely shock the susceptibilities even of those who claim to be orthodox in morality but whose public conduct is determined by the teachings of history."

In his opinion, the interpretation of history

is a delicate and sensitive matter. Facts are to be sifted from fiction with care and caution. He says:

"History is only an interpretation of human motives; and, since we are liable to misinterpret the motives of our contemporaries and even of our own intimate friends and associates in daily life, it must be far more diffiult rightly to interpret the motives of those who lived centuries before us. The record of history, therefore, should be accepted with great caution."

He is delighted to read the glorious history of the Muslim community, and praises them in the following words:

"The more you reflect on the history of the Muslim community, the more wonderful does it appear. From the day of its foundation up to the beginning of the sixteenth century—about a thousand years—this energetic race (I say race since Islam has functioned as a race-making force) was continually busy in the all-absorbing occupation of political expansion. Yet in this storm of continuous activity this wonderful people found sufficient time to unearth and preserve the treasures of ancient sciences, to make material additions to them to build a literature of a unique character, and above all to develop a complete system of law—the most valuable legacy that Muslim lawyers have left us."5

His poetic mind thinks of a beautiful simile and compares history to a gramophone. He says that "History is a sort of a huge gramophone in

which the voices of nations are preserved."6

Now coming to the philosophical side of history, as a source of human knowledge, Iqbal considers history as a great power of inner experience. According to him, the function of Sufism in Islam has been to systematise mystic experience. But according to him Ibn Khaldun was the only Muslim historian who approached it in a thoroughly scientific spirit. In his book Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam Iqbal writes:

"But inner experience is only one source of human knowledge. According to the Quran there are two other sources of knowledge—Nature and History; and it is in tapping these sources of knowledge that the spirit of Islam is seen at its best."

#### He further elaborates that

"It is one of the most essential teachings of the Quran that nations are collectively judged, and suffer for their misdeeds here and now.... The Quran constantly cites historical instances, and urges upon the reader to reflect on the past and present experience of mankind."

Every nation has its fixed period (Holy Qur'an, vii. 32). Iqbal in his lecture, "The Spirit of Muslim Culture," included in his monumental work Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, has discussed at length the Quranic references in history. The Qur'an extends farther than mere

indication of historical generalisation. He says:

"Since accuracy in recording facts which constitute the material of history is an indispensable condition of history as a science, and an accurate knowledge of facts ultimately depends on those who report them, the very first pinciple of historical criticism is that the reporter's personal character is an important factor in judging his testimony. ... The growth of historical sense in Islam is a fascinating subject."

Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Ishaq, Tabari, and Mas'udi are the product of the desire to furnish permanent sources of inspiration to posterity.

According to Iqbal, the possibility of a scientific treatment of history means a wider experience, a greater maturity of practical reason, and finally a fuller realisation of certain basic ideas regarding the nature of life and time. These are based on two Quranic teachings: (1) the unity of human origin; (2) a keen perception of time and concept of life as a continuous movement in time.

Iqbal's concept of history is derived from Quranic teachings. Elaborating this aspect in the essay referred to above he says that "considering the direction in which the culture of Islam had unfolded itself, only a Muslim could have viewed history as a continuous, collective movement, a real inevitable development in time." 10

A living nation with the help of its collective ego may change the current of history. It will be an epoch-making nation. But if the collective unity is broken and forces of disintegration start working, the tragic side of the history of a nation is manifested. The creation of Pakistan is a unique feature of Muslim history. It is our sacred duty to preserve and safeguard it keeping in line with the golden period of Muslim history.

Let us remember the following admonishing verses of Allamah Iqbal:

وہ کل کے غم و عیش پہ کچھ حق نہیں رکھتا جو آج خود افروز و جگر سوز نہیں ہے! وہ قوم نہیں لائق بنگامۂ فدردا جس قوم کی تقدیر میں امروز نہیں ہے!

[ No claim to the future, its joy or its sorrow,
Has he in whose soul on hot passion burns now;
Unworthy the tumult and strife of tomorrow
That nation to whose will today does not bow.]

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# Iqbal's Philosophy of Human Dignity

Man is the central figure in the philosophic system of Iqbal: "His revaluation of man is not that of man-qua-man, but of man in relation to God." The concept of self-awareness and self-elevation of man in the thought process of Iqbal is the key point and the gamut of his basic philosophy. The idea of self-and selflessness is in fact the realisation of self-elevation. In a society these are the starting point of human dignity in Iqbal.

This elevates Iqbal to a poet and philosopher of human dignity and marks him as a poet of universal dimensions. His verses and writings are

thus sacred testaments of human dignity. As Iqbal derives his inspiration mainly from the Holy Qur'an his conception of Mard-i Mumin is the culminating point of a true Muslim adhering to full commandment and prohibition as exemplified in the Holy Book.

گر تو می خواهی مسلمان زیستن نیست ممکن جز بقرآن زیستن<sup>1</sup>
[If thou wouldst live the Muslim life anew
This cannot be, except by the Koran thou livest.]

Islam grants the highest dignity to human beings. Liberty, equality, and fraternity, the three slogans in the French Revolution, are actually borrowed from the Qur'an which grants these divine virtues to a man. These qualities are enjoined in Islam based on spiritual and moral strength. According to the Qur'an, man is the representative of God on earth. Its creation is the cause of caliphate and His vicegerency on earth. God has granted man full control over everything in this universe. Therefore, he should take advantage in this world instead of being an ascetic.<sup>2</sup>

Iqbal's Mard-i Mumin is inspired by the concept of Perfect Man of 'Abd al-Karim al-Jili and Maulana Rumi. The perpetual quest for a perfect man is the basic philosophy of both these luminaries on which the conquest of eternal happiness lies. Iqbal acknowledged Rumi as his

spiritual progenitor and admits his profound influence on his poetry and thought. Mualana Rumi's ideal man is illustrated in these verses:

دی شیخ با چراغ بهمی گشت گرد شهر کز دام و دو سلولم و انسانم آرزوست زین بهمریان سست عناصر دلم گرفت شیر خدا و رستم و دستانم آرزوست گفتم که یافت می نشود جسته ایم سا گفت آنکه یافت می نشود آنم آرزوست گفت آنکه یافت می نشود آنم آرزوست دا

[But yester-eve a lamp in hand,
The Shaykh did all the city span,
Sick of mere ghosts he sought a man,
But could find none in all the land.
"I Rustum or a Hyder seek,
I'm sick of snails, am sick," he said.
"There is none," said I. He shook his head,
"There's none like them, but still I seek."]

Iqbal selected these verses for the opening page of his famous mathnavi, Asrar-i Khudi. He later on included them in the monumental work Javid Namah. Iqbal's Mard-i Mumin and Rumi's ideal man in many respects are idential in character and attributes. Some of his lines are similar in themes and even similes are the same.

Iqbal's philosophy of love gets its inspiration from Rumi's concept of Divine love. To both these spiritual giants love of man is love of God. Man through love attains Divine attributes

and is therefore chosen to be His nearest creature.

Love, Fagr, contentment, courage, tolerance, creative activities—all help in the evolution of man. When man acquires Divine qualities his destiny is carved according to his own wishes. Thus he is an architect of his own fortune.

In his book The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam Iqbal describes the Advent of Adam on earth. The eating of the forbidden fruit as a sort of "man's transition from simple consciousness to the first flash of self-consciousness, a kind of waking from the dream of nature with a throb of personal casuality in one's own being". According to Iqbal, "Man's first act of disobedience was also his first act of free choice." Iqbal further elucidates the point: "That God has taken this risk shows His immense faith in man; it is for man now to justify this faith."5

Man's superiority and preponderance over angels is illustrated in many verses which adequately testify to his belief in immense human potentialities surpassing other creatures on earth.

فروغ آدم خاکی ز تازه کاری باست مه و ستاره کنند آنچه پیش ازین کردندهٔ

[Labours ever new Make man's dust to glow;

Moon and stars still do As long time ago.]

In Payam-i Mashriq, God complains that man created something which was not conceived by Him. They are the source of strife and destruction on earth.

Iqual replies that man, transfiguring himself, has, in fact, improved upon the Godly earth. He emerges as a sort of demiurge speaking to God eye to eye on equal terms.

A poem entitled "Insan" in Bang-i Dara reveals the creative faculty of man:

[If he desires, he may bring about a complete metamorphosis on the earth;

He is a wise, farsighted and powerful creature.]

God appreciates this creative genius of mankind.

The Prophet is the ideal man, true Mard-i Mumin. To Iqbal the Prophet's Mi'raj is the culmination of man's esteem and dignity. The ascension of the Prophet is a unique feature of man's spiritual achievement. Iqbal, paying high tribute to the Prophet (peace be upon him), says:

سبق ملا ہے یہ معراج مصطفیٰ سے مجھے کہ عالم ہشریت کی زد میں ہے گردوں!

[I have learnt from the Mi'raj of the Prophet That the whole sky is in man's grip.]

lqbal's magnum opus, Javid Namah, contains verses depicting human glorification.

But he repudiates those who are indolent, men of self-negation and inactive in equally condemnable words.

Iqbal's poem "Conquest of Nature" in Payam-i Mashriq and the welcome of the Spirit to earth in Bal-i Jibril illustrate that through self-justification man conquers time and space and attains nearness to God. In short, man is the best creation of God. Iqbal with this approach to human dignity is glorified as a universal poet of humanity.

In Asrar-i Khudi there is a dialogue between the river Ganges and Himalayas in which Sayyid Ali Hujwiri (Data Ganj Bakhsh) admonishes a non-Muslim youth which is based on equal respect for all religions and is quite in keeping with the Islamic principles of respect for all. Iqbal praises Napoleon and Mussolini also for their courage and strong personalities.

The last chapter of Javid Namah is based on his admonition to the new generation who should respect human beings irrespective of religion, caste or creed which is in consonance with the teachings of Islam.

آدسیت احترام آدمی باخبر شو از مقام آدمی! بندهٔ عشق از خدا گیرد طریق سی شود بر کافر و سوسن شفیق!<sup>10</sup>

[The glory of man lies in reverence of man;
Be aware of the dignity of man;
God's devotee follows His path;
He bestows affection equally on believers and non-believers.]

Thus, he preached universal brotherhood of mankind and his poetry gives us self-respect, confidence, with self-assertion. E.M. Forster, while talking of Iqbal's large-heartedness, asserts that "whatever his opinion, he was no fanatic, and he refers to Hindus and Christians with courtesy and respect."

"The idea of personality," he says, "gives us a standard of value; it settles the question of good and evil. That which fortifies personality is good, that which weakens it is bad. Art, religion, and ethics must be judged from the standpoint

of personality."

Iqbal describes the Perfect Man in these superlative terms: "He is the complete Ego, the goal of humanity, in him the discord of our mental life becomes a harmony. This highest power is united in him with the highest knowledge. In his life, thought and action, instinct and reason become one. He is the last fruit of the tree of humanity and all the trials of a painful evolution are justified because he is to come at the end. He is the real ruler of mankind, his kingdom is the kingdom of God on earth." Iqbal's Mard-i Mumin is particularly defined by him in these lines:

اس کی امیدیں قلیل اس کے مقاصد جلیل اس کی ادا دل فریب اس کی نگہ دل نواز ندرم دم جستجو ندرم دم جستجو رزم ہو یا بزم ہو پاک دل و پاک باز11

[His desires are few, his ideals are lofty,
His ways are gratuitous, his gaze is pleasing,
He is soft in speech but ardent in his quest,
In war as in peace, he is pure of heart and mind.]

The message of Iqbal has thus universal appeal and eternal value since it is not for individuals, or for one nation. It is for everyone under the sky. He was, in the true sense of the term, an expositer of exhilarating truth.

Iqbal revolts against inaction and expounded a philosophy of action through Ego, for he says: "in building up one's Ego lies the secret of Godhead". He further elucidates that "Throughout the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of Egohood till it reaches its perfection in man."

Man has to strive hard and face the hazards of life boldly to overcome the difficulties in his way. Constant endeavours to attain his full

stature by exploiting the qualities endowed to him is the exhortation Iqbal has hammered on. Life means action; inaction is death. Constant action and perpetual movement is the essence of

his philosophy.

However, the unlimited power given to man must be controlled and it is to be directed by higher and nobler ideals. By surrendering to the will of God and acting according to the commandment and prohibition of the Almighty, modelling his life on the pattern of the Prophet, an individual can attain perfection. In unequivocal terms, our Holy Book, the Qur'an, says: "Verily. We have given honour and dignity to man."

Iqbal thus tries to restore the lost dignity of man.

According to him, "the moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation and he attains this ideal by becoming more and more individual," more and more unique. "He Who comes closer to God is the completest person."

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### Iqbal's Philosophy of Human Dignity [6

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7. Bang-i Dara, p. 179.

8. Ibid., pp. 126-27.

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# Facets of Iqbal's Concept of Nationalism

Islamic polity, according to Iqbal, is based on the Unity of God (Tauhid). Hence it demands a complete loyalty to the Almighty and not to earthly thrones. In The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Iqbal says: "It demands loyalty to God, not to thrones. And since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts man's loyalty to his own ideal nature." Iqbal thus rejects the territorial basis of nationalism.

The divisions between human beings on the racial, geographical, social and economic grounds

is thus merged into one whole based on the idea of the unity of God, because allegiance to God is the ultimate aim of a society. Iqbal's cardinal philsosophy is the philosophy of the self. But as he explains in the introduction to his poem Asrar-i Khudi, he uses the word, not in the ordinary or in the traditional sense, but to denote "selfawareness" or "self-determination". Thus he has given a new meaning to or dimension of the word not connotated in a general sense. This individualistic concept of Iqbal reveals the fact that earthly fear is meaningless to an upholder of the "secret of self" which gives him a noble and sublime character for the betterment of the society he lives in.

Khudi is the source and strength for life both for the individual and the society. Self-revelation with immense potentiality is a boon for the society. It preserves our history and cultural heritage.

The universe, according to McTaggart, is the association of individuals, and individuals have their meaning only if they are united together. Thus Iqbal gives the individualistic idea only to see a powerful Millat.

فرد قائم ربط ملت سے ہے تنہا کچھ نہیں موج ہے دریا میں اور بیرون دریا کچھ نہیں<sup>2</sup> [Individuals have their strength only in Unity,

Waves have their existence only in a river; outside the river, they are reduced to nothingness.]

Thus self-affirmation leads to the highest ideals of man in society. It is strengthened by love. Love in its highest forms gives a sense of value and respect for the Creator and His creation. Through it there flows a law of mutual respect. Thus Iqbal's individualism is in complete accord with society or community. Here he is bound to the earth and does not soar to heaven.

Writing about Iqbal, Arberry says:

"But he was not interested merely in the individual and his self-realization; he was equally concerned with the evolution of an ideal society, or community as he preferred to call it. It is only as a member of this community that the individual, by the twin principles of conflict and concord, is able to express himself fully and ideally; it is only as an association of self-affirming individuals that the community can come into being and perfect itself. Iqbal thus escapes from libertarianism by limiting the individual's freedom, making him a member of a homogeneous community, and from totalitarianism by limiting the community's authority, making it a challenge and not an insurmountable obstacle to the individual's self-realization."

Thus the individual and the community, according to Iqbal, are complementary to each other. The individual gains strength from society while society gains respectability from individuals that are well organised.

The community, however, would be guided by the principles of justice, equity and sense of brotherhood and the strong and benevolent leadership like that of the Prophet of Islam. Only in such community a virile and strong leadership will emerge which in turn will work for the common good of the common people and will further bring a healthy and congenial environment. In such a community, democratic forces will work and provide a greater scope for the people to participate in the affairs of the State.

Thus it is imperative that such society should evolve in which the latent power of the individual is developed; this consequently necessitates the evolution of a society having an ideal social, economic, political, moral and spiritual conditions in which individuals have the maximum scope of utilising their talents and potentialities. It is the State's responsibility to help grow such a homogeneous society. Such a society cannot grow in a vacuum. It has a territorial base. But the geographical boundary is not the end of the political aspirations of a nation; it has to convert itself into an ideal nation.

Society, for Iqbal, is not merely an association of self-affirming individuals. It is, in fact, an association of persons with a necessary bipolar dialectic. In Iqbal's society, self-denial goes along with self-affirmation. Both these opposing ten-

oencies in individuals give rise to a higher stage of existence and it is that of social cooperation. This social cooperation issues itself in the cultural spirit of the society, in its value-structures, ethical system and common beliefs. Iqbal's Rumzu-i Bekhudi shows this inner structure of human society and it must be kept in mind to understand Iqbal's conception of nationalism. A word of caution must be put with regard to Iqbal's concept of self-denial. It should not be taken to mean self-annihilation or selfimmolation, as is the case with some non-Islamic and Hindu philosophies. It means denying to the self. This falls short of human dignity and sublimity. Self-denial, in the true sense of the word, is Fagr.

Contemporary nationalism, in fact, is not different from love for place and family of the ancient tribal societies. This, however, leads to parochial and racial discrimination and is opposed to the idea of the usual kinship or relationship of humanity at large. Iqbal's main source of this inspiration is the Qur'an which very explicitly exhorts people to be above race, colour, language and tribal affiliation. Therefore, Iqbal keeps the high ideals and teachings of Islam in mind and preaches for the unity of mankind. In Islam, he finds an answer to this universal brotherhood.<sup>4</sup>

Islam teaches that all Muslims are brothers irrespective of territorial connections, but they must identify themselves with one society. This conception of society advocated by Iqbal is erroneously called Pan-Islamism. It is, in fact, the true Islamic concept of universal brother-hood.

قلب ما از بهند و روم و شام نیست مرزبوم او بجز اسلام نیست و ... Neither is our heart

Of India, or Syria or Rum,

Nor any fatherland do we profess

Except Islam.]

Territorial nationalism is the root of social and political evil. It has put nations against each other and has led to much suffering for humanity at large. Even Western thinkers have realised its sinister aim whereas:

"Islam was from the very beginning a civil society, having received from the Qur'an a set of simply legal principles which, like the twelve tables of the Romans, carried, as experience subsequently proved, great potentialities of expression and development by interpretation. The nationalistic theory of State, therefore, is misleading inasmuch as it suggests a dualism which does not exist in Islam."

The Qur'an is the guiding principle and the law which binds the members of Islamic society into one organised whole:

گر تو سی خواهی مسلمان زیستن نیست ممکن جز بقرآن زیستن 6

[If thou wouldst live the Muslim life anew
This cannot be except by the Koran
Thou livest.]

One would naturally ask: How could Iqbal pass from his universal brotherhood to the idea of Pakistan, as a distinct nation? How can a person reconcile Iqbal's internationalism with his nationalism as expressed in his demand for Pakistan? We must remember that Iqbal has two bases for the demand for Pakistan. Firstly, Islam is not, like other religions, a private affair; secondly, the concept of Pakistan is based on Islamic principles of life, not on territorial nationalism which tears society into pieces. These principles of life are distinctly different from those of other societies and accordingly generate a different value-structure. Iqbal has this in mind. The Muslims need a homeland, the way we have a body. However, our bodily limitations are no bar to our aspirations; boundaries of Pakistan are no obstacle for realising our ideals.

Similarly, regional aspirations are the outcome of ideal Islamic aspirations which are to be realised through regional efforts. It is like realising Divine injunctions through individual efforts. Individual ideals do not make Divine ideals redundant; rather the former get their content by

the latter and not vice versa.

The talk about regional culture must be in the light of these thoughts. As a matter of fact, local and regional cultures are the component parts of the super-culture which is the Islamic culture from which they derive their worth. In other words, the sub-cultures are like the essential organs of a body without which the concept of a person with a proportionate figure cannot be conceived. It is like bricks and mortar; with their uniform mixture alone a magnificent building can be raised. The Muslims in other countries have different social customs, rituals and linguistic and cultural heritage, yet, without any racial and parochial prejudices, they are one on one ideology—the followers of one Holy Prophet and reciters of one Kalimah witnout any antagonistic feeling toward each other.

For Iqbal the individual's life should be adorned by God and His Messenger. The Prophet is the arch-builder of the society. In respect of Islam, he is the final Prophet. This means that the principles of social reconstruction are complete and final.

What we have said so far about Iqbal's views

on nationalism is:

(a) Here a distinction ought to be made between territorial and geographical nationalism and supra-territorial nationalism.

(b) That societies owe their existence to cooperation, but this cooperation must encompass the entire human race, keeping in view the principle of social and community life having supraterritorial elements (Islamic principles).

(c) From this follows that the talk about regional loyalties and regional cultures is merely to deny social cohesion and is manifestly a betrayal of Islamic universal-

ism.

(d) The demand for the creation of Pakistan was based on universal principles of life and not on particular or regional considerations.

I now turn to the historical reason which led to the development of the territorial nationalism in the West. In this regard I refer to Iqbal's address in the Muslim League Session in Allahabad in 1930. Here Iqbal says that the rejection of Christianity as a unifying moral force led to the division of Europe into different nationalities and this finally developed into political philosophies of national loyalties and parochial considerations. Once Europe got divided into a dozen nations, their industrial and colonial interests clashed with each other and resulted in numerous wars between them. Iqbal believed, and rightly too, that economic changes have pro-

found effects on social attitudes. Once the destiny of societies was identified in Europe with geographical loyalties and social interests were identified with economic, industrial and colonial interests, the centre of reference was shifted from faith to political authority. Religious ties were replaced by territorial patriotism and regional loyalties, and nationalism was identified with secularism.

However, political ascendency of Europe over the East influenced the Eastern political thinking. Hence we too have this jaundiced view of socio-political life. Iqbal fights against such a view since for him separation of religion from political or social life finally ends into "Changeziate"—the symbol of brutality and barbarousness.

التعمام in any part of the Muslim States. التعمام جداً ہو دیں سیاست سے تو رہ جاتی ہے چنگیزی<sup>7</sup> in and

[If religion is separated from politics, there remains nothing but barbarity.]

Iqbal was the first person amongst the modern Muslim thinkers to realise the gravity and magnitude of this problem. His verses as well as prose writings are pregnant with this burning topic which is even today a menacing problem to all of us. In Pakistan, it shows itself in the form of the slogan of four nationalities. As said earlier,

In the early days of Islam this brought about a complete change in the existing Arab social order which was based on class and tribe. The Arabs submitted to the code of life which was divinely ordained and practised, through Sunnah. After his migration to Medina the Prophet gave a constitution for the State. This revolutionised the whole socio-political system. Tribal loyalty was shifted from class to God and in political and social terms to Ummah (community) based on Faith instead of kinship or any other relation.

For centuries the Muslims believed in "universal Islamic brotherhood" and considered Caliphate as the best political organisation. This gave rise to the idea of Dār al-Islām, the place of believers, having complete freedom to move

freely in any part of the Muslim States.

However, when complacence set in and Islamic perspective got shifted, the Western nationalistic outlook crept in imperceptibly in some of the Muslim States like Turkey and Indonesia, for instance. A section of the Muslim world adhered to the principles of universal Muslim brotherhood, whereas a section fell under a secular type of nationalism.

Credit goes to Iqbal in that he gave a lead to the Muslim world in expressed terms and, except for a few years prior to his departure for Europe when he advocated for narrow nationalism, he always held that territorial loyalty is the divisive curse in the body politic of the Muslim nation.

During his stay in Europe (1905-08), a great change came in his political thought. This was, in fact, a reaction against the materialistic view of life in Europe, and a deep study of the European intellectual environment led him to think differently. He was completely disillusioned and disenchanted with the Europe of that age.

He realised that, if this kind of nationalism is followed by the Muslims, it will create disunity and discord among them. This is further indicated during World War I when a section of Muslims in the Arab world collaborated with the British against the Turks. Iqbal, in reply to a statement of Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani, said:

"I have been repudiating the concept of nationalism since the time when it was not known in India and the Muslim world. At the very start it had become clear to me from the writings of European authors that the imperialistic designs of Europe were in great need of this effective weapon—ihe propagation of the European conception of nationalism in Muslim countries—to shatter the religious unity of Islam to pieces."

I now come to what Iqbal has to say about Patriotism and Nationalism, Iqbal had a clear

notion of patriotism and nationalism. For him "Patriotism is a perfectly natural virtue and has a place in the moral life of a man," and "Nationalism in the sense of one's love of one's country and even readiness to die for its honour is a part of Muslims' faith."

However, Iqbal explicitly distinguishes modern nationalism in a political sense with patriotism as a virtue.

Alluding to the Prophet's saying: "Love of one's homeland is a part of faith," he says in one of his verses:

[Love for a land in the political sense Is different from the Prophet's saying.]

Iqbal's condemnation of nationalism is not a condemnation of love for the fatherland. "It is a condemnation of the modern concept of a nation, since the idea of nation is not merely geographical; it is rather a principle of human society and as such it is a political concept."

Iqbal's opposition to modern nationalism is Islamic and human—which are two sides of the same coin. If he was not tilted so much to the religious side, as some of his critics say, he would have reasons to oppose it on the ground of his

broad human outlook which has strong feeling for mankind, since modern nationalism tends to narrow down brotherly feeling and broad human outlook.

Iqbal's nationalism not only contains both universalism and patriotism, as we have seen, but also Islamic humanitarianism. The third element is unity in diversity.

It should not be thought that Iqbal, through his concept of nationalism, reduces all diversity to a neutral colour. Iqbal is alive to the demands of individual caprices. In his writings, he keeps in view the present-day conditions. He allows for diversity which enriches cultural homogeneity.

We have already observed that Iqbal's thought involves a necessary dialectic of self-assertion and self-denial. This bipolar dialectic adds colour to national aspiration and gives it a life of neverending dynamism.

In conclusion I would say that Iqbal's nationalism not only goes beyond the traditional Western concepts, but it also gives it a more contemporary significance. Pakistan is not only the spiritual brain child of Iqbal, but, in one respect, it can get new energy from Iqbal's concept of nationalism. Our national integrity lies, as does its origin, in an awareness of our spiritual moorings. I believe that most of us would agree that Iqbal's concept of nationalism is not only a

blueprint for our national integration, but also a message for Islamic brotherhood. It has been nicely illustrated by his poem "Mecca and Geneva":

الم اس دور میں اقوام کی صحبت بھی ہوئی عام پوشیدہ نگا ہوں سے رہی وحدت آدم! مال مکمت افرنگ کا مقصود تقریق ملل حکمت افرنگ کا مقصود اسلام کا مقصود فقط ملت آدم! اسلام کا مقصود فقط ملت آدم! اسلام کا مقصود خیوا کو یہ پیغام مکم خیوا کو یہ پیغام مکم جمعیت آدم ؟ 12 معیت آدم \* 12 معیت آدم \*

[The association of nations is very common these days, but the unity of mankind is hidden from our sight.

The disruption of human communities is the mission of Frankish statesmanship: the object of Islam is the unity of mankind.

Mecca gives this message to the soil of Geneva: A league of nations or a league of human beings?]

I end this paper with Iqbal's words which, in fact, summarise his message. Only three months before his death (on 1 January 1938) in a New Year message, he said:

"Only one unity is dependable, and that unity is the brotherhood of man, which is above race, nationality, colour or language. So long as this so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism and this degraded imperialism are not shattered, so long as men do not demonstrate by their actions that they believe that the whole world is the family of God, so long as distinctions of race, colour and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely,

## Facets of Iqbal's Concept of Nationalism [7

they will never be able to lead a happy and contented life and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialise."13

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## The Seer and the Realist

Hardly we find examples in History of such a curious combination of two great personalities having different psyches, diametrically opposite in views and unlike in approach to life, coming so close to achieve a common goal that their ideas and ideals become absolutely identical.

The sincerity of their purpose, their political acumen and national feeling bring them together to the same objective. One was the visionary and the other, a realist. Faithful vision and practical wisdom brought forth a unique and concrete result in the shape of Pakistan.

In his historic Presidential Address delivered at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad in December 1930, Iqbal stressed that "religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as States," and stated further "that Islam is itself a Destiny and will not suffer a destiny." This approach to vindicate the Muslim mind in the subcontinent was the key point to see a "distinct cultural unit in India" which formed the basis of the demand for a separate homeland for Muslims. He said in the same address: "I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. . . . Yet I have the communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture and thereby recreation of its whole past as a living operative factor in my present consciousness."2 He justified the "Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India."3

He put forth the demand embodied in the resolution. He said:

"I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the

final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India."4

He further said: "The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory."

This demand was based on "comparatively homogeneous communities possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity."

In that very address he described the quality of a leader:

"By leaders I mean men who, by divine gift or experience, possess a keen perception of the spiritual destiny of Islam, along with an equally keen perception of the trend of modern history. Such men are really the driving forces of a people, but they are God's gift and cannot be made to order."

He definitely found in the Quaid-i Azam the Divine quality of a great leader. He retorted and silenced a questioner who wanted to know the intrinsic quality of Mr Muhammad Ali Jinnah saying that "He is incorruptible ond unpurchasable".8

The complete faith of Iqbal in the leadership of Mr Jinnah to guide the Muslims of the subcontinent resulted into his perseverance and persuasion to Mr Jinnah. In 1930, while Iqbal was placing his demand for a separate State, Jinnah was still hoping for Hindu-Muslim unity. It took Iqbal quite a long time to convince him. After

ten long years the demand culminated in the Lahore Resolution. "It was in fact the spirit of Iqbal that showed itself through Muhammad Ali Jinnah," writes Matlub al-Hasan Saiyid: "Iqbal is no more amongst us,' said Mr. Jinnah to the author once, 'but had he been alive he would have been happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted us to do.""

In a private and confidential letter to Mr Jinnah on 21 June 1937, Iqbal wrote to him:

"As you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India."

In that letter he suggested a "separate federation of Muslim provinces" and included Bengal also in the scheme of his separate State. He wrote:

"Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal he considered as nations entitled to selfdetermination just as other nations in India and outside India are?" 10

The Quaid-i Azam reciprocated his feelings paying high tributes to Iqbal in these words:

"It was a great achievement for Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority and minority Provinces. Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very

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conspicuous part, though at the time not revealed to public, in bringing out this consummation. He had his own doubts about Sikandar-Jinnah Pact being carried out and he was anxious to see it translated into some tangible results without delay so as to dispel popular misapprehension about it, but unfortunately he has not lived to see that the Punjab has all round made a remarkable progress and now it is beyond doubt that the Muslims stand solidly behind the Muslim League Organisation."11

This reflects Jinnah's complete faith in Iqbal's genuine feeling for emancipation and well-being of the distressed Indian Muslims. While Iqbal was long ago disillusioned and had forsaken the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity, Jinnah clung till the last moment to bring them together.

There were differences between them on the issue of joint electorate for which Mr Jinnah advocated with certain reservations, but Iqbal was the champion of separate electorate. Mr Jinnah was satisfied at Lucknow Pact and considered it a step forward towards Hindu-Muslim unity, but Iqbal was not happy over this decision. Mr Jinnah considered that half the battle had been won, but Iqbal could foresee the disillusionment, because Muslims were confronted with two opponent groups, viz. Hindus and the British.

As early as 1909, while writing to Munshi Ghulam Qadir Farrukh of Amritsar, Iqbal in unequivocal terms denounced the idea of HinduMuslim unity. He considered it in the best interests of Hindus and Muslims to maintain their national distinction and individuality. In December 1927, when Muslim League accepted joint electorate, Iqbal differed. Muslim League was divided into two camps. Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali were with Mr Jinnah on this issue. Mr. jinnah was the President and Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew was the Secretary of one League while Sir Muhammad Shafi was the President and Dr Muhammad Iqbal, the Secretary, of the other group of Muslim League which reiterated its demand for separate electorate. Mr Jinnah had a point. He wanted to maintain a political equipoise. He said:

"It is to maintain this balance that Mussalmans have taken a simple and juster method with the reciprocity clause. If this main proposition was accepted by Hindus, then I feel that it will lead to a hopeful atmosphere and settlement is within reach. I am personally not wedded to separate electorates, although I must say that the overwhelming majority of Mussalmans firmly and honestly believe that this is the only method by which they can be secure." 12

Mr Jinnah boycotted the Simon Commission, but Iqbal, under the impelling circumstances, accepted the Commission. This is possibly the only political issue on which they differed with

each other. Soon after the famous Nehru Report, Muslims, though disillusioned, were divided amongst themselves. Some opposed it, some wanted some amendments in this Report and there was a group that accepted it. This Report did not accept the separate entity of Mussalmans in India. Therefore, All-Parties Muslim Conference was convened, at Delhi, in January 1929. Iqbal was one of the initiators of this Conference. Muslim leaders from different groups attended the Conference. Sir Agha Khan was the President of this Conference. There was a resolution with regard to the political demands of Muslims in India and later on Mr Jinnah came with his famous Forteen Points and thus the two factions of Muslim League came together. This brought Iqbal into more limelight as a sagacious political leader and he was invited to preside over the Annual Session of All-India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930. His historic Presidential Address, as mentioned earlier, proved to be the milestone of Pakistan movement. Iqbal was not invited to the Second Round Table Conference in London in 1931. Sir Agha Khan was the leader of the Muslim delegates. Iqbal was a vocal member. He spoke on the problems of Indian Muslims, reiterated his demand for a separate State for them. This, however, was not fully appreciated and so Iqbal was disappointed and soon left for

Italy. Iqbal joined the Third Round Table Conference in November 1932. It is said that he did not participate much in its deliberations since he was opposed to the formation of any Central Government or Federation and advocated for autonomy of the Provinces.

autonomy of the Provinces.

In the Third Round Table Conference Iqbal pleaded that there should be no Central Government in the subcontinent and that the Provinces should be autonomous and independent. During this very Conference in 1932 he exchanged privately his views with different persons in London regarding a separate Muslim State. Amongst them Chowdhry Rahmat Ali of Cambridge University was notable who, on the basis of Iqbal's idea, coined the word "Pakistan" and published a pamphlet, Now or Never, and popularised the demand for Pakistan. "The word itself means the land of the pure. It gave expression to Iqbal's idea and was both a symbol and a slogan." Jinnah met Sir Muhammad Iqbal many times in London, and they were good friends. But, despite his disillusionment, Jinnah did not yield to Iqbal's arguments. Almost a decade was to pass before he admitted that he had "finally been led to [Iqbal's] the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India."13 Allamah Iqbal mentioned this in a letter to the Quaid-i Azam in these

words:

"I remember Lord Lothian told me before I left England that my scheme was the only possible solution of the troubles of India, but that it would take 25 years to come." 14

In the "Joint Select Committee," Mr Jinnah was not included. The Congress boycotted this and thus the Committee ended without any fruitful result.

From 1931 to 1934 Mr Jinnah lived mostly in London. This was almost the period of his selfexile and aloofness from Indian politics, but not unconcerned totally with the interests and political future of Indian Muslims. His friends were constantly in touch with him. Nawabzadah Liaqat Ali Khan requested him to come back to India to guide the Muslims. He subsequently decided to come to India in April 1934 and, while presiding over the All-India Muslim League, he appealed to Indian Muslims to sink their differences and join the Muslim League to strengthen his hands to fight for Muslim cause. He was elected unopposed a member of the Central Legislative Assembly from Bombay according to the India Act of 1935.

Mr Jinnah now mustered his strength to unite Muslims together since they were divided and every Province had its own leader and party. Iqbal gave his full support when he came to Lahore in 1935 to form the Parliamentary Board for elections, A Conference of Punjab League Council was convened under the chairmanship of Iqbal. Sir Fazle Hussain was a very strong leader of the Unionist Party, but Iqbal extended his full cooperation to Mr Jinnah, the reference to which has already been made earlier. The Quaid-i Azam paid high tributes to him for his unflinching support. Iqbal wholeheartedly supported Quaid's mission and was not prepared to hear a word against him. "By 1939, he [Quaid-i Azam] was driven to see wisdom in Pakistan idea and from the acceptance of the Act of 1935 he now swings to Iqbal's themes."

Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah contains only thirteen letters written to the Quaid-i Azam during the period from 13 May 1936 to 10 November 1937. The book was published in 1942 by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf of Lahore with a Foreword by the Quaid-i Azam, which shows the regard and respect the Quaid-i Azam had for Allamah Iqbal. These letters are of great historixal importance written during the crucial days for Muslims in India dealing with many important issues of the time. Unfortunately the Quaid-i Azam's letters to Iqbal have remained untraceable so far.

The Quaid-i Azam, paying tributes to Iqbal, writes:

"I think these letters are of very great historical importance, particularly those which explain his views in clear and unambiguous terms on the political future of Muslim India. His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India, and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumberated in the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as the 'Pakistan Resolutian' passed on 23rd March, 1940." 15

I would now quote the high tributes the Quaid-i Azam paid to Allamah Iqbal on different occasions to show the deep love and regard they had for each other:

"The Muslim League has already deplored the loss of Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal. His death, too, is an irreparable loss to Muslim India. He was a personal friend of mine and composer of the finest poetry in the world, He will live as long as Islam will live. His noble poetry interprets the true aspirations of the Muslims of India. It will remain an inspiration for us and for generations after us."

While presiding over the Annual Muslim League Session at Allahabad in 1930, Allamah Iqbal advocated in clear terms the establishment of an autonomous State of Muslim Majority Provinces. It is a pity that some of the eminent scholars today, despite Iqbal's unambiguous demand for a single State, make such irresponsible

and unpalatable statements as the following:

"It must be remembered that Iqbal did not argue for a Muslim State, but only for a Muslim bloc in an Indian federation. Moreover, Bengal and Assam (the present East Pakistan) did not enter into his calculations. It is grossly misleading to call him the originator of the idea of Pakistan or the poet who dreamed of Pakistan. He never talked of partition and his ideal was that of a getting together of the Muslim provinces in the north-west so as to bargain more advantage with the projected Hindu centre." 16

The author adds that: "It is one of the myths of Pakistani nationalism to saddle Iqbal with the parentage of Pakistan." If we accept this interpretation of the worthy scholar, the very basic conception of the demand for Pakistan as a separate homeland is totally shattered. "Iqbal advocated partition: he even demanded, and defined the frontiers of a proposed 'consolidated Muslim State,' which, he believed, would be 'in the best interests of India and Islam,'" writes Hector Bolitho, the author of Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan.<sup>17</sup>

It is true that Allamah Iqbal did not include Bengal and Assam in his scheme of one State in the Allahabad address, but in his letter to the Quaid-i Azam he explicitly mentions Bengal to be included in "a separate federa ion of Muslim Provinces". He further elaborates his views

suggesting to the Quaid-i Azam: "Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?" In the light of these words it is obvious that the Allamah later on included Bengal also in his demand for a separate State which is further corroborated by the Quaid-i Azam's own statement referred to above wherein he says: that "His views were substantially in consonance with my own."

Late Mr Mumtaz Hasan has given us a very clear picture of what Iqbal actually visualised at the time he made his celebrated Allahabad Address:

"Speeking of the 1930 address, I am reminded of a personal anecdote. When Iqbal returned to Lahore from Allahabad, I went to see him. I was still a student at College and felt greatly perturbed at his reference to self-government for the new Muslim state, 'within the British Empire'. 'Why did you say that Sir?' said I: 'Why must our Muslim State remain within the British Empire?' His first response was a smile: 'You will notice,' said he, 'that I have said, self-government within or without the British Empire.' You are worried about "within," but there are so many others who told me they are worried about "without". 'But why did you have to say that at all, Sir?' I insisted. 'Because,' said he, 'while I see the establishment of a Muslim State as inevitable in the process of history, I cannot see clearly, at least at present, whether it will be with-

in or without the British Empire.' I had to keep quiet. Here was a man who was utterly loyal to his vision, who told you what he saw clearly and what he did not." 19

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# Iqbal and the Quaid-i Azam

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The achievement of Pakistan is a great tribute to the farsightedness of Allamah Iqbal and the unfailing statesmanship of the Quaid-i Azam. Both were motivated by patriotic spirit. How splendid that Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Muhammad Iqbal had the name of our Holy Prophet, the benefactor of humanity, common in their names! In this context, it is interesting to note that both the Quaid-i Azam and Allamah Iqbal were ardent lovers of the Prophet (peace be on him). The Quaid-i Azam once said that he joined the Lincoln's Inn because on the main

entrance of that institution the name of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) was included among the great law-givers of the world. The Allamah's intense love for the Prophet is proverbial. His emotional attachment is evident from these lines:

[.... If thou look

To prove the truth that lies within my words,

Gazing with Abu Bakr's veracious eyes,

The Prophet, power and strength of soul and heart.

Becometh more beloved than God Himself.]

In the context of Pakistan today Iqbal and Jinnah are synonymous. They are two sides of the same coin.

The greatness of their achievement can be realised only when the social, economic, political and cultural conditions of the time in which they lived are studied.

Iqbal had to fight on many fronts. The British, the Hindus and the nationalist Muslims, particularly the Punjab Unionist Party—all were formidable opponents, Mian Sir Fazle Hussain, the champion of the Unionist Party of Hindu and Muslim landlords, being one of them. But he, through his poetry, speeches and writings, impressed upon the Muslims of India that their

salvation was not in United India. They must have their separate homeland. He had to incur the displeasure of many in the beginning which has been aptly described in the following lines:

[My friends and foes—all are angry, But I had to say the truth.]

Both the Quaid-i Azam and Iqbal had their political conviction. They stood like a rock against all odds and oddities.

Iqbal has composed a poem titled Mard-i Buzurg ("A Great Man") which aptly describes both these great personalities, Quaid-i Azam and Iqbal:

[His vision is different from that of his age; Even the saints are not aware of his qualities.]

Honesty, sincerity, selflessness and straightforwardness are the qualities of a true Muslim. These virtues were inherent in abundance in both:

[Loftiness of idea, soft-spokenness and vigour of life, Are the property of the leader of the caravan.] The Quaid-i Azam and Iqbal both are the true emblem of thes qualities of Mard-i Mumin as described by Iqbal in these lines:

ہو حلقہ یاراں تو بریشم کی طرح نرم رزم حق و باطل ہو تو فولاد ہے سوسن !5

[In the company of friends he (Mumin) is as soft as silk;

If there is a fight for truth and falsehood he is as hard as iron.]

جس سے جگر لالہ میں ٹھنڈک ہو وہ شبتم! اور اللہ میں ٹھنڈک ہو وہ شبتم! دریاؤں کے دل جس سے دہل جائیں وہ طوفان! 6

[Like dew drops which refresh the heart of tulip, The storm which brings uproar in the heart of rivers.]

Their love for truth, their fearlessness and devotion to the Holy Prophet go a long way to make them successful in their fight for Pakistan.

We are indebted to Iqbal, not only for his beautiful poetry and wonderful dynamic philosophy of life, but for upholding the rights of the Muslims of India. Concrete idea of Pakistan was brought into existence by Quaid-i Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Allamah Iqbal entered politics, not for the lust of power and position, but for establishing the right of self-determination of the Indian Muslims and secure a homeland for them where they could live honourably with their Islamic

way of life, culture and their own heritage. The basis for demanding Pakistan was not only the apprehension of the domination of Hindus, or merely economic emancipation, but it was demanded on ideological grounds, i.e. on the basis of the two-nation theory. Muslims are Muslims, Hindus are Hindus, like Rudyard Kipling's "West is West and East is East and never the twain shall meet."

While delivering the historic Presidential Address at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League, Allahabad, in 1930, Iqbal in unequivocal words said:

"I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities....

Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour, and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole part as a living operative factor in my present consciousness."

We hear the same echo so beautifully phrased in Jinnah's retort to Gandhi:

"We are a nation, with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and tradition, aptitudes and emotions; in short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation."

This is, in fact, the same concept of the separate identity of which Iqbal had been giving to the Muslims through his writings and poetry.

It is interesting to note that in the early part of their lives both Iqbal and Jinnah were champions of Hindu-Muslim unity. But both were disillusioned by the sinister designs of the Congress and Hindus in India. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was so much depressed and dejected by the petty-mindedness and fanaticism of Hindus that he left India and sought a sort of asylum in London. He was not hopeful of the bright future for Muslims in India.

In December 1928, when Mr Jinnah as a leader of Muslim League suggested some amendments in the Nehru Report which was accepted by the All-Parties Conference at Lucknow, it was outright rejected by the All-Parties Convention at Calcutta, although Mr Jinnah had joined hands with Hindus against the British and boycotted the Simon Commission. This shocked Mr Jinnah and he understood the evil designs of Hindus in India. How Mr Jinnah reacted is described by his friend Mr Jamshed Nausherwanji:

<sup>&</sup>quot;One man said that Mr Jinnah had no right to speak on behalf of the Muslims—that he did not represent them. He was humbled, and he went back to his hotel.

<sup>&</sup>quot;About half-past eight next morning, Mr Jinnah left

Calcutta by train, and I went to see him off at the railway station. He was standing at the door of his first-class coupe compartment, and he took my hand. He had tears in his eyes as he said, 'Jamshed, this is the parting of the ways.' "8

Iqbal had already visualised the parting of the ways. As early as 1909, in a letter to Ghulam Qadir Farrukh of Amritsar, he rejected the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity. In 1927, Maulana Qarshi, one of his compatriots, wanted Muslims to join hands with Hindus against the British in their own interest. Iqbal wrote to him that Hindus wanted only internal autonomy and they did not want the British to quit India.

Allamah Iqbal, who dominated the Muslim political thought, becomes more vocal for political safeguard of the Muslims of India. While presiding over the annual session of the Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930, he strongly advocated the establishment of an autonomous State of North-Western Muslim majority provinces. I quote his words:

"I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West-India." 9

Late Mr Mumtaz Hasan has given us interest-

ing information about it in his article "Iqbal As A Seer":

"Speaking of the 1930 address, I am reminded of a personal anecdote. When Iqbal returned to Lahore from Allahabad, I went to see him. I was still a student at College and felt greatly perturbed at his reference to selfgovernment for the new Muslim state, 'within the British Empire'. 'Why did you say that?' said I; 'why must our Muslim state remain within the British Empire?' His first response was a smile. 'You will notice,' said he, 'that I have said, "self-government within or without the British Empire". You are worried about "within," but there are so many others who told me they are worried about "without".' 'But why did you have to say that at all, Sir ?' I insisted. 'Because,' said he, 'while I see the establishment of a Muslim state as inevitable in the process of history, I cannot see clearly, at least at present, whether it will be within or without the British Empire.' I had to keep quiet. Here was a man who was utterly loyal to his vision, who told you what he saw clearly and what he did not."10

## Allamah Iqbal further said:

"The life of Islam as a cultural force in the country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specificd territory. This centralisation of the most living portion of the Muslims of India . . . will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia." 11

His interest in politics and demand for a separate State were motivated by his inner commitment to his own ideals for the preservation of the cultural heritage of the Musalmans of the subcontinent. By preaching and propagating this ideal ceaselessly he laid the foundation of Pakistan. He wrote letters to the Quaid-i Azam stating the necessity of Pakistan and persuaded him to fight for the cause of the Muslims of India. These letters written during the period May 1936 to November 1937 were published with a Foreword by the Quaid-i Azam himself which shows his invaluable contribution towards the making of Pakistan. In the brief Foreword the Quaid-i Azam says:

"I think these letters are of very great historical importance, particularly those which explain his views in clear and unambiguous terms on the political future of Muslim India. His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India, and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumberated in the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as the 'Pakistan Resolution,' passed on 23rd March, 1940.''12

The poetry of Iqbal is a definite contribution to human thought and knowledge and his message is at once noble, sublime and invigorating. His views are not only identical to those of the Quaid-i Azam in poetical thought but are also in consonance with his message of hope, unity, faith and action. Unity, Faith and Discip-

line, the motto of the Quaid-i Azam, also forms the guiding principle for human struggle in Iqbal:

یقیں محکم ، عمل پیہم ، محبت فامخ عالم جہاد زندگانی میں ہیں یہ مردوں کی شمشیریں13

[Faith, constant struggle and intense love are the conqueror of the world;

In the struggle of life for men of valour, these qualities are like swords.]

The Quaid-i Azam described Iqbal as a friend, guide and philosopher and added, "during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go, he stood like a rock and never flinched for one single moment".

In his Presidential Address of Allahabad in 1930, Iqbal advocated for a separate homeland for Muslims of India. He said:

"Islam can remain alive as a cultural force only if it is concentrated in a territory. Indeed, Islam does not mean a private relationship between man and God. It is a system of Government and this system had been determined before any Rousseau had even thought of any."

In August 1941, in Hyderabad (Deccan), the Quaid-i Azam, answering a question, summarised the concept of the Islamic State in the following lines which are very near to Iqbal's concept as explained in his Allahabad address:

"It must always be borne in mind that the distinguish-

ing characteristics of the Islamic state is that in it God is the source of all obedience and allegience. The practical way of doing this is the establishment of the supremacy of the Quran. In Islam there is no obedience to any king, parliament, person or institution. The laws of the Quran alone determine the boundaries of our limits and freedom in politics and society. Islamic state, in other words, is the supremacy of and government by the Quranic laws and principles. And for government you need territory and a state."

After 1930 theoretically the conception of Pakistan was accepted. It was now the choice of a leader. Iqbal defines the qualification and attributes of a leader in these words:

"By leader I mean one who by divine gift or experience possesses a keen perception of the spirit and as destiny of Islam along with the equally deep perception of the trend of modern history. Such men are really the divine forces of a people, but they are God's gift and cannot be made to order."

And definitely he found such a leader in the Quaid-i Azam.

His famous line, as a matter of fact, is applicable to both these luminaries:

[For thousands of years the Narcissus sheds tears over its lack of sight or visionary power;

A man with powerful vision is rarely born in the garden of life.]

The fundamental values of Islam were strong forces for both Iqbal and the Quaid-i Azam. Iqbal believed that "Islam is itself a Destiny and will not suffer a destiny".

When the Quaid-i Azam returned to India in 1934, Iqbal influenced his thought. Between 1932 and 1937 Iqbal worked towards two ends: first, to convert the Quaid-i Azam towards the idea of Pakistan, and, secondly, to make the Muslim League the acknowledged voice of the Indian Muslims.

Subsequently, Muslim League as a mouthpiece of Indian Muslims organised itself to the extent that the movement culminated into direct action. Iqbal wrote to the Quaid-i Azam on 28 May 1937:

"I have no doubt that you fully realise the gravity of the situation as far as Muslim India is concerned. The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper classes of Indian Muslims or Muslim masses who have so far, with good reason, taken no interest in it." 15

Thus on 21 June 1937, Iqbal wrote to the Quaid-i Azam:

"... you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance

through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India."16

In 1940, two years after Iqbal's death, the Quaid-i Azam said: "Pakistan is inevitable."

Iqbal held the Quaid-i Azam in great reverence. He replied curtly to a questioner: "He is incorruptible and unpurchaseable." Pakistan will always remember Iqbal and Jinnah as its benefactors and their message is an eternal guideline for us.

Between May 1936 and June 1937 Iqbal wrote several confidential letters to the Quaid-i Azam giving an outline of the type of State he envisaged for the Muslims of India. By 1940 the movement was complete. The federation of Muslim majority provinces was made in Pakistan. In such a State the Islamic principles will be the guidelines of the constitution, in which every individual has his economic safeguard.

Pakistan was created, not on geographical demarcation, but as an ideological State.

The Quaid-i Azam and Iqbal dreamt of Pakistan to be a homeland of Islamic principles, social justice and economic emancipation.

We are grateful to both of them that they gave us a sense of direction. Muslims all over the world are brothers. We have friendly relations, not only with the Arab world, but almost all the

Muslim States of Africa, Iran, Turkey, Egypt, Malaysia, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Bangla Desh, etc., are our friends and well-wishers.

In the words of Professor Rushbrook-

Williams:

"It is true that Iqbal influenced the Quaid-i-Azam, but it is also true that the Quaid-i-Azam and his great nationbuilding work exercised a profound influence upon Iqbal, and illuminated the last years of his life with a new hope."

The Quaid-i Azam's sagacity and great faith in negotiations were two permanent factors which helped the Quaid-iAzam in getting Pakistan. Iqbal took more radiant views about the future of India because of his study in Islam and the Qur'an.

"He [Iqbal] firmly believed that it was not for the Muslims to save Islam but for Islam to save

the Muslims" (Rushbrook-Williams).

He exhorted Muslims to get back to the Qur'an and the fundamentals of Islam. He wanted the homeland in which Islam could be practised. That is why Iqbal depreciated the concept of Nehru's Secularism or Socialism.

In the words of the Quaid-i Azam, "Optimism, industry, faith, self-confidence and courage are the principles on which Iqbal backs his philosophy." These attributes are equally applicable to the Quaid-i Azam himself. That is why their

views were identical with regard to a separate State for Muslims.

The Quaid-i Azam derived inspiration from Iqbal's writings both in prose and poetry, and was convinced of his revolutionary idea of "Islamic Polity".

After the Quaid-i Azam's return from England he continued his efforts with strong zeal and optimism.

Now I quote from the Quaid-i Azam's Foreword which he wrote to Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah:

"It was a great achievement for Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority and the minority Provinces. Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, though at the time not revealed to public, in bringing about this consummation." 18

They had different likes and dislikes in their personal life, but their views in relation to national interests were identical. Iqbal was the Qalandar, the Quaid-i Azam, an aristocrat. Iqbal's simplicity in dress and living is well known. The Quaid-i Azam was an immaculately dressed person. This is a unique combination of two personalities having different approaches, but both worked together for achieving our great Pakistan.

Iqbal wrote thirteen letters to the Quaid-i Azam during the last two years of his life. They reflect his attitude, his confidence in the Quaid-i Azam to marshal the cause of Musalmans and his endeavours to see that the Muslim League emerged as a party of people's representatives, not of landlords like the Unionist Party in the Punjab. The Quaid-i Azam was deeply moved by Iqbal's untimely death when he needed his counsel and support.

The philosopher and guide died when politics in India was at a crucial stage. How emotionally was the Quaid-i Azam attached to Iqbal is evident from his speech on Iqbal Day in 1940 which was being observed, on 21 April, in Lahore. Paying high tributes to Iqbal the Quaid-i Azam said:

"Iqbal was not only a philosopher but also a practical politician. He was one of the first to conceive of the feasibility of the division of India on national lines as the only solution of India's political problem. He was one of the most powerful thinkers, tacit precursors and heralders of modern political evolution of Muslim India."

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# Iqbal's Message to the West

Not many Asian thinkers had the good fortune of enjoying so much respect and veneration as Iqbal had. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, author of Modern Islam in India, eulogising Iqbal, describes him as the outstanding Muslim poet and thinker of the century.

Iqbal has been introduced to the Western world mostly through the translations of his works. He was decidedly an outstanding poet and an erudite thinker. Not only his teachers, Thomas Arnold and R.A. Nicholson, paid high tributes to him but his translators, like Nichol-

son, Arberry, Kiernan and Schimmel, are also eloquent about the profundity in his thought, loftiness in his ideas and universality in his approach. However, dissatisfactions were voiced by Iqbal and his readers about the quality of the translations of his works done by the Westerners.

What I wish to convey is that unless there is complete rapport between the poet and the translator, it will not be free from pitfalls and the ideas will remain somewhat obscure, remote and unfamiliar. Any reader of English translation of Iqbal's works feels this.

Though I believe that to popularise and disseminate the ideas and teachings of Iqbal, and for their universal projection, it is necessary that his works he translated into different languages. Besides original books on Iqbal and his thought in English, many good translations of his verses have been given to English-speaking readers. Among them the Secrets of the Self by R.A. Nicholson, The Mysteries of Selflessness, The Persian Psalms, Tulip of Sinai, and Javid Namah translated by A.J. Arberry, and Poems from Iqbal by Kiernan are pioneering works by Western scholars and we are indebted to them that they have rendered great service to popularise Iqbal in the West.

In spite of his learning and his wide reading Iqbal is no mere echo of other men's ideas, but

is distinctly an original thinker. Iqbal studied thoroughly the Western philosophers, namely, Fichte, Nietzsche, Bergson, Ward, Einstein, Bradley, and they all have in some way or other influenced his thought and broadened his outlook. However, it is the Holy Qur'an which is the summum bonum of his philosophy, which finds expression through his prose writings and poetry.

In Payam-i Mashriq, Iqbal admits frankly that he drank deep at the fountain of Western learning but his heart was enlightened through

a different light:

خرد افزود مرا درس حکیان فرنگ سینه افروخت مرا صحبت صاحب نظران<sup>1</sup>

[The teaching of the West's philosophers Increased my wisdom's fund. The company of seers lit up My being's very core.]

Iqbal preferred to project his philosophical ideas in poetry. His prose writings in English supplemented his ideas which are constrained and shrouded in poetic language. The comprehension is thus not easy.

Iqbal poses difficulty for the Westerner, since he is not only a poet-philosopher but an interpreter of the Quranic Law. The Qur'an is the

raison d'etre of Iqbal's poetry. Therefore to understand Iqbal's poetry one has to understand the Qur'an.

Arberry admits the incomprehensibility of the English-studying readers. It is due to their different linguistic background. Every language is culture-bound. People having different environment naturally have different sets of imageries, and symbols and allusions which cannot be easily comprehended by persons having different convention and remote literary heritage. This is the main reason as admitted by Western scholars why Iqbal is often misappreciated in the West.<sup>2</sup>

Jackson Matthews has aptly said:

"Painters, sculptors and musicians can be understood beyond the borders of their own country, but a poet, as Valery says, is never profoundly, intimately and completely understood and felt but by his own people: he is inseparable from the speech of his nation."

"I know of no Oriental poet who confronts the translator with problems so various and so stubborn," says Arberry.

Asrar-i Khudi, a Persian philosophical narrative, was translated by R.A. Nicholson under the title The Secrets of the Self which was published in 1920. The book deals with his philosophy of "self-affirmation". Rumuz-i Bekhudi was translated by Arberry under the title The Mysteries of Selflessness. This book deals with the evolution of an ideal society where an individual can realise the selfhood to the maximum degree. These two books are widely read in Europe and have proved a source of knowledge and admiration of Iqbal to that part of the world. Nevertheless, Nicholson in his translation admits that "I am not sure that I have always grasped the meaning or rendered it correctly."

In the margin of a copy of Nicholson's translation of Asrar-i Khudi Iqbal himself corrected the verses at a number of places which is a striking evidence of the fact that such a meticulous scholar like Nicholson had difficulties in translating the subtle ideas of the verses. A translation of Asrar-i Khudi, in possession of Nicholson was later on found by Arberry in which corrections had been made by Iqbal himself and notes left in the margin of the book. These notes were edited by Arberry and published in a booklet form under the title Notes on Iqbal's Asrar-i Khudi. He adds that "All who put their hands to translating Iqbal may therefore well feel humbled, when they consider how many times the inner sense of his poetry escaped Professor Nicholson's deep and careful scholarship."5

The precondition of a good translation is maintenance of the literary quality and faithfulness of the translation to the original. These

It is mainly through his translations that the English-reading public understands the thoughts and ideas of Iqbal.

We now come to Indo-Pakistan translators of Iqbal. Among the Indo-Pakistan scholars, the Complaint and the Answer, translated by Altaf Hussain, Khidr-i Rah by A.Q. Niaz and A Message from the East (English rendering of Payam-i Mashriq), The New Rose Garden of Mystery and the Book of Slaves by Hadi Hussain, Javid Namah rendered into English by Shaikh Mahmud Ahmad under the title Pilgrimage of Eternity, and Mumtaz Hasan's translation of Muhammad Iqbal, Poet and Philosopher, Gulshan-i Raz-i Jadid by B.A. Dar are commendable works in these series.

The reason we need better translations of Iqbal's poetry is that Iqbal was not writing for the Indian Muslims only. He has a message which goes beyond the geographical boundaries. As far as the English-speaking world is concerned, it must be remembered that Iqbal asked Englishmen to compare his thoughts with those of the English philosopher Alexander.

Apart from his positive thesis, Iqbal was critical of the West and this comprises his "negative" message to the West. In order to understand this, it would be better to have new and correct translations of Iqbal. But a person may

ask what is Iqbal's Negative Message to the West. To this I now turn.

He went to Europe for higher studies and remained there from 1905 to 1908. This gave him an ample opportunity to study the Western civilisation, its outlook and its thought. He sharply reacted against the materialistic outlook. He could see only in Islam the remedy for excessive materialism.

Iqbal reacted against the Western civilisation, its materialism, its unethical approach to life, its narrow territorial nationalism, the perversity of the society, as he had seen it from very close quarters.

In his poem "Makkah aur Geneva" he says:

اس دور میں اقوام کی صحبت بھی ھوئی عام پوشیدہ نگاہوں سے رہی وحدت آدم! تفریق ملل حکمت افرنگ کا مقصود اسلام کا مقصود فقط ملت آدم! مکے نے دیا خاک جنیوا کو یہ پیغام محمیت اقوام کہ جمعیت آدم؟

[The association of nations is very common these days, But the unity of mankind is hidden from our sight. The disruption of human communities is the aim of Frankish policy.

The object of Islam is the unity of mankind.

Mecca gives a message to the soil of Geneva:

A League of Nations or a League of Human Beings?

Iqbal was faced with a society having British imperialism and Hindu nationalism. He thought that the collective selfishness of social groups was likely to destroy human values. Unless it was controlled, guided and sublimated by a man of virtue and piety, it was bound to be doomed.

Describing the advent of the Perfect Man, Iqbal says:

اے سوار اشہب دوراں بیا اے فروغ دیدہ امکاں بیا رونق ہنگاسهٔ ایجاد شو در سواد دیدہ ہا آباد شو شورش اقوام را خاسوش کن نغمهٔ خود را بہشت گوش کن خیز و قانون اخوت ساز دہ جام صہبائے محبت باز دہ باز دہ عالم بیار ایام صلح جنگجویاں را بدہ پیغام صلح 7

[Appear, O rider of Destiny!
Appear, O light of the dark realm of Change!
Illumine the scene of existence,
Dwell in the blackness of our eyes!
Silence the noise of the nations,
Imparadise our ears with thy music!
Arise and tune the harp of brotherhood,
Give us back the cup of the wine of love!
Bring once more days of peace to the world,
Give a message of peace to them that seek battle!]

Iqbal was not opposed to democracy, but he was against a particular type of democracy prevalent in the West which had undermined moral values. As a matter of fact it was an abuse to democracy.

Along with political democracy, Iqbal wanted economic democracy and desired to see the end of exploitation of weaker nations by the great Powers. Now that the world is turning to economic well-being and human emancipation, it is clear that Iqbal was far ahead of his time. The world is moving now towards the directions Iqbal had foreseen long ago.

Iqbal was convinced that European civilisation was on the way to self-destruction, because there was nothing but greed and rivalries between nations. He warned the West in a very emphatic tone:

[Your civilisation will kill itself by its own dagger, The nest built on a delicate bough will always remain unstable.]

One should, however, realise, and we have already said, that Iqbal's message is not "geography bound". It is a message for universal brotherhood and humanity at large.

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# Islamic Resurgence—A Brief Appraisal

Professor Arnold Toynbee, a renowned contemporary historian and sociologist, praising the spirit of Muslim unity and resurgence of Islam writes: "The extinction of race consciousness as between Muslims is one of the extraordinary moral achievements of Islam, and in the contemporary world there is as it happens a crying need for the propagation of this Islamic virtue."

Geographical boundaries are no obstacle to Muslim unity as the source of spiritual and intellectual moorings of Muslims all over the world is one and the same. The concept of one God

and love for the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) is common and universal for all Muslims. Imam Ghazali, Ibn Rushd, Ibn Arabi, Jamaluddin Afghani, Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Allamah Iqbal coming from different regions are common stalwarts of Islam. All these luminaries contribute in their own way towards the revival of Islam, a religion overpowering all evils.

We are bound to each other because of our religious belief as stated, not on account of economic, linguistic and territorial affinities. The patriotic and territorial national feelings are but natural for the inhabitants of a particular country; however, they are bound together with one centre of worship, i.e. the Ka'bah, leading to universal brotherhood or Islamic universalism. Allamah Iqbal emerges as an exponent of universal brotherhood decrying territorial nationalism. He once said: "I have been repudiating the concept of Nationalism since the time when it was not known in India and the Muslim world."

Allamah Iqbal envisaged a worldwide Islamic unification when he said that Islam was "neither nationalism nor imperialism, but a commonwealth of nations".

In a letter to Maulana Zafar Ahmad Siddiqi in 1932, Allamah Iqbal wrote: "If in the past Muslim thinkers and statesmen had carefully reflected on the contents of the Qur'an, a League of Nations in the Muslim world would have come into existence centuries ago. Thus history of the League of Nations, which has been created in the twentieth century, is a living testimony to the fact that unless the ego of a nation is hedged around by Divine laws, there is no way by which peace of the world can be assured."

Today it seems more relevant. We are proud of the fact and it is a matter of great satisfaction that we recognised this admonition and are working on the dictum outlined and envisaged

by Iqbal much earlier.

The followers of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab in Arabia, Muhammad al-Sanusi in North Africa and Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi and Maulana Muhammad Ali Jawhar in India, to name a few, were noted crusaders against imperialism and a source of a unifying force to all brothers in Islam. Midhat Pasha in Turkey, Mufti Alamjan in Russia, Shaikh Muhammad Abduhu in Egypt and Sayyid Ahmad Khan in India, these were personalities who worked for Islamic puritanism.

Their efforts for Muslim unity and solidarity through the passage of time had ultimately emerged as a great Muslim bloc striving for its

rejuvenation.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the doctrine of Pan-Islamism of Jamaluddin Afghaniafter the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire actually took the shape of universal Muslim nationalism. Allamah Iqbal too had faith in the concept of universalism of the Muslims of the world.

According to Iqbal, Jamaluddin Afghani in many respects was the greatest Muslim and certainly one of the greatest Asians of our times. Unlike his predecessors, Allamah Iqbal wanted a political reconstruction of society as a whole by character-building and sincerity of purpose.

In 1918, the late Agha Khan wrote in his book India in Transition: "There is a right and legitimate Pan-Islamism to which every sincere and believing Muslim belongs...thereals piritual and cultural unity of Islam must ever grow for the followers of the Holy Prophet, it is the foundation of the life of the soul."

With this background of process, the Muslim reawakening, the present resurgence of Islamic forces in almost every Muslim country is the same unifying force which the abovementioned stalwarts of Islam worked for. In The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam Allamah Iqbal writes: "For the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself

alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics. Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism, but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only and not restricting the social horizon of its members."

In 1931, Allamah Iqbal attended the historic conference of al-Mu'tamar-i Alam-i Islam at Bait al-Maqdis. He discussed the sinister move of the Zionists with the then Mufti-i Azam of Palestine, the late al-Haj Muhammad Amin al-Husaini. He addressed the conference and warned the Muslims of the dangers of parochial and narrow nationalistic outlook and exhorted them to remain united. He reiterated that the future of the Islamic world is linked with the future of Arabs and the future of Arabs depends on the unity and solidarity of the Arabs. If Arabs are united, certainly the Islamic world will emerge dominant.

It is encouraging that Pakistan, the ideological State, is at the moment a nucleus of revival of Islamic values. In the recent past the congregation of the Foreign Ministers of Islamic countries who pledged themselves to fight against the imperialist and Zionist forces is of great historic significance.

The representation of the President of Pakistan,

General Muhammad Ziaul Haq, in the United Nations to voice the feelings of ninety million Muslims of the world is indeed a matter of great pride and privilege for Pakistan. It is an epochmaking event. Let us pray for the unity and solidarity of the Muslims of the world and that they may sink their regional differences and iron them out.

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