

# **IQBAL AND SOCIALISM**

Paper Presented

by

**Dr. S. A. Rehman**

(Retired Chief Justice of Pakistan)

with

Presidential Remarks

by

**Mr. A. K. Brohi**

and

Introduction

by

**Hakim Mohammed Said**



HHH

*Proceedings of SHAM-I-HAMDARD*  
*held at Lahore, on May 2, 1974*

# **IQBAL AND SOCIALISM**

Paper Presented

by

**Dr. S. A. Rehman**

(Retired Chief Justice of Pakistan)

with

Presidential Remarks

by

**Mr. A. K. Brohi**

and

Introduction

by

**Hakim Mohammed Said**

**HAMDARD NATIONAL FOUNDATION**  
**ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN**

# **IQBAL & SOCIALISM**

© 1974

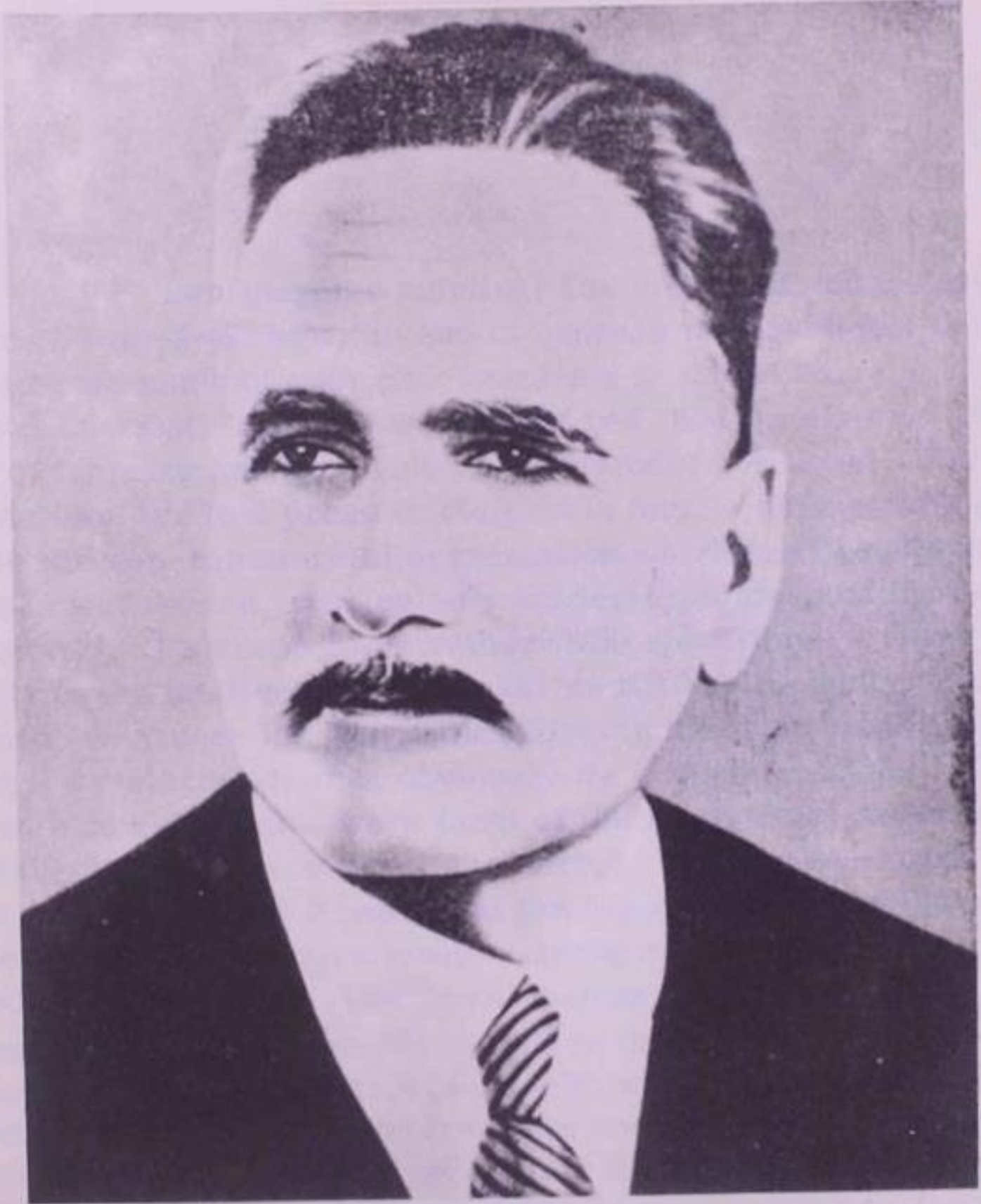


**HAMDARD ACADEMY, KARACHI**

Price in Pakistan : Rs. 5.00

Export Price : \$. 1.00

Printed in Pakistan  
at Zain Packaging Industries Ltd. ,  
Karachi-16.



ALLAMA IQBAL

## INTRODUCTION

IT is a singular privilege for me to bid you welcome to this *Sham-i-Hamdard* and to express my heart-felt thanks for sparing much of your precious time to attend today's discourse on Iqbal. The *Sham-i-Hamdard* had its birth in this city of learning and its founder, the Hamdard National Foundation, has, we feel proud to claim this fact, a purely philanthropic and non-commercial organisation which has been catering to different causes, particularly academic, social, and infrastructural. Its scope has a rather wide spectrum—from the bodily to the intellectual—in so far as the health sector is concerned. And when the Foundation directs its energies to intellectual development, then obviously its scope also gains in breadth and examines every facet of the intellectual make-up of Pakistan so as to see that each brick, each stone—each part in fact—is put in, such that the foundations of Pakistan become strong—unquestionably strong and granite-like—physically and mentally. The *Sham-i-Hamdard*, ever since its inception, has been devoting itself to the promotion of the Islamic view-point and arrayed itself, whenever it was called upon to do so, to guard the frontiers and the ranks of the army defending the citadel of Islam despite the fact that the *Sham-i-Hamdard* was never dragged into becoming a forum for political ventilations or fulminations.

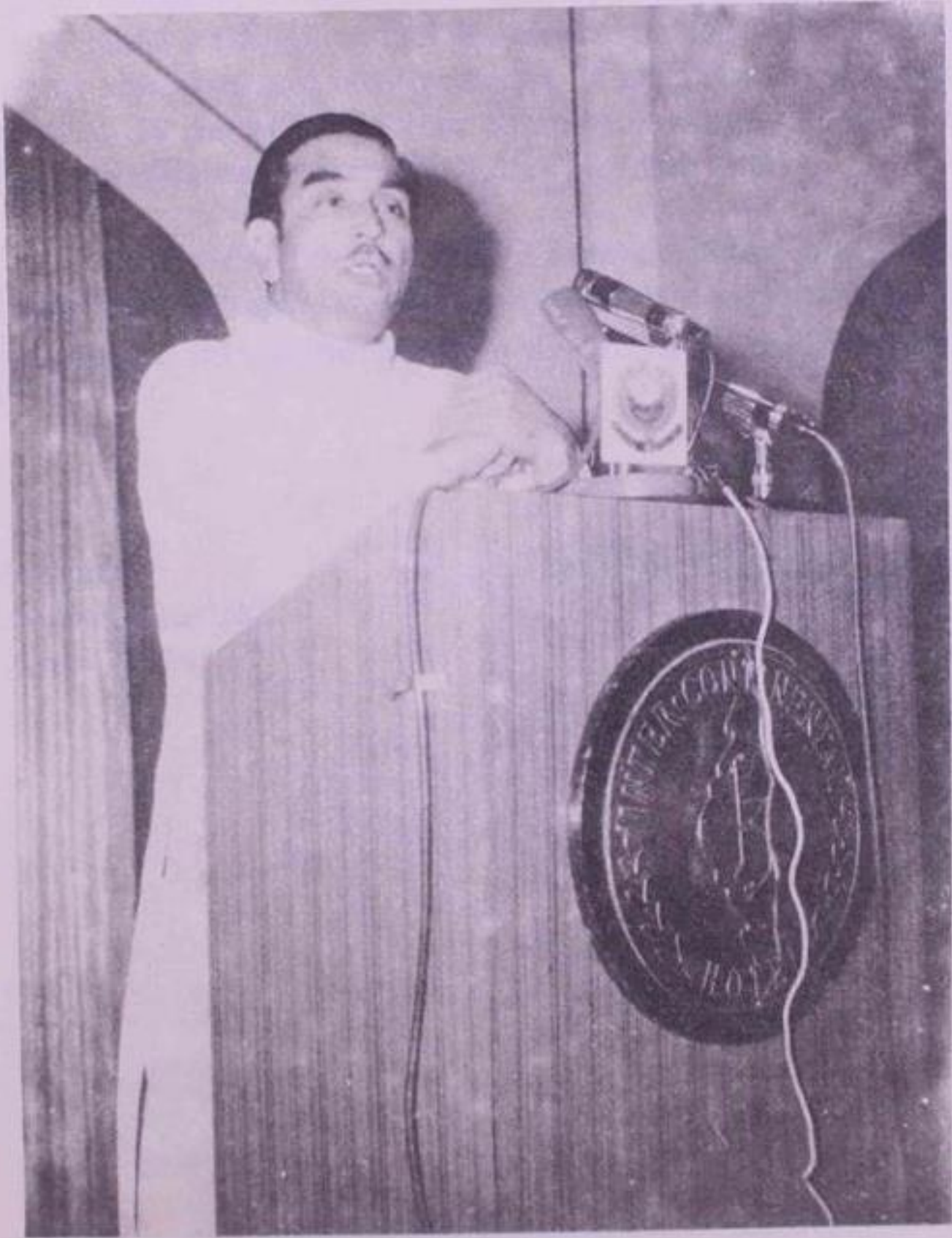
The *Sham-i-Hamdard* has always been after truth, and the voice raised by it makes its echoes felt on the walls of the citadel of the Government—a voice that it has not failed to raise when it felt that the national stakes demanded it. Truth is often bitter, and, like all bitter things, the *Sham-i-Hamdard* has also to suffer hardships. And now the final tally is

that it is the only regular gathering of its kind in Pakistan which is held at previously determined durations and on Thursdays of the month. I cannot tell you, how tough the obstacles are and what grit and determination we have to show for overcoming those barricades.

Today's gathering is important from several viewpoints. The subject itself is rather startling especially as we are concerned today with the idea of Pakistan and with the man who through intuition, foresight, and deep philosophical thinking conceived the idea of Pakistan— what it should be and what promises—untold and unplumbable—it holds. Such a theme should be all the more important, as the idea behind the creation of Pakistan is coming under a subtle sceptical approach, which also becomes outright negative at times, questioning its very foundations, and influenced by the West's secularism, tending to believe that Islam is a religion to be practised by an individual in his own capacity and which after 1400 years cannot, and is not expected to cope with the changed world situation. This has led us to a state of vacuum where, it is held, its wagon is hitched to some sort of 'ism', be it scientific or social.

Pakistan was visualized as a *dar-ul-haram*, as a country of the believers and considered from any angle its birth is unique in the annals of history. And yet despite the fact that, while even not one generation has passed, the country is in search of its identity. And is it not the very pinnacle of effrontery, distortion, and subversion that a Muslim of the stature of Allamah Iqbal should be made the object of being twisted into a socialist, when it is well-known that dialectical materialism is the very basis of socialism in which God has no place whatever.

Is it, therefore, not necessary that the problem should be examined in its proper perspective, especially when the Quaid-i-Azam and Allamah Iqbal are being converted into what the so-called hierophants of socialism believe them to be. How far does this rank distortion derive from out-of-content quotations, out of the love by Iqbal for the have-nots, out of Iqbal's hatred of Western imperialism, and so on? All these points require elaboration, not by way of superficial retorts but real, well-thought out and reasoned arguments and quotations.



HAKIM MOHAMMED SAID



are two famous Pakistanis of our time. Their acuity and penetrativeness of thought is known to every educated citizen of Pakistan, and their patriotism unquestioned. These two learned gentlemen will now address you on Iqbal *vis-a-vis* socialism, so that our national poet may be appreciated correctly and positively. I should like to thank Dr. S. A. Rehman for having taken the pains to write out his learned paper, IQBAL AND SOCIALISM, which is a scholarly attempt to highlight this aspect of Iqbal's thought which he is presenting before this gathering of scholars and intellectuals. I am indeed very thankful to Mr. A. K. Brohi for having come here on our special invitation to preside over today's *Sham-i-Hamdard*.

I fully realize that I have already taken more of your time than I should have and would request this evening's speakers to illumine this gathering with the torch of their deliberations.

Al-Majeed,  
Nazimabad, Karachi.  
21st April, 1974.

**Hakim Mohammed Said**

## IQBAL & SOCIALISM

BEFORE we embark on a study of Iqbal's attitude towards Socialism, it would be desirable to have a clear idea of what the term stands for. In the course of its historical evolution, Socialism has received varying interpretations.

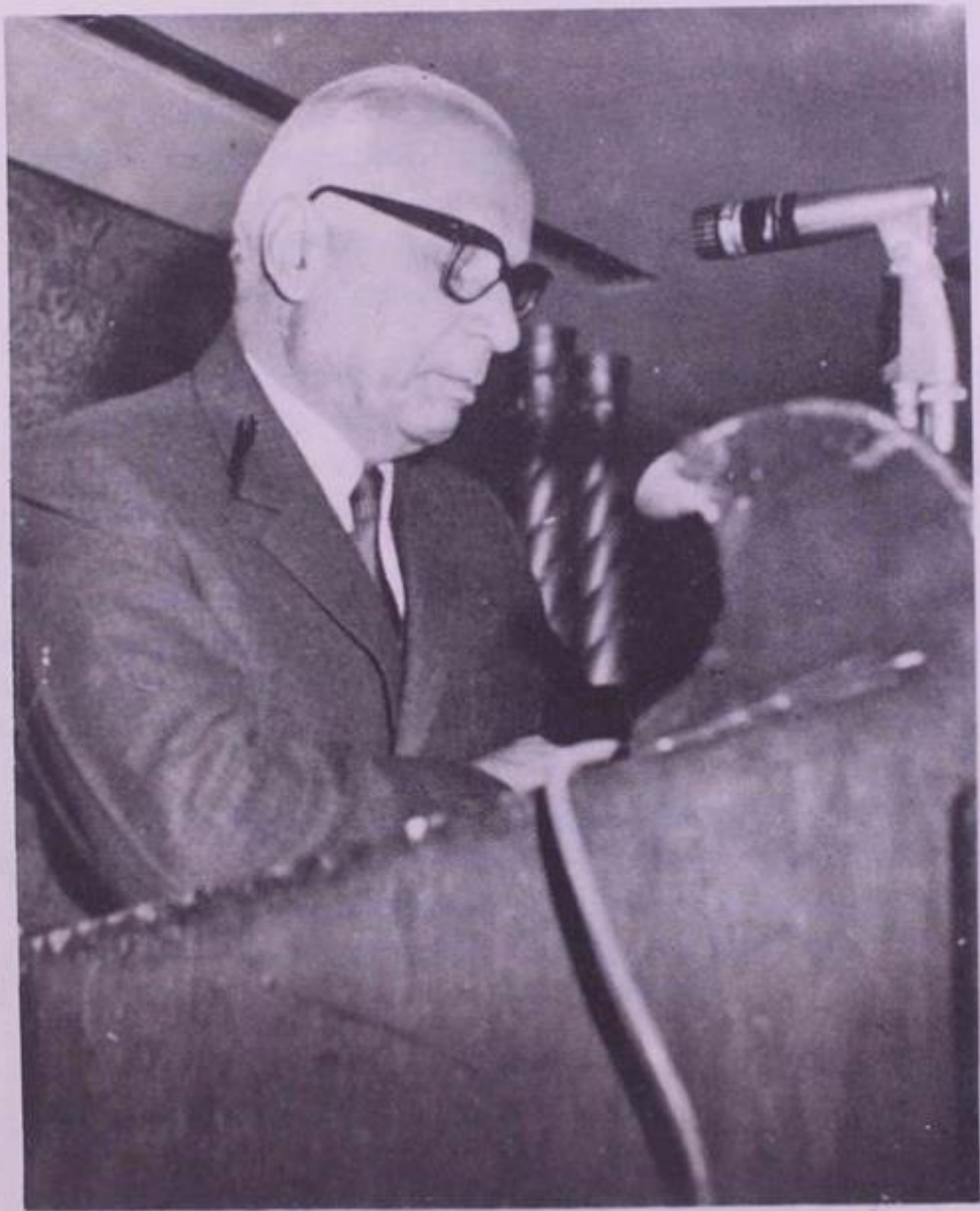
The concept of "Communism" in the West is as old as Plato's "Republic" (427-347 B. C. ). The Utopian scheme of the Greek Philosopher contemplated a class of specially trained citizens to govern the masses in their supposed interest — it was in essence a plea for an oligarchy, for the majority of superficially free citizens would have nothing to do with the making of laws or the executive government; and slaves, in any event, were to be excluded from the sphere of rights and privileges. Mazdak appeared in about the year 487 A. D. to preach a Communist doctrine in Iran, in the East.

By 1840 A. D. , "Socialism" was commonly accepted throughout Europe as connoting the doctrine that the ownership and control of the means of production — capital, land or property—should be held by the community as a whole and administered in the interest of all. (1) This type of Socialism came to be regarded later as a transitional phase of "Communism", the latter being sanctified by its sponsors as "Scientific Socialism". (2) The Marxist dogma that democracy was a bourgeois concept and only a mask for class rule, lingered in Western Europe through the nineteen-thirties. After World War II, however, thinking on the subject changed radically in that region. The new concept of Socialism was characterised by five features. The idea that it was necessary to resort to revolutionary methods and violence to achieve power, was abandoned. The existing Social and Labour parties were transformed from class

parties to people's parties and they sought a more inclusive concept of general welfare. It was recognised that the definition of Socialism as a social and economic ideal, was inseparable from the idea of democracy, both as means and end. The idea of nationalisation or state ownership of the means of production as a "first principle" of Socialism, was surrendered and substituted by the scheme of public control of enterprise and planning as the means of achieving economic growth and equitable income distribution—henceforward, a "mixed economy" of public and private enterprise, was considered to be the most desirable solution. Lastly there developed the concept of complete opposition to totalitarianism. (3) In England, in 1956, C. A. R. Crosland, in "The Future of Socialism" exhorted the Labour Party to "give up the shibboleth of nationalisation" and, in economic matters, to promote the modernisation of industry, in whatever social form it could best be done, whether private or public. The main content of Socialism, according to him, was not economic but social. He, however, advocated the reduction of the role of inherited property in gaining privileges. The programme of principles adopted by the German Social Democratic Party in 1959, by the declaration of Bad Godesberg, was in no way different. (4)

In the words of the author of the article on 'Socialism', in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1961 Edition), "Socialism reduced to its simplest legal and practical expression means the complete discarding of the institution of private property by transforming it into public property and the division of the resultant public income, equally and indiscriminately among the entire population." This seems to be an over-simplified epitome of the scheme of Socialism.

The classic formulation of "Scientific Socialism" or "Communism", is associated with the names of Karl Marx and his life-long friend and collaborator, Frederick Engels, and its ostensible implementation in Russia, was the work of V. I. Lenin. For exemplification of the theoretical doctrine in practice, I shall confine my attention to Russia, as that was the country primarily present in the consciousness of Iqbal in the context of Socialism. As Professor Lewis S. Feuer has pointed out, "Contemporary Marxism consist of several new varieties, each of which has filiated from the classical doctrine to a point where the resemblances are often remote. (5) He has, in this connection, mentioned variant developments in



DR. S. A. REHMAN

China, Yugoslavia, Cuba and Brazil. The Chinese system has apparently made a departure from the pet communist theory of class-war and the dictatorship of the proletariat. (6) In this essay, I shall not concern myself with these proliferations from the original Marxian theory.

"The Communist Manifesto, as published in 1848, is the creed of the Communist Party and Capital is its bible", says Carew Hunt. He adds, however, that there is no single book that contains a complete statement of Marx's position, and the best general exposition of it is in Engels' "Anti-Duhring" (1877), which Marx approved and to which he contributed the chapter on political economy. (7)

In their Preface to the German edition of the Manifesto (1872), Marx and Engels themselves had declared:

"However much the state of things may have altered during the last 25 years, the general principles laid down in the Manifesto, are, on the whole, as correct today as ever".

Only with regard to the passage outlining the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of its Section II, they said that "it would in many respects, be very differently worded today." (8)

In the Preface to the German Edition of 1890, Engels described the Manifesto as "doubtless" the most widely circulated, the most international product of all socialist literature, the common programme of many millions of workers of all countries, from Siberia to California. (9)

V. I. Lenin in his article on Karl Marx, appraised the Manifesto in these terms:

"With the clarity and brilliance of genius this work outlines a new world conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life; dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of a new Communist society." (10)

Marxism consists of three main elements:

"(a) A dialectical philosophy borrowed from Hegel but shorn of its idealistic orientation and transformed into dialectical materialism, from which, in turn, historical materialism derives;

"(b) A system of political economy of which the dynamic part is the labour theory of value, the theory of surplus value and the conclusions drawn therefrom;

"(c) A theory of the state and of revolution!"<sup>(11)</sup>

Hegel had taught that the dialectical process of thought is one of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. The thesis breaks down by reason of its inner contradictions and gives way to the antithesis (the negation of the thesis) which tends to remove the contradictions and itself breaks down in the process. A synthesis then develops, which includes the valid elements of thesis and antithesis both. This synthesis negates the first negation. Thought progresses in this triangular fashion till we reach the "Absolute" in which all contradictions are finally resolved. History is really the working out of the "Absolute". The term "dialectic" was used by him for that process of conflict and reconciliation of opposites which goes on within reality itself and within human thought about reality.<sup>(12)</sup>

Avineri observes that Marx adopted the transformative critique of Feurbach on Hegel's Philosophy, according to which there is an inversion of the subject-object relationship in Hegel's thinking.<sup>(13)</sup> In support of this analysis, may be cited the following excerpt from Marx's Preface to the 2nd Edition of "A Critique of Political Economy", 1873:

"My dialectical method is not only different from the Hegelian but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life process of the human brain, i. e. , the process of thinking, which, under the name of "the Idea" he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos of the real world and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of "the Idea". With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing but the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought.

"The mystifying side of Hegelian dialectic, I criticised

nearly thirty years ago, at a time when it was still the fashion. . . . . The mystification which dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands, by no means prevents him from being the first to prescribe its general form of working, in a comprehensive and conscious manner. With him it is standing on its head. It must be turned right side up again if you would discover the rational kernel within the mystical shell." (14)

The allusion to "standing on its head" in the above passage is based on the figurative language used by Hegel while referring to the French Revolution in his "Philosophy of History" (1840). He had said:

"Since the sun had been in the firmament and the planets circled round him, the sight had never been seen of man standing upon his head i. e. on the idea — and building reality after this image." (15)

Why matter, as matter, should develop dialectically as ideas do, is not at all clear from Marx's theory. Perhaps Marx's activist theory of knowledge, known as "Instrumentalism" in modern terminology, which insists that knowledge is indissolubly bound up with action (Praxis), is designed to get over this difficulty. Sensations give us faithful images of the external world, according to this theory and provide only stimuli for knowledge which completes itself in action. (16) The human mind thus gets associated with the development of matter. This apparently implies an internal contradiction in the Marxist system, for "Marx strongly emphasised the material and social conditioning of all human thought and action, i. e. , he completely rejected voluntarism— the notion that the human will is capable of overcoming the limitations of given circumstances. But, equally, he was convinced of the capacity of men to change these given circumstances," as Ernst Fischer says. (17)

One of the conclusions derived from this dialectical philosophy is what Rosa Luxemburg called "the granitic foundation of historic necessity", on which Marxism has raised its edifice of determinism and promised inevitable victory to the proletariat, in the historic struggle between the classes. (18) This conclusion is in conflict with the theory of knowledge as Praxis whose function it is to change the world.

The Communist Manifesto, being the basic document of Communism, deserves a brief summary of its essential contents. It starts with the proposition that the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. There is ever-increasing polarisation of two great classes facing each other—the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat. According to a foot-note by Engels to the 1867 English edition, by 'Bourgeoisie' is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labour; by 'Proletariat', the class of modern wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power, in order to live. The "Bourgeoisie" came into power, after a struggle, over the ruins of the feudal society and will give way to the revolutionary Proletariat eventually. At present, the executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. For exploitation veiled by religious and political illusions, the bourgeoisie has established "naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation". It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers. It has torn away from the family its sentimental veil and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

The Bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production and thereby the relations of production and with them the whole relations of society. By creating huge cities, it has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural and has thus redeemed a considerable part of the population from "the idiocy of rural life". It has concentrated property in a few hands, with political centralisation as a necessary consequence.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to the division of labour, the work of the proletarians had lost individual character and all charm for the workman. He has become a mere appendage of the machine. The other classes, the petty bourgeoisie (the lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant) and the "dangerous" lumpen proletariat (the social scum) will finally merge in the Proletariat which is a class having no property. The mission of the Proletariat is to abolish their own mode of appropriation and thereby also every other mode of appropriation and to destroy all previous securities and insurances of individual property. All property must be converted into social property and as a consequence, all buying and selling will stand abolished.



The average price of wage-labour is the minimum wage, i. e., the quantum of the bare means of subsistence of the labourer. The personal appropriation of the products of labour, for the purpose of maintenance and reproduction of human life, which leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labour of others, will not be abolished. The theory of the Communists, however, may be summed up in the single phrase:

"Abolition of private property".

The Proletarian's relation to his wife and children has nothing in common with the bourgeois family relations. The bourgeois family is based "on capital, on private gain". This state of things "finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians and in public prostitution." Both will vanish with the vanishing of capital. As regards the charge against the Communists of introducing community of women, all they might possibly be reproached with is "that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalised, community of women".

Ideas (bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law etc.) are "but the outgrowth of the conditions of bourgeois production and bourgeois property", just as jurisprudence is but the will of the bourgeoisie "made into a law for all, a will whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence" of that class. "Man's ideas, views, and conception, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life." The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class. As for the proletarian, "Law, morality, religion are to him as so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush as many bourgeois interests". As for the charge of abolishing "so-called eternal truths such as Freedom, Justice etc." and religion and morality, "the Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional ideas and traditional property relations".

The advance of industry leads to revolutionary combination of labourers and what the bourgeoisie produce is, therefore, above all "its own grave-diggers". Its fall and the victory of the Proletariat are equally inevitable. The Communists constitute the most advanced and resolute section of

the working class in every country. Their aim is formation of the Proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy and conquest of political power by the Proletariat. The Proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest by degrees, all capital from the Bourgeoisie, to concentrate all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i. e., of the Proletariat organised as the ruling class and to increase the total of productive forces, as rapidly as possible. The working class must "constitute itself the nation and only in that sense can it be described as national". Otherwise the workmen have no country. National antagonisms will vanish with the supremacy of the Proletariat.

"When in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so-called, is merely the organised power of one class, for oppressing another".

If the Proletariat, during its contest with the Bourgeoisie, is compelled by the force of circumstances to organise itself as a class; if by means of a revolution it turns itself into the ruling class and as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally and will thereby have abolished its supremacy as a class. In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, "We shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the development of all".

The Manifesto condemns all known forms of socialism, other than "Scientific Communism", as reactionary or Utopian and, at best, reformist but non-revolutionary. "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win".

I refrain from commenting on the programme of action prescribed in the Manifesto for "most advanced countries" as it was apparently not intended for universal adoption. I

merely note that it expressly included abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes, abolition of all rights of inheritance, confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels and equal liability of all to labour.

In his "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific", which consists of three chapters from his "Anti-Duhring", Engels declares:

"These two discoveries, the materialistic conception of history and the revelation of the secret of capitalist production through surplus value, we owe to Marx. With these discoveries socialism became a Science".<sup>(19)</sup>

The dialectical materialism of Marx is expounded by him in his "Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" in these terms:

"The general result at which I arrived and which, once won, served as a guiding thread for my studies, can be briefly formulated as follows: In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum-total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which rises a legal and political structure to which conform definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces, these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation, the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations, a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the

economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms—in which men become conscious of their conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so we can not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social productive forces and the relations of production. No social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it, have developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society itself". (20)

Engels remarks in the second chapter of his "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" that the essential character of the capitalistic method of production was laid bare by the discovery of Surplus Value. After referring to the labour theory of value propounded by classical economy, he proceeds to say:

"It was shown that the appropriation of unpaid labour is the basis of the capitalist mode of production and of the exploitation of the worker that occurs under it; that even if the capitalist buys the labour power of his labourer at its full value as a commodity on the market, he yet extracts more value from it than he paid for; and that, in the ultimate analysis, this surplus value forms those sums of value from which are heaped up the constantly increasing masses of capital in the hands of the possessing classes". (21)

He also elucidated this theory at some length in his Introduction to Marx's "Wage Labour and Capital". (22)

In the third chapter, Engels explains that the contradiction between socialised production and capitalistic appropriation manifested itself as the antagonism of the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie. (23) He quotes from Marx's "Capital" to show that "accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time, accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, i. e., on the side of the class that produces its own pro-

duct in the form of capital. (24)

The theory is further developed in the same chapter that "the modern State, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But brought to a head, it topples over". (25) He predicts that eventually the revolutionary proletariat "seizes political power and turns the means of production into State property. But in doing this, it abolishes itself as a proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions, abolishes also the State as a State. . . . . The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a State. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous and then dies out, of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and by the conduct of processes of production. The State is not 'abolished'. It dies out. The social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of production on a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and of each individual". (26)

Marx described bureaucracy as "the institutional incarnation of political alienation" in his "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right". He viewed it as the expression of the illusion that the State realises human universality. (27) Apparently, according to Marxism, the Proletariat alone is destined to become the universal class. Why this should be so, is not at all clear.

In his criticism of the Gotha Programme, Marx pointed out that at the stage of State Socialism, there could be no equalitarian distribution of the products of labour, for society still bears the birth marks of the old capitalist society from which it has just emerged. According to him, "Vulgar Socialism (and from it in turn, a Section of the democracy) has taken over from the bourgeois economists, the consideration and treatment of distribution as independent of the mode of production and hence the presentation of socialism as turning principally on distribution. Till the higher phase of communist society is reached, the principle of distribution must be based

on "an unequal right for unequal labour". It is, therefore, a right of inequality, in its content, like every right. Equality consists in the fact only that every one is a worker. The differentials of Capacity and standard of work have to be respected. It is only "after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs ! " (28)

Between Capitalism and Communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the State can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Apparently, therefore, this dictatorship is also intended to be a transitory phase. But how the State will eventually fade away and be replaced by "the administration of things", as Engels thought, without a controlling authority, is left in the realm of vagueness.

Marx evidently envisaged at some stage in the evolution of society, the abolition of the wage system itself. In his "Wages, Price and Profit", he gives this advice to the workers: Instead of the conservative motto 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work', they ought to inscribe on their banner, the revolutionary watch-word, 'Abolition of the wages system!' (29) An ironic commentary on this exhortation is furnished by the fact that in Russia, even after over fifty year rule of the Communist Party, the wage system still prevails. The division of labour which, according to Marxism, alienates the worker from the product of his labour, is still very much in evidence there. It seems that the Communist millenium is still a distant dream and is as much Utopian as the varieties of socialism that are targets of Marxist criticism. Indeed it appears that the Russian ruling party had to make concessions to the sentiment in favour of private property to encourage agricultural production. As Milovan Djilas says:

"Everything happend differently in the U. S. S. R. and

other communist countries from what the leaders—even such prominent ones as Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky and Bukharin—anticipated. ”

He thinks that the Russian system has given birth to new classes and specially to a bureaucratic ruling class, of which the revolutionary party forms the core and which enjoys special privileges and economic preference, because of its administrative monopoly. (30)

The expectation voiced by Marx in "Das Kapital" that future society will have to replace the detail worker of today... reduced to a mere fragment of a man, by the fully-developed individual, fit for a variety of labours, to whom the different social functions are but so many modes of giving free scope to his own natural powers, remains a mere hope. (31)

Prof. Leonard Schapiro, while commenting on the 1961 programme of the Russian Government, as published in the official "Foundations of Marxism-Leninism," says that the determination of needs will still remain a function of Government and that the State, supposed to wither away by gradual transfer of its functions to "public organisation, is to remain for a long time to come." (32) There seems to be force in Carew Hunt's observation that "Russian Socialism will never pass beyond State Capitalism and all the talk of the disappearance of the State and of the future communal society in which men will work for the good of all, and coercion will no longer be necessary, is pure mythology." (33) The "War Communism" of 1919-22, he remarks, reduced Russia to utter prostration and forced Lenin to return to private trading under "the New Economic Policy"—a measure condemned by many of his followers as retrograde. Present day neo-Marxists hold that such objections as were made, were due to inability to understand the dialectic—calling for the trenchant quip of Hunt that "these are the defeats of Communism converted into victories." (34) He, moreover, criticises the arbitrary manner in which Marxists pick out any two phenomena of history and dub them thesis and antithesis.

A detailed appraisal of the merits or demerits of Communist philosophy and practice, is outside the scope of this essay. The curious may refer to Carew Hunt and Shlomo Avineri's books and to the Introduction by Prof. Lewis S. Feuer

to Marx and Engels' Basic Writings, for a fair summary of this criticism.

It should, however, be emphasised that Marxism is frankly atheistic, amoral and, indeed, aggressively anti-religious. Says Marx:

"Man makes religion, religion does not make man. In other words, religion is the self-consciousness and self-feeling of man, who has either not yet found himself or has already lost himself again. . . . . Man is the world of man, the state and society. This state, this society, produces religion, a perverted world consciousness, because they are a perverted world."

He describes religion as "the opium of the people" and says that "the abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is required for their real happiness. . . . . Religion is only the illusory sun, which revolves round man as long as he does not revolve round himself." (35)

Engels, in his usual crisp manner observes in his Special Introduction to his "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific":

"But now-a-days, in our evolutionary conception of the universe, there is absolutely no room for either a Creator or Ruler; and to talk of a Supreme Being shut out from the whole existing world, implies a contradiction in terms and as it seems to me, a gratuitous insult to the feelings of religious people."

Lenin, while addressing the third Congress of Russian Young Communist League, on October 2, 1920, was categorical in his condemnation of what is normally accepted as ethics or morality. He pontificated thus:

"In what sense do we repudiate ethics and morality? In the sense that it is preached by the bourgeoisie who derived ethics either from God's commandments or, instead of deriving ethics from the commandments of God, they derived them from idealist or semi-idealist phrases, which always amounted to something very similar to God's commandments. We repudiate all morality from non-human and non-class concepts. We say it is deception, a fraud in the interests of the landlords and



capitalists. We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class-struggle of the Proletariat. . . . . We say, morality is what serves to destroy the old existing society and to unite all the toilers around the Proletariat which is creating a new Communist Society. . . . . We do not believe in an eternal morality. "(36)

Trotsky declared:

"As for us we were never concerned in the Kantian-Priestly and vegetarian——quaker prattle about the sanctity of human life. " (37)

Communists obviously do not believe in the principle of accountability in the hereafter.

On the basis of Marx's early writings, Avineri has built up an argument that "the cruelty and harshness of Bolshevism and the intellectual waste-lands of Social Democracy, grow directly from this mechanistic twist Engels gave to Marxism, emasculating its specific intellectual achievement." He thinks that Marx's views cannot be squared with Engels' theories as described in his "Anti-Duhring" or "Dialectics of Nature" and that the origins of Engels' views must be sought in a vulgarised version of Darwinism and Biology, with the Hegelian terminology serving only as an external and rather shallow veneer. But "Anti-Duhring" had received Marx's own approval and apparently, Engels in his last years, was "embarrassed" by a request to publish the early works of Marx, which he placed in the same category as Marx's student poetry which, he said, "could hardly interest anybody. "(38)

All that Engels conceded in his letter to F. Mehring in July 1893 and his letter to W. Borgins in January 1894, was the possibility of an interaction between ideological notions and the human environment, though he continued to maintain that economic causes alone have the ultimate conditioning influence. (39) His concession, as T. D. Weldon points out, is an elaborate attempt to have it both ways, to accept the completeness of the Marxist hypothesis and to pass this off as a matter of no great moment. (40)

Avineri also quotes from an unpublished letter of

Marx, written to a Russian Journal of Geneva in 1877, to show that the historical account of the genesis of capitalism in the West, in "Das Kapital", was never intended by Marx to be read as a universal law of development. He further cites an excerpt from Marx's letter to Vera Zasulitch to the effect that the historical inevitability of the movement is expressly limited to the countries of Western Europe. If that be so, the doctrine ceases to have universal validity. (41)

The essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat (which in practice amounts to the dictatorship of a party caucus) is that it is the rule of a single section of Society whose mission it is to eliminate all other sections as counter-revolutionary. The system cannot be said to be consistent with democracy which means the rule of the people, so that the merchant, farmer and small shopkeeper belong to it with as good a right as do the industrial worker or agricultural labourer. Within such a frame-work, the role that could best be played by an individual, would be for the leaders to decide. Philosophy, literature, art and science, can claim no autonomy under such a dispensation, for their value and justification lie solely in the degrees to which they strengthen it. The family, long since exposed by Engels as an immature form of association, will only be upheld in so far as the State may decide to make use of it, seeing that it is to Society and not to its parents that the child belongs. Religion, too, will not be tolerated for long, since it threatens to create dual loyalty in a world in which all things have become Caesar's. (42)

The Soviet worker does not suffer from unemployment, but he must work where his services are required, fulfil his allotted norm and accept what wages the State chooses to pay him. (43) How or when Communism will become the panacea for curing the spectre of alienation of man from his work, no one can venture to predict, for the regime of regimentation prevailing in Russia shows no signs of abatement or relaxation.

## II

IQBAL was a deeply religious man and, par excellence, an Islamist. The Islamic orientation of his thinking is evidenced by his writings from the very beginning. As early as 1909, he wrote in the "Hindustan Review" on "Islam as a Moral and Political Ideal." He mentioned therein two basic propositions underlying the Muslim Political Constitution:

"(1) The Law of God is absolutely supreme and Authority, except as the interpreter of the Law, has no place in the social structure of Islam.

(2) The absolute equality of all members of the Community. . . . . Islam is a unity in which there is no distinction and this unity is secured by making men believe in the two simple propositions — the unity of God and the mission of the Prophet. "

In the course of this article, Iqbal also declared that "Democracy is the most important aspect of Islam regarded as a political ideal." (44) Writing again in the "Hindustan Review" of 1910-11 on "Political Thought in Islam", he expressed the view that the inner cohesion of the Islamic nation "would consist not in ethnic or geographical unity, not in the unity of language or social tradition, but in the unity of the religious and political ideal, or in the psychological fact of like-mindedness, as St. Paul would say and that "according to the Law of Islam, there is no distinction between the Church and the State." (45) It is clear that in his opinion, Islam presents us with a comprehensive code of life.

Some extracts from a lecture delivered by Iqbal in 1911 were reproduced in the "Census of India Report", 1911, as a matter of general interest. Iqbal is quoted therein as saying: "The idea of Islam is, so to speak, our eternal home or country in which we live, move and have our being. To us it is above everything else as England is above all to the Englishman and 'Deutschland uber Alles' to the German. (46)

On the 23rd June 1923, one, Shamsud Din Hasan had contributed an article to the "Daily Zamindar" of Lahore, in which citing certain verses from Iqbal's *Khidhr-i-Rah* and *Payam-i-Mashriq* the writer characterised Iqbal not only as a Communist but also as a prime propagandist of Communism. The next day Iqbal wrote a letter to the Editor of the paper, setting out his own creed. He said:

"I have just heard from a friend that someone has ascribed to me (I have not yet seen the paper personally) Communist views. As I consider that to hold Communist views is tantamount to leaving the fold of Islam, I regard it as my duty to issue a contradiction.

"I am a Muslim. I believe, and this belief is based on cogent reasoning, that the best solution for the economic ills of human communities has been put forward in the *Qur'an*. There is no doubt that when the power of capitalism exceeds the limits of the golden mean, it becomes a curse for the world. But to save mankind from its harmful effects, the remedy is not the elimination of this factor from the economic system, as the Bolsheviks suggest. The *Qur'an-i-Majid* has devised a system comprising the laws of inheritance and *Zakat* etc., to keep its power within proper bounds. Human nature being what it is, that is the most practicable solution. Russian Bolshevism is a strong reaction against short-sighted and self-centred capitalism. The fact is that the capitalism of the West and Russian Bolshevism both represent extremes. The golden mean is prescribed by the *Qur'an* to which I have alluded above. The objective aimed at by the Islamic *Shariah* is that no one class should be able to dominate another, on the strength of capitalism. To attain this objective, according to my belief, the easy and most practicable method is the one expounded by the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). Islam does not altogether abolish the element of capitalism from the economic system but having a deeper insight into human nature, preserves it and gives us an economic dispensation in implementing which, this element cannot transgress its proper confines. I am sorry to say that Muslims have neglected the study of the economic side of Islam. Otherwise they should have learnt that in this specific respect Islam is a great blessing. I believe that the Qur'anic verse "You became, by His blessing, brothers" refers to this very blessing for the members of a community cannot become a fraternity in the real sense, unless they have equality in all respects. Such equality cannot be achieved without a social system whose objective it is to create and nurture this equality by containing the power of capital within proper confines. I am certain that the Russian nation itself, after discovering the defects of their present system by practical experience, shall be forced to turn towards a system whose fundamental principles shall be either purely Islamic or very much akin to them. In the present circumstances, however praiseworthy their economic ideal may be, no Muslim can have any sympathy with their procedural programme. It is

incumbent on the Muslims of India and other countries, who are easily influenced by Western concepts after a study of the Political Economy of Europe, to immerse themselves in the economic teachings of the *Qur'an* in the present age. I feel sure that they will find solutions for all their difficulties, in this Book. The Muslim members of the Lahore Labour Union should pay special attention to this matter. I have heartfelt sympathy with their aims and objects but I hope they will not adopt a programme or ideal which militates against Qur'anic teachings." (47)

The Islamic concept was again sponsored by him in the following terms in his Presidential Address delivered at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad on the 29th December 1930:

"Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam, God and the universe, spirit and matter, Church and State, are organic to each other. . . . . Europe uncritically accepted the duality of spirit and matter, probably from Manichean thought. . . . . To address this session of the All-India Muslim League you have selected a man who is not despaired of Islam as a living force for freeing the outlook of man from its geographical limitations, who believes that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as states and finally who believes that Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny. . . . . The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other." (48)

In his open letter to Sir Francis Younghusband, published in the Civil & Military Gazette, Lahore, dated July 30, '31, Iqbal commented on Russian Bolshevism in these words:

"I do not myself believe that the Russians are by nature an irreligious people. On the contrary, I think that they are men and women of strong religious tendencies and the present negative state of the Russian mind will not last indefinitely, for no system of society can rest on an atheistic basis. As soon as things settle down in that country and its people have time to think calmly, they will be

forced to find a positive foundation for their system.

"Since Bolshevism plus God is almost identical with Islam, I should not be surprised if, in the course of time, either Islam would devour Russia or Russia, Islam. The result will depend, I think, to a considerable extent on the position which is given to the Indian Muslims under the new Constitution." (49)

The expression "Bolshevism plus God" must be understood as implying all the incidents of the Qur'anic concept of God and as the sequel will show, Iqbal did not mean to say that a belief in the Deity coupled with Communism, is equivalent to Islam. The word "almost" which follows this expression in the relevant sentence must also be assigned due significance. Iqbal's God is one Who, as specified in the *Qur'an* has sent guidance for mankind, through the Prophets, from time to time and who will hold mankind to account for its actions, in the life after death.

While presiding over the annual session of the All-India Muslim Conference at Lahore on the 21st March 1932, Iqbal said:

"Politics have their roots in the spiritual life of man. It is my belief that Islam is not a matter of private opinion; it is a society, or if you like, a civic church. It is because present-day political ideals as they appear to be shaping themselves in India, may affect its original structure and character that I find myself interested in politics. I am opposed to nationalism as it is understood in Europe, not because if it is allowed to develop in India, it is likely to bring less material gain to Muslims. I am opposed to it because I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity. Patriotism is a perfectly natural virtue and has a place in the moral life of man. Yet that which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical tradition." (50)

Further on, in this very address, he defined what Islam stands for:

"Asia cannot comprehend modern Western capitalism

with its undisciplined individualism. The faith which you represent, recognises the worth of the individual and disciplines him to give away his all to the service of God and man. Its possibilities are not yet exhausted. It can still create a new world wherein the social rank of man is not determined by his caste or colour or the amount of dividend he earns, but by the kind of life he lives; where the poor tax the rich, where human society is founded not on the equality of stomachs but on the equality of spirits, where an Untouchable can marry the daughter of a king, where private ownership is a trust and where capital cannot be allowed to accumulate so as to dominate the real producer of wealth. "(51)

While in England, in connection with the Round Table Conference in 1931, Iqbal visited Cambridge, on the invitation of the International Muslim Association. Addressing the Association, Iqbal expressed the view that the Great War of 1914 was the consequence of the mistake committed by European thinkers in separating Church and State, for the void thus created was filled up by atheistic materialism. He attributed the emergence of Bolshevism to this dichotomy of Religion and State and advised young men to eschew materialism. (52)

In a letter to Kh. Ghulam-us-Sayyidain, dated October 17, 1936, Iqbal took note of the fact that "the adherents of Socialism everywhere are opposed to the spiritualistic creed and regard it as "opium of the people." He commented that it was Karl Marx who had first used the word "opium" in this context and added:

"I am a Muslim and shall die a Muslim, so help me God! To my mind, the materialistic interpretation of history is entirely wrong. I believe in spiritualism in the Qur'anic sense, which I have attempted to expound in my writings and most of all in the Persian *Mathnavi* that you will receive shortly. The type of spiritualism which, in my opinion, is condemnable and which has soporific properties, I have refuted at several places. Islam is itself a kind of Socialism, from which Muslim society has derived very little benefit, so far. "(53)

The expression "a kind of Socialism" only means that the social system of Islam, with all its potentialities makes

ample provision for ensuring social justice. He emphasized in a letter to Prof. Al-i-Ahmad Suroor in 1937 that Fascism, Communism or any other "ism" had no reality for him. His faith was that Islam represented the sole reality that could ensure salvation to mankind, from all points of view. (54)

Iqbal made significant observations in his letter dated May 28, '37, addressed to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He wrote:

"The atheistic socialism of Jawahir Lal is not likely to receive much response from the Muslims. The question, therefore, is: how is it possible to solve the problem of Muslim poverty? And the whole future of the League depends on the League's activity to solve this question. If the League can give no such promise, I am sure, the Muslim masses will remain indifferent to it as before. After a long and careful study of Islamic Law, I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the *Shariat* of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim State or States. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India." (55)

Some pregnant observations of Iqbal occur in a note dictated by Iqbal, on Nietzsche, to S. Nazir Niazi, in the summer of 1937. "Nietzsche," said Iqbal, "recognises no spiritual purpose in the universe. To him there is no ethical principle resident in the forces of history. Virtue, Justice, Duty, Love, all are meaningless terms to him. The process of history is determined purely by economic forces and the only principle that governs is "Might is Right." Karl Marx and Nietzsche borrowed this materialistic interpretation of historical forces from the left-wing followers of Hegel and accepted it without criticism. They, however, drew absolutely opposite inferences from this interpretation. Karl Marx predicts that power will eventually fall into the hands of the proletariat by the sheer force of historical causes. The proletariat, therefore, wrest by force the power from the hands of the rich and impose upon the world a new social order. Nietzsche, on the other hand, says



that it is the superior man who has been robbed of power and he should assert himself and tell the inferior to remain where they should be, i. e. , hewers of wood and drawers of water. The truth is that this materialistic interpretation of the historical process has marred the teachings of Karl Marx and Neitzsche. It has, however, done more harm to the teachings of Karl Marx. "(56)

Iqbal's opposition to Qadianism was partly grounded on the fear that "the encouragement in India of religious adventurers, on the ground of modern liberalism, tends to make people more and more indifferent to religion, and will eventually completely eliminate the important factor of religion from the life of Indian communities. The Indian mind will then seek some other substitute for religion, which is likely to be nothing else than the form of atheistic materialism which has appeared in Russia. "(57)

A New-Year Message was broadcast from A. I. R. , Lahore, on January 1, 1938, in which Iqbal criticised the tyranny of imperialism which, according to him, "struts abroad, covering its face under the masks of Democracy, Nationalism, Communism, Fascism, and heaven knows what else besides". "Under these masks", he declared, "in every corner of the earth, the spirit of freedom and the dignity of man, are being trampled under foot in a way to which not even the darkest period of human history presents a parallel. "(58)

Discoursing on the nature of reality, Iqbal insists that the facts of experience justify the inference that the ultimate nature of Reality is spiritual and must be conceived as an ego. In his view, religion seeks a closer contact with Reality than philosophy does, Reality being essentially spirit. It is apparent that all his deeper instincts revolt against a materialistic interpretation of history. "Man", says he "in whom egohood has reached its relative perfection, occupies a genuine place in the heart of Divine creative energy and thus possesses a higher degree of reality than things around him. Of all the creations of God, he alone is capable of consciously participating in the creative life of his Maker. "(59)

In his fourth Lecture, Iqbal declares:

"The most depressing error of Materialism is the sup-

position that finite consciousness exhausts its object."

According to him, "There are no pleasure-giving and pain-giving acts; there are only ego-sustaining and ego-dissolving acts. . . . The principle of the ego-sustaining deed is respect for the ego in myself as in others." In that lecture he surveys the theories of evolution favoured by Muslim thinkers, which are more or less akin to modern evolutionary concepts with this difference that death is not the end of life. A fortified personality can survive the shock of death and even achieve immortality in the hereafter, by a life of continuous endeavour and struggle against the physical and social environment by cultivating the attributes of God. Death may thus have a constructive meaning for life as Rumi has pointed out.<sup>(60)</sup> Iqbal's approach to life is in the broad sense, not merely biological but, *par excellence*, moral. Life, he says, is a continuous movement in time — a creative activity. He observes in the course of his sixth Lecture with regard to the future:

"Humanity needs three things today—a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual, and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of society on a spiritual basis."<sup>(61)</sup>

### III

AS has been demonstrated above, Iqbal is expressly and unequivocally critical of Communism in his prose writings. When reviewing his poetical works, one must make allowances for the exigencies of poetical expression which gets coloured by emotion.

Iqbal condemns the *laissez-faire* Capitalism in no uncertain terms, but he does so because Islam, as a social system, does not countenance it. He also extols the iconoclastic service Communism has rendered in helping to topple the Capitalist mansions of exploitation of man by man. But this is only the negative aspect of Communism—the state of what he calls "*La*" — Negation ("There is no God"). To achieve an affirmative outlook on life, the Communists must, according to him, progress towards the realm of "*Ilia*" — Exception ("Except God") i. e. , acknowledge the supremacy of God, and so accept all the consequential commitments to a spiritual view of the universe.

In a passage in "*Khidr-e-Rah*" Iqbal addresses the Labourer and deploras exploitation of him by the Capitalist. Iqbal holds out hope to him for the future, for he tells him that both in the East and the West, his era has begun. In some humorous verse appended at the end of the "*Bang-i-Dara*" he also refers to the exploiting landlord sucking the blood of the tenant or the agricultural labourer and the struggle between labour and capital and calls it a traumatic experience. He describes the phenomenon as the letting loose of Gog and Magog on the world. He also condemns the factory-owner who lives on unearned income. He reminds both the landlord and the tenant that far from land belonging to either of them, it is the land which will claim both of them in the end, i. e. , on their death.

In the "*Bal-i-Jibril*" there is a short poem which emphasises in exquisite language that ownership of all lands vests in God and man's possession only connotes his right as its user. This does not, however, imply that the State is regarded by him as the owner of all lands. In two speeches made on March 5, 1927, and February 23, 1928, as a member of the Punjab Legislative Council, he advocated the principle of progression in the imposition of land revenue, such as prevails in the case of income-tax. "The reason why this principle is not applied to Land Revenue", he said "is sometimes found in the barbarous theory that all land belongs to the Crown. Neither in ancient India nor in the days of the Mughuls, the sovereign ever claimed universal ownership. I submit, therefore, that in this twentieth century, such a theory, even if it existed in any country at any time, cannot hold good." (62)

"*Tulu-a-Islam*" includes some verses which bear out Iqbal's belief that a civilisation which is based on capitalism cannot acquire a firm foundation by the magic of planning. There is also his celebrated poem in the "*Bal-i-Jibril*" entitled "God's command (to the Angels)", in which the Almighty calls upon the heavenly host to awaken the poor of the world, shake the foundations of the mansions of wealth and burn every ear of corn in the field which does not yield daily sustenance to the cultivator. This is a powerful diatribe against the capitalist system which involves inequitable distribution of income and which Iqbal considers to be antagonistic to the Islamic social system. But one should not be misled into thinking that by these verses Iqbal meant to preach class war

or a violent revolution such as is advocated by Communists. As Iqbal explained in the context of a reference to the devastating conqueror, Taimur, in his verse, in a letter to Professor Al-i-Ahmad Suroor, a style of expression (*Usloob-i-bayan*) should not be taken as coincident with the poet's personal faith. (63) Apart from this aspect of the matter, these verses merely high-light the poet's dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs but do not bear on the ideal he has in mind, except indirectly. To arrive at his own concept of how society should function, one must keep in view the whole background of his writings, in prose and in verse.

It is in the light of this intrinsic principle of interpretation that one should approach the impassioned verses of Iqbal on the subject of the evil that the capitalist system has wrought and the sorry plight of labour, industrial and agricultural, in an environment of exploitation. To the extent that he condemns these evils, in his incisive manner, he seems to be at one with Karl Marx and his followers but he makes a radical departure from their creed when it comes to a consideration of a substitute for this vicious system.

Communism has no doubt focussed the attention of the world on the corruption and wickedness of the Western capitalistic system but Iqbal, while acknowledging this fact, always, points to the Qur'anic solution as the panacea of all social ills. In a poem entitled "*Ishtrakiyat*" (Communism), in the "*Dharb-i-Kalim*" Iqbal says that the hectic march of the Russian revolution is not without utility for it has awakened other nations to a keen sense of the new social orientation of human affairs and antiquated modes of approach stand discredited. The last two verses of that poem contain Iqbal's consequential inference:

"Steep thyself in the O Muslim !  
May God grant thee originality in a behaviour.  
The Truth that lay concealed in  
May perchance, in this era, become manifest!" (64)

Islam makes legitimately acquired property a trust for God's purposes in human hands so as to dispense widely its social benefits but does not contemplate its confiscation by state power.

The "*Armughan-i-Hejaz*" includes an elegant poem called "*Iblis ki Majlis-i-Shoora*" (the Consultative Assembly of the Devil). The third counsellor of *Iblis* describes Karl Marx as "Moses without God's manifestation, Christ without the Cross, and the possessor of a scripture, without being a prophet". He refers to the disorder and tumult created by Marx in man's disposition so that "slaves have snapped the riggings of their masters' tents."

The fifth counsellor points out that the Marxist creed bids fair to upset the universe over which his master presides. *Iblis* gives out that he is not at all scared of the Communists but that he apprehends danger to his programme from the Islamic community—the danger of the future is Islam, not Communism. For, he says, the law of the Arabian Prophet is "guardian of the woman's dignity, a trial for men and the nourisher of manliness." It spells "death for all species of slavery". In the Islamic system, he says, there is neither king nor beggar. It cleanses wealth of all polluting elements and makes the rich trustees of their possessions. What greater revolution, he asks, could be wrought in the realm of thought and action, than that heralded by the Islamic declaration that all lands vest in the Almighty and not in mundane sovereigns. The only method, he suggests, by which this ideology could be prevented from fruition is by involving the Muslims into empty, fruitless, academic, theological controversies, so that the world of action becomes foreign to them and they lose themselves in a passion for other-worldliness. Iqbal here clearly implies that the forces of evil are to be counteracted by Islamic social concepts and not by a Communistic upheaval.

In his major poetico-philosophical work, the "*Asrar-i-Khudi*", Iqbal talks of three stages in the development of the Self—obedience to the Law, self-control and Divine Vice-regency. In respect of the first stage, his counsel to the Muslim is:

"O thou that hast broken loose from the ancient code,  
Adorn thy feet once more with the same silver chain!  
Complain not of the Law's hardness,  
Transgress not the limits laid down by Muhammad!"

During the second stage, the Muslim is exhorted to observe Islamic discipline, to rid himself of all fear and worldly anxiety, to be regular in prayer, to observe the pres-

cribed fasts, to recognise the integrating influence of the pilgrimage on the community and to pay the poor rate for:

"Alms-giving doth extinguish the love of riches  
And maketh thee aware of the principle of Equality.  
The heart, it doth fortify with the words "Till thou  
spendeth" (65)

By it, wealth doth increase and fondness for gold diminish  
These are the means for fortifying thee  
Thou shalt be impregnable, if thy Islam be established ! "

It is only through this type of self-discipline that man will eventually reach that exalted level of the superman who is to carry out God's purposes on earth, as his vice-regent and introduce universal brotherhood. To achieve that consummation, the individual has to struggle with his environment as well as his own baser instincts, by constant creation of fresh desire and ideals. His ideal should be the cultivation of the attributes of God so as to acquire a fortified personality approximating to the most unique individual—God. For there is a life after death, in which man would be accountable for his actions on this earth and will be the recipient of enduring bliss for his righteousness.

The complementary poetical work "*Ramooz-i-Bekhudi*" mentions two primary bases of the Islamic community—the unity of God and belief in the prophethood of Muhammad (peace be on him). The unity of God implies the Muslims' equality and solidarity:

"We are exquisitely-pointed arrows from one quiver  
We point to the One; we see alike, we think alike  
Our objective and our end is one  
The mode and style of our thought is the same  
Through His blessing, we became brothers  
We own but one tongue, one heart, one soul. "

The "*Javid Namah*" has a passage entitled "Voice of Beauty" (Beauty here stands for the spirit of the universe), in which the antecedents of a *millat* are thus described:

"O thou who sayest, "No God save God"  
Dost thou know what a nation is?  
It is to have a thousand eyes and a single sight. "

Iqbal says that through belief in the Prophet, our hearts and souls throb in unison and because of the oneness of our objective, our plurality is a unity. When this unity is fortified, it develops into a universal fraternity. No *millat* can be formed without a constitutional law and the *Qur'an* furnishes us with our constitution. In such a well-knit integrated community there is obviously no room for class-war. Every individual in such a community is an agent of the collective entity and the peace and war of one is the peace and war of all. He illustrates this principle by the anecdote of *Bu 'Ubaid* and *Jaban*, wherein a captured enemy commander, *Jaban*, was granted protection by a single Muslim and the whole community honoured the pledge. Thus it is a homogeneous community of disciplined individuals guided by religious and ethical principles that Iqbal contemplates. However he abhors the over-organisation of society such as taken place in a Communist system. In his sixth Lecture he says:

"In an over-organised society, the individual is altogether crushed out of existence. He gains the whole wealth of social thought around him and loses his own soul." (66)

The "*Payam-i-Mashriq*" includes a dialogue between Auguste Comte, the French Positivist Philosopher and a labourer and the latter is represented as saying that the Philosopher is out to delude him with his "wisdom" in order to reconcile him to things as they are and to offer an excuse for the capitalist, who appropriates the fruits of the workers' labour, without doing a stroke of work himself.

In another poem, Lenin is depicted as pontificating on the role played by Imperialism, Capitalism and the Church in man's suppression and oppression by man, with the consequence that a spark from the fire of democracy has consumed the old order including the cleric's cloak and the sovereign's regalia. To his tirade, Kaiser Wilhelm is represented as replying that one should not talk of the tyranny of the highwayman for the traveller is his own enemy. The change of masters and the replacement of kingship by democracy, makes little difference to the order of things for the lust for power is ever surging in the human breast. This dialogue only illustrates two opposing view-points, neither being necessarily identical in all its features with what Iqbal believes.

The "*Qismat Namaḥ-i-Sarmayahdar wa Mazdoor*", in that book, contains trenchant comment on the unfair distribution between the Capitalist and the Labourer. The former claims for himself the earth and what it contains and leaves the labourer to enjoy the expanse between the earth and God's throne ! The labourer, in reply, points out that the mansion of the Capitalist and of the Patriarch has been raised on the sweat and blood of the labourer and issues a call for a revolution to subvert this unjust system. Similarly Poem No. III in the "*Zaboore-i-Ajam*" is a plea for a comprehensive revolution in human affairs so as to do away with exploitation by the Capitalist and the landlord; of the subjects by Lord and King, and of the simple-minded devotees by the religious hierarchy. In that poem, Iqbal also talks of trials imposed on man by science and art with the result that the forces of evil have gained easy ascendancy and Divine Grace banished from the land. Thus Iqbal expresses his strong dissatisfaction with what is but the important question is what should be.

The answer is to be found in another beautiful piece in the same book. Iqbal therein calls upon the slumbering Muslims to rouse themselves from the stupor they have fallen into and to revive the regime of faith:

"This epigram is the key to the hidden mysteries.  
 The country is as the body and the faith as the soul.  
 The body and the soul are alive in conjunction with  
 one another  
 With patched cloak and prayer-carpet, with sword and  
 lance arise !  
 From deep slumber, from deep slumber, from deep  
 slumber, awake !  
 From deep slumber awake !"

Iqbal reaffirms the same idea in his "*Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid*".

"The West considers soul and body to be separate  
 Hence the dichotomy between Religion and the State."

In this context Iqbal cites the instance of the Turks and says:

"The Turks forgot themselves in aping western ways  
 And between Religion and the State, they saw no link."



In the "*Javid Namaḥ*", when "Zindah Rud" (this is a pseudonym adopted by the poet) tells Jamaluddin Afghani in the Firmament of Mercury that the East has been devastated by the dominance of the West and that the onslaught of Socialism has dimmed the light of the Faith and the Millat, Afghani (whom Iqbal acknowledges as his preceptor) refers to Marx as "That Prophet without angelic inspiration" and proceeds to say:

"For in his falsehood is truth concealed.  
 He has the believer's heart and the heathen's brain.  
 The Westerners have lost the heavens  
 They seek the soul in the stomach  
 The pure soul takes not its hue or fragrance from the body  
 With naught except the body, Socialism concerns itself.  
 The creed of that Prophet who is unaware of God  
 Rests on the equality of stomachs.  
 Fraternity hath its station within the heart  
 It is rooted in emotion, not in matter. "

Imperialism is also characterised by Afghani as "pampered body, *sans* light, *sans* heart. "

Both Imperialism and Socialism, he says, are afflicted with impatience; both are unconscious of God and both dupe mankind. Both are curses — one lives on tumult, the other on tribute and between these two mill-stones, mankind is pulverised like brittle glass. One destroys faith, knowledge and art and the other snatches away soul from the body and bread from the hand of man. Both are completely immersed in materialism. Both have glittering bodies and black hearts.

Afghani's comments on the Russian experiment reflect Iqbal's own attitude towards Communism. He puts the following words in his mouth:

"The Russians have created a new pattern  
 They have bartered away faith for a mess of pottage. "

Again in his "Message to Russia," Afghani is represented as saying:

"You have done away with old gods;  
 Proceed now from "negation" to "exemption" (67)

"Seek not good from those engrossed in amassing gold;  
 No righteousness shall they attain "unless they spend"  
 (in God's way);"(68)

.....

"God's servant is trustee, God alone the owner,  
 Beside God, whatever you see, shall pass away."

Afghani explains that the Islamic system discountenances usury and treats mankind as a single soul. (69) Pope and priest have no place in this system. The *Qur'an* is not merely a book; when it enters the soul, it transmutes the whole self. Respect for man is the root of civilisation. In the Islamic dispensation, the man of God is subservient to none nor does he make anyone subservient to himself. The true believer need not divest himself of all property; he should not set his heart on the accumulation of wealth or inordinate love of family. The institution of usury leads to social disorder. Islamic *Faqr* (spirit of detachment) is not hunger and nudity and dancing. It is a regal state, not monasticism and asceticism, provided God alone is acknowledged as sovereign in all affairs. The community of the faithful should have unity of thought and action as its distinguishing mark.

Addressing the younger generation in the name of his son, Javid, at the end of *Javid Namah*, Iqbal prescribes for them the middle path between *Faqr* (poverty) and *Ghina* (riches) and warns them against materialism:

"I am afraid this age in which you were born,  
 Is drowned in matter; it recks not of the soul."

Iqbal reverts to the Russian theme in his *Mathnavi. Pas Cheh Bayad Kard*. In a piece captioned "There is no God but God," he says that for nations, *La* (negation) spells majesty and *Illa* (exception) beauty. He then proceeds to describe the present stage of Russia as that of negation of the old order and adds that life cannot rest on mere negation. It must progress to the affirmative stage of acknowledging God alone as the Lord of the Universe, for negation without affirmation means death to a nation. In another passage in that book he enlarges on the "mysteries" of the *shariah* and quotes from Roomi:

"If thou bearest wealth for the purposes of the faith,

"Righteous riches are blessed", says the Prophet.  
If thou shouldst disregard this piece of wisdom,  
Thou shalt be slave and riches be thy master."

Further on, he declares:

"Let no one in the world be dependant on another  
This alone is the subtle point of the perspicuous *shariah*."

The irreligious polity of the West is anathema to Iqbal. He says in *Pas Cheh Bayad Kard*.

"Europe fell mortally wounded by its own sword;  
It laid the foundation of Godlessness under the Sun!"

.....

"In its view, Man is just matter  
And the caravan of life is without a destination."

He comes back to this favourite subject again and again. In his address to King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan, he counsels him to go in for modern sciences but to beware of irreligious culture for:

"This mischief-monger brings in its train trials and  
tumult;  
It sets up idols in the *Kaaba* once again."

On the contrary, he tells him, he shall find the water of life in the pages of the *Qur'an*.

Iqbal believes in the egalitarian values of a democratic society but not in the unbridled, wholly secularised, democracy of the Western type. In that context he declaims in the *Payam-i-Mashriq*.

"Shun the democratic stance. Obey a mature  
Administration,  
Two hundred stupid brains cannot generate the thought  
of a Man!"

Writing on "Muslim Democracy" in the "New Era" 1916, p. 251 (quoted in Professor Nicholson's introduction to "The Secrets of the Self"), Iqbal says:

"The Democracy of Europe overshadowed by socialistic agitation and anarchical fear originated mainly in the economic regeneration of European Societies. Neitzsche, however,abhors this "rule of the herd" and hopeless of the plebeian, he bases all higher culture on the cultivation and growth of an aristocracy of Supermen. But is the plebeian so absolutely hopeless? The Democracy of Islam did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity; it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every human being is a centre of latent power, the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character. Out of the plebeian material, Islam has formed men of the noblest type of life and power. Is not then the Democracy of early Islam an experimental refutation of the ideas of Neitzsche?"

In the *Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid*, in answer to Question VII, he asserts that the West has set up democracy and let a giant loose on the world. In the end he warns the West:

"Convey this message from me to the West  
Democracy is a sword un-sheathed,  
A sword that takes away lives;  
That knows no distinction between Muslim and Infidel.  
It tarries not for long in its scabbard,  
It destroys itself and a whole world."

This should not be taken as an outright rejection of democratic values by Iqbal. In fact he only means to condemn the wholly secular democracy of the Western type, untrammelled by anything except the opinion of the brute majority. What Iqbal advocates may be described as "theodemocracy"— a democratic system regulated by a Divinely inspired code of life, binding on high and low, the majority and the minority. This concept has to be distinguished from "theocracy" with its priestly heirarchy claiming infallibility, for the Islamic system recognises no intermediary between man and his Maker. At the end of his 6th Lecture, Iqbal made the following pregnant observation:

"Let the Musalman of today appreciate his position, reconstruct his social life in the light of ultimate principles and evolve out of the hitherto partially revealed purpose of Islam that spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam."

Iqbal in the same Lecture says:

"The essence of *Tauhid* as a working idea is equality, solidarity and freedom. The State, from the Islamic standpoint, is an endeavour to transform these ideal principles into space-time forces, an aspiration to realise them in a definite human organisation. It is in this sense alone that the state in Islam is a theocracy, not in the sense that it is headed by a representative of God on earth who can always screen his despotic will behind his supposed infallibility. The critics of Islam have lost sight of this important consideration. The ultimate Reality, according to the *Qur'an*, is spiritual, and its life consists in its temporal activity. The spirit finds its opportunities in the natural, the material, the secular. . . . . There is no such thing as a profane world. All this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realisation of spirit. All is holy ground. As the Prophet so beautifully puts it. 'The whole of this earth is a mosque'. The state according to Islam is only an effort to realise the spiritual in a human organisation." (70)

#### IV

AFTER this brief comparative study of the tenets of Communism and the ideas of Iqbal, the picture that emerges is one of contrast rather than of agreement on essentials. The position may be summarised as follows:

Communism is an amoral, atheistic and irreligious system which preaches the abolition of religion in the supposed interest of humanity. It is thoroughly materialistic in its outlook and for it, no other world beyond this life, exists. The economic factor alone is given primacy by it and the ideological elements in human society are relegated to a subordinate and secondary role, subservient to the material motivation of the social structure. Its theory of class-struggle and violent revolution to achieve the political hegemony of the Proletariat, is subversive of democratic values which give due place in the social spectrum to all classes. Its dogma of the labour origin of surplus value of all production has a similar trend and represents an abstraction from the composite picture of human endeavour consisting of diverse elements. Its idealistic utopia of the eventual disappearance of the State and its replacement by an "administration of things", apparently without a central

coordinating authority, is divorced from reality and takes little account of the human factor. It also discounts the role of the family in the social organism. The principal plank of the Communist creed is the abolition of all private property and vesting of it in the Social Collective. In practice, this is tantamount to control of all property by a Party Caucus in the name of the State and to the regimentation of all individuals as mere wage-earners in the economic field and mentally conditioned human units in the intellectual and social spheres, with no scope for independence of thought and action. The concept of personal liberty goes by the board under such a dispensation and the principle of dignity of the individual human being is completely eroded. The ideal of "from each according to his ability, and to each according to his needs", though attractive in form, is devoid of substance, human nature being what it is. In practice, Communism is still far from achieving the hoped for millenium and, indeed, in its actual working, it seems destined to remain at the level of state-socialism and to give birth to new classes and social distinctions, as the Russian experiment indicates. Nor is there any visible prospect of the much-discussed alienation of the worker from the product of his labour being eliminated in the foreseeable future, so as to elevate the individual from the level of a mere wage-earner to that of the "complete" man for whom labour is not a mere necessity but a life-value, under the Communist administration.

On the contrary, Iqbal's thought is wholly permeated with the concept of the spiritual nature of the Universe and the positive social creed and ideology of Islam. He believes not in the "equality of stomachs" but in "the equality of souls." Every individual, according to him, is a centre of creative energy which, if directed by the principle of Divine guidance consummated through the personality of the Prophet of Islam, can lead to the highest stage of human evolution—a community of perfect individuals presided over by the most unique individual, i. e. , God. The dignity of the individual is the basis of all culture and civilisation and can be invaded only at the peril of dehumanising humanity. The moral and social injunctions of Islam can knit all believers into a fraternity in which everyone is solicitous of the well-being of all, despite the existence of economic disparities. The family is the basic unit of the social organisation. Instead of class-war, Iqbal preaches the principles of equality and solidarity in a social system in which the holder of legitimately acquired wealth is trustee of

all that exceeds his own requirements, for the benefit of his less favoured brethren. There is, however, no question of the forcible expropriation of such an individual but his conduct is left to be regulated by the Islamic injunctions and their persuasive force in the moral sphere.

The materialism of the Communist variety is a false doctrine and is disruptive of human and spiritual values of life. Islam, according to Iqbal, visualises a democratic fraternity of dignified individuals, conscious of Divine guidance and a centralised welfare organisation, with sufficient scope for individual initiative in thought and action, subject to the limits imposed by the *Shariah*. The institution of interest-free loans is an index to the fraternal solicitude of members of the community for one another. There is to be complete equality of opportunity and equality before the law, the head of the Muslim organisation being as much subservient to the dictates of God's law as the lowliest individual in the social scale. All human beings will be accountable for their mundane actions in the hereafter. The maintenance of the disabled, the sick and the indigent who, in spite of effort, are unable to earn their living, and the education of the young, becomes the collective responsibility of the community in such a system. The approach to life of Iqbal is, therefore, wholly moral and, in the highest sense, spiritual and idealistic.

The dialectic that is contemplated in his system of thought is the dialectic of love rather than of hate and strife. On the one hand this dialectical process enables man to assimilate the world of matter with a view to conquer it and on the other, it provides the human unit with scope for progress to the exalted level of absorbing Divine attributes, by the ever-fresh creation of desires and ideals in the spiritual sphere. There is little in common between such an attitude and the materialist Communistic stance. For Iqbal, the Islamic system, as envisaged in the *Qur'an* is comprehensive, perfect and dynamic enough to be able to serve mankind for all times and in all climes. The only thing Iqbal shares with Communist philosophy is its outright condemnation of *laissez faire* capitalism. He, however, advocates the golden mean of Islam which strikes the necessary balance between Capitalism and Socialism.

65 Shahrah-i-Iqbal,  
Gulberg, Lahore.  
Dated: 9. 4. 74.

**Dr. S. A. Rehman**

## NOTES & REFERENCES

1. "International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences"—(1968)—Article "Socialism".
2. Marx and Engels—"Selected Works"—Progress Publishers Moscow—1968—p.434—Engels "Socialism—Utopian & Scientific".
3. "International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences" (1968)—Article "Socialism".
4. Ibid.
5. Marx & Engels:"Basic Writings on Politics & Philosophy"—(Collins, 1969), Introduction by Prof.Feuer.
6. "The Theory & Practice of Communism"(Carew Hunt, 1964), p.262.
7. Ibid—pp.36-37.
8. Marx-Engels:"Selected Works" —(Progress Publishers Moscow, 1965), pp.31-32.
9. Ibid - p.33.
10. Ibid - p.13.
11. "The Theory and Practice of Communism"—Carew Hunt, p.39 and Marx-Engels—"Selected Works"(Moscow, 1968, , pp.23-27 of "The Three Sources & Three Component Parts of Marxism" by V.I.Lenin.
12. "The Theory & Practice of Communism"—Carew Hunt—pp.43-45.
13. "The Social & Political Thought of Karl Marx"(Shlomo Avineri, Cambridge University Press, 1968), p.39.
14. Marx-Engels:"Basic Writings on Politics & Philosophy"—Ed. L.S.Feue-1969—pp.186-87.
15. Marx-Engels—"Selected Works"(Moscow, 1968), quotation in foot-note at p.399.
16. "The Theory and Practice of Communism"—Carew Hunt - p.58.
17. "Marx In His Own Words"—Fischer—(English translation-Anna Bostock) Allan Law-London 1970-p.155-56.
18. "Encyclpaedia Britannica"(1961)—Artiele "Socialism".
19. Marx-Engels—"Selected Works"—(Moscow, 1968), p.416.
20. Marx-Engels—"Selected Works"—pp.182-83.
21. Ibid - p.416.



22. Ibid - p.421.
23. Ibid - p.64-71.
24. Marx-Engels—"Selected Works"—Moscow 1968 - Quotation at p.424 referring to "Capital" vol I, Moscow 1965 p.645.
25. Ibid p.428.
26. Marx-Engels—"Selected Works"—(Moscow, 1968), pp.429-30 and 434.
27. Karl Marx—"Shlomo Avineri'—Cambridge University Press, 1968-p.48.
28. Marx-Engels—"Selected Works"—(Moscow, 1968), pp.323-25.
29. Ibid - p.229.
30. "The New Class"—Milovan Djilas—New York —1957—pp.37-39.
31. "The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx"—Shlomo Avineri—p.233 quoting from "Capital" I, p.488.
32. "The Theory & Practice of Communism"—Carew Hunt—1964—Preface p.11.
33. Ibid - p.28.
34. Ibid - p.34.
35. Marx-Engels—"Basic Writings—Towards the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right"—pp.303-304.
36. "The Theory and Practice of Communism"—Carew Hunt—1964—Quotation at p.113.
37. Ibid-p.215—Quotation from "Dictatorship" v. "Democracy" (New York, 1922) p.63.
38. Marx & Engels—"Basic Writings"—Collins—1969—Introduction by Prof.Feuer-p.20.
39. Marx-Engels—"Selected Works"—pp.700-701 & 704-705.
40. "The Theory & Practice of Communism"—Carew Hunt—Quotation at p.77.
41. "The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx"—Shlomo Avineri—1968-p.151.
42. Carew Hunt - pp.284-85.
43. "The Theory and Practice of Communism"—Carew Hunt 1964-p.291.
44. "Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal"—S.Abdul Vahid—Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore—1964 - pp.51-53.
45. Ibid - pp.60-61.
46. Ibid - p.378.
47. "Guftar-i-Iqbal"—Mohammad Rafiq Afzal - 1969—pp.6-8.
48. "Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal"—S.Abdul Vahid—Sh.Mohammad Ashraf, Lahore —1964—pp.163,165 & 167.

49. "Speeches & Statements of Iqbal"—"Shamloo"  
—Al Manar Academy, Lahore, 1944—pp.148-153.
50. "Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal"—  
S.Abdul Vahid—Sh.Muhammad Ashraf, 1964—  
pp.196-97.
51. Ibid—pp.212-13.
52. "Guftar-i-Iqbal"—M.Rafiq Afzal—1969—  
extracts of Ghulam Rasul Mehr's letter to  
the "Inqilab" of Lahore dated 10.12.31,  
reproduced at pp.254-55.
53. "Iqbal Namah"—Sh.Ata Ullah—Part I—  
p.318. (Sh.Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore).
54. Ibid - Part II—p.314.
55. "Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence"—  
Sharif-ud-Din Pirzada—Guild Publishing  
House, Karachi—1966—p.159.
56. "Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal"—  
A.Vahid—Lahore, 1964—pp.242-43.
57. Ibid - p.254.
58. Ibid - p.373.
59. "Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of  
Religious Thought in Islam"—Lecture II,  
Lahore 1930, pp.82-83 and Lecture III—  
pp.99 & 100.
60. "Six Lectures"—pp.165-170.
61. Ibid - pp.248.
62. "Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal"—  
S.Abdul Vahid—1964—pp.311-312 and 626-332.  
332.
63. "Iqbal Namah"—Sh.Ata Ullah—Part II—  
p.315.
64. "Say: Spend what is above thy needs".  
The allusion is to a Qur'anic verse which  
enjoins the true believer to spend in God's  
way, what he holds in excess of his genuine  
requirements.
65. This is an allusion to the Qur'anic verse:  
"Ye shall never attain unto righteousness,  
till ye spend out of what you love".
66. "Six Lectures"—Sh.Muhammad Ashraf Lahore  
-1930—p.212.
67. The allusion is to the Muslim declaration  
of faith:"There is no God but God".
68. Allusion to a Qur'anic verse.
69. Ibid.
70. "Six Lectures"—Sh.Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore  
1930—pp.216-17.

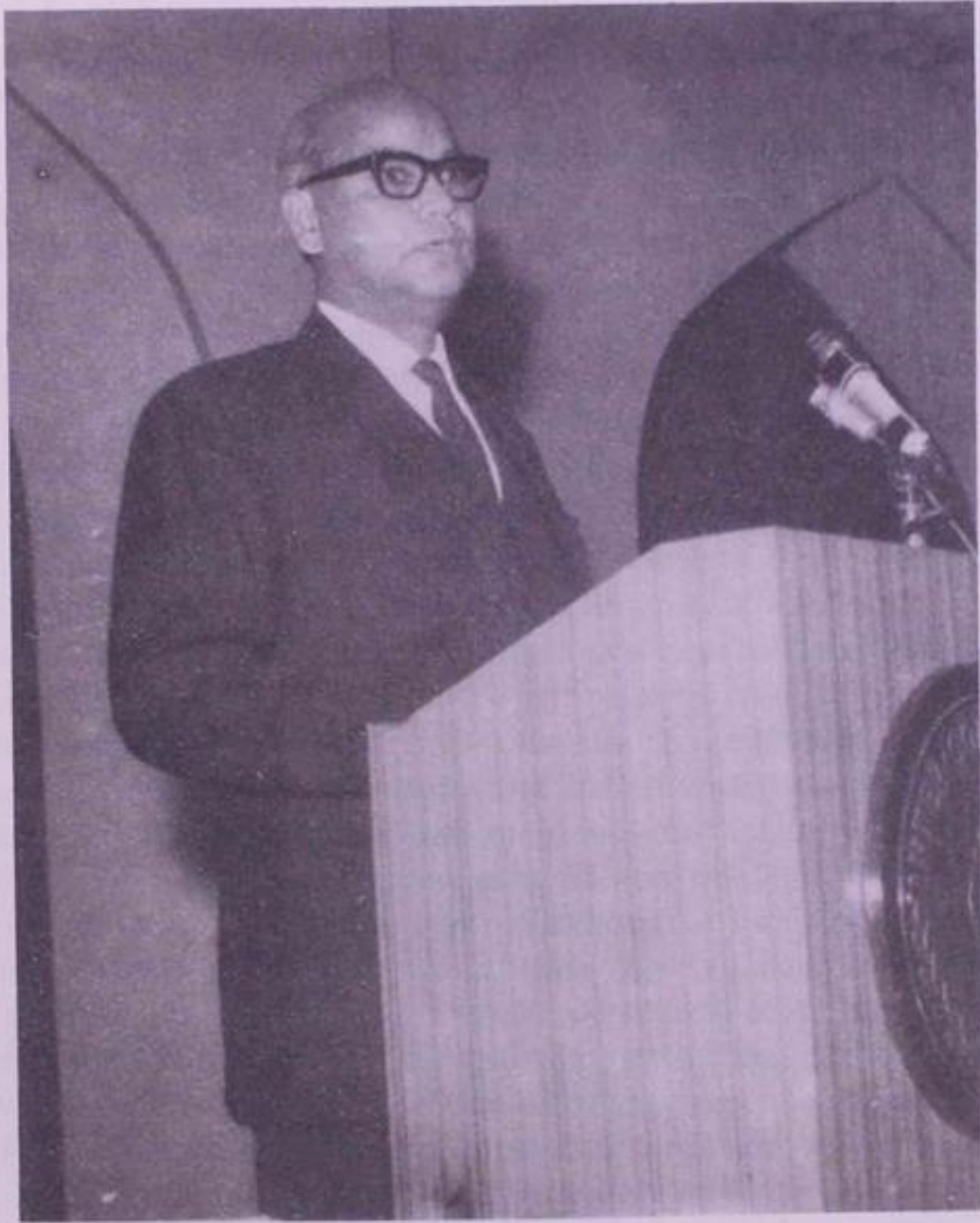
## PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS

THE nation owes a great debt of gratitude to Dr. S. A. Rehman (a retired Judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan) for the comprehensive critical survey he has made of the concept of Socialism as it has evolved down the ages. He has also given us the benefit of his scholarship in outlining for us the approach which Iqbal, the famous Muslim Poet-Philosopher, makes to the challenge of Socialist and Communist ideas. The exposition of that difficult theme which is the subject matter of his address viz. "Iqbal and Socialism" has been attempted by him avowedly from what may be called the Islamic perspective but then that has not prevented him from offering an objective appraisal of the doctrine of Socialism. The fact that a scholarly analysis has been made in setting-forth the premises on which the elements of that creed has been grounded by its protagonists is attested by the fact that in a paper which consists of about 40 foolscap size typed pages there are over 90 references to relevant books and articles upon the subject which he has expounded and critically examined.

In the final section of his paper Dr. S. A. Rehman offers a summary statement of the position that in his judgment results from an objective appraisal of the approach of Iqbal to the tenets of Communism. No useful purpose, therefore, would be served if the present writer were to set out to offer his understanding of the signal contribution that has been made by the author in offering to us a critical analysis of the doctrine of Socialism on the one hand and the response which Iqbal makes to it on the other. I have no doubt that a careful perusal of the contents of Dr. Rehman's paper would serve to dispel those doubts and misgivings which have hitherto characterised the outlook of those who have busied themselves in finding out a satisfactory answer to the question, whether or not Iqbal was a Socialist.

The subject matter of the address "Iqbal and Socialism" as any one can see for himself, is of topical interest, having regard to the contemporary economic or political thought-currents of the day as these can be noticed in the intellectual landscape of Pakistan. The conclusion is inescapable that a satisfactory answer to the question posed by the subject-matter of Dr. Rehman's paper would bring to the intelligentsia of Pakistan a welcome relief from the controversy which has been raging in the country in the recent past. We have a political party in power that subscribes to the doctrine of Islamic Socialism and naturally publicists are not wanting in telling us that "Islamic Socialism", considered as a system of organising the economic life of the community, has been sponsored by Iqbal. And considering that the nation is currently busy in celebrating with due solemnity the death anniversary of Iqbal, the question whether Iqbal was a Socialist has acquired a renewed importance. After all the State of Pakistan owes much to the creative genius of Iqbal and, in particular, to the part he played in his day to give expression to the very idea that was to incarnate itself in the State of Pakistan. I have no doubt that a discerning and perceptive reader would find in the paper which has been presented by Dr. S. A. Rehman on Iqbal and Socialism a stimulus to his thinking. And what is more, it would provide to him that irreducible minimum authentic data which the author has culled out from the relevant documentation on the concept of Socialism on the one hand and what Iqbal has to say upon it, on the other, to enable him to find an answer to the question, whether or not Iqbal was a Socialist.

The Hamdard National Foundation, which has organised the present function has in the opinion of the present writer rendered a signal service to the cause of scholarship by requesting Dr. S. A. Rehman to present his views upon "Iqbal and Socialism" and I have no doubt that the present occasion will serve to focus the attention of the audience which has been invited to participate in its proceedings upon what after all is a momentous issue of our time in Pakistan. I can only hope and pray that Dr. S. A. Rehman's paper would be looked at in the spirit and manner in which it has been written and presented and would serve to provide an intellectual framework in which the problem posed by the topic of his address could be understood somewhat meaningfully, in terms of modern thought, by the rising generation of men and women of our country.



MR. A. K. BROHI

It may be permissible for the President of the Function to say a few words not so much by way of subjoining an addenda to the contents of Dr. S. A. Rehman's paper as to contribute a footnote or two to some of the ideas he has put forward and, in what follows, he has done so in the fond hope that thereby his own approach to the problem that is posed for our understanding could be available to the intelligentsia of Pakistan.

The present writer is persuaded to believe that in so far as "Socialism" signifies the doctrine which emphasises the paramount need of the State being the owner of the instruments of production and controller of the means of its distribution, it cannot, regarded purely from an Islamic perspective, be considered as an acceptable ideology. The reason for this is that the Holy *Qur'an* which as the revealed word of God provides us the law by which we are to regulate our lives could not conceivably have given us any one particular economic system as being in consonance with the letter and spirit of its teachings. Holy *Qur'an* which claims to be the book which is to be valid for all times and relevant as a code of life for all peoples of the world, could not have conceivably emphasised one particular economic system as distinguished from another for the simple reason that economic systems are creatures of the age in which they flourish and with the passage of time they cease to be relevant and are superseded by newer modes of organising the economic life of a nation or a community. A universal religion like that of Islam which emphasises that the era of revelation is over, in the sense that no new prophet would ever come to add to or in any manner subtract from that body of teaching which is enshrined in the Holy *Qur'an* cannot, consistently with its claim that it is a valid system of teaching for all time and for all people, at one and the same time be expected to uphold any one particular mode of organising the economic life of the community. Such a universal religion as Islam could at best provide for us a set of values and point out the goals in terms of which the believers are to strive for the realisation of the Muslim ideal — values like that of establishing a just society and goals such as securing the advancement of the cause of the brotherhood of man, etc.

If at a given point of time it is felt to be expedient and necessary within the framework of the values and goals that the Holy *Qur'an* has stressed for the believers to realise, to consign the ownership of the instruments of production and distribution within the community in the hands of the State, I

have no doubt that Islam would have no conceivable objection to the adoption of that course of conduct. My main objection to "Islamic Socialism" in the sense defined, does not lie on the plane of strategy by which in a given time the Islamic community persuades itself to accept Socialism as a means to solve its economic problem and organise its economic life conformably to it, but it lies on another plane altogether. Perhaps a few words in explanation of my own inability to accept "Islamic Socialism", in the context of the present argument, may, therefore, be in order.

Speaking for myself I find it difficult to understand, by and large, precisely what is meant by the concept of Islamic Socialism. The term "Socialism" one can understand; and to some extent I suppose I also understand what is "Islam" but it is, if I am permitted to so put it, the spurious concoction of these two concepts which tends to create complications for the rational mind. The dilemma posed to the normal human intelligence by this hybrid expression "Islamic Socialism" can be presented as follows: If Socialism is precisely what Islam enjoins upon us to accept, then Socialism by itself ought to be acceptable to us as constituting the content of our national ideology. If, however, it is not the conventional type of Socialism that Islam enjoins upon us to accept, then in what essential particular, one may well ask, has Islam modified this concept so that it must be designated as Islamic Socialism to distinguish it from its non-Islamic varieties. Why is the word 'Islam' which denotes a substantive concept being degraded into a mere adjective of Socialism? This is a question to which none that I know of in this country has, consistently with logic, been able to make a satisfactory answer.

On the one hand we say, do we not, that Islam provides a comprehensive code of life bearing upon questions relating to the economic, political and social organisation of mankind; yet, on the other hand, we are called upon to concede that there is a philosophy called 'Socialism' which is what we need provided we proceed to modify it. The end-product of this type of thinking is that Islam is by itself not considered sufficient for us and it is Islamic Socialism that will redeem us and will help us to organise our lives much more meaningfully than we are able to do at present. Once this type of confusion in our thinking is allowed to creep into our body-politic and we are made to accept unconditionally the slogan of

'Islamic Socialism,' the inevitable result would be that it will be Islam that will be controlled by Socialism rather than Socialism that would be controlled by Islam.

Nor, again, is this merely a dialectical argument. I propose to make it somewhat concrete by raising another issue which is allied to it. I refer to the oft-asserted contention that if you add "God" to "Communism" you get "Islam." Now Communism, by definition, is atheistic and its strategy of changing the course of History is built on the premise of what is called the materialistic interpretation of history - which in effect says that matter and motion alone are real and that what we consider to be our consciousness or the very notion of self that seems to own it, are, by and large, merely the by-products of matter and motion and, stated negatively, they are not autonomous or independent phenomena. Besides all this, dialectical materialism, even according to its votaries, inevitably leads to the dogma of Historical Determinism — that is to say it presents to us a "closed system" in which the course of historical events is pre-determined so that, the last day of reckoning shall read what the first dawn had decreed. Communism is materialistic and such a doctrine cannot accommodate within its framework the idea of God which emphasises the paramountcy of the spiritual norm over the mere material scaffolding in which the creative principle of life is said to be operating within the limitations imposed upon it by space-time conditions.

Regardless of this patent incompatibility between the distinctive features of Communism, on the one hand, and the idea of God as representing the highest conceivable spiritual principle, on the other, men are not wanting in our midst who go about saying glibly that if only God could be added to Communism, we will somehow have an Islamic order established in the land. They do not seem to realize that if the light of Islam were made to expose the sandy foundations upon which the creed of Communism is built, it would disappear like a summer cloud: it would be a case of what, in the Qur'anic way of putting things, would amount to saying: where the truth goes, the lie disappears - for verily in its confrontation with the truth, lie is fated to disappear! Nevertheless, our confused thinking somehow leads us to the astounding result that Communism and God could co-exist in a harmonious relationship! The end-product of this exercise in spreading confusion of thought is that progressively Communism is brought by the back-door into an Islamic Society and the implied reservation



that when this will have taken place, we would somehow manage to add to it the idea of God, becomes well nigh impossible of attainment. The moral of the old story of the Arab and the Camel is somehow lost upon those who think in these terms. Once the camel was allowed by the Arab to bring in his two legs and neck into the tent, the master of the camel, who had, in the simplicity of his heart, accorded this permission, was soon thrown out by the camel and was thus left shivering in the cold outside his own tent.

All great tragedies in the life of humanity are primarily attributable to a confusion in the thinking of those upon whom falls the mantle of providing leadership. One has only to introduce a spurious idea into the life of a body-politic to be able to successfully destroy it from within. The false idea of the superiority of the Aryan race, for instance, destroyed Hitler as even the idea of the superiority of the Jewish race has exposed the Jewish people, despite their talents, to the perpetual menace of becoming the scavengers of history. In the world of Islam too it is the injection of some such spurious concoctions of incompatible concepts by its enemies, which has invariably been responsible for such setbacks as it has received in history. To give only one illustration of this type of false idea to be able to show its mischievous potentialities let me refer to the conventional dichotomy between *Din* and *Dunya* upon which quite for some centuries now the Musalmans have been precariously poised. We have often heard it said that this world (*Dunya*) is not for the believer who has elected to choose his *Din* (religion) over *Dunya*. The *Kafirs* (the unbelievers) on the other hand have chosen *Dunya* over *Din* - So the *Kafirs* are bound to be in command of the good things of this world and the believers will have instead a monopoly of being blessed by their Lord because being lowly and down-trodden they have followed His *Din* and so would be, as a measure of recompense, admitted to the company of the elect. But to the question, where is the warrant in the *Qur'an* for this incompatibility between *Din* and *Dunya* no one seems to return the answer. *Dunya* (life in this world) in the perspective of the Holy *Qur'an* has to be put in paranthesis with *Akhera* (the hereafter) and so regarded *Din* offers to us the guidance to so live this life herebelow that we are successful in this world and we also win the reward of the eternal life which is to come later. *Din* did not come to prevent us from being the rulers of this world but, indeed, it came to help us to be successful in this life and at the same time to win the reward of the life to come - which

is better and eternal.

Iqbal emphasises the relevance of all those imperatives of Islam which have reference to the primacy of spiritual life. Over and over again he calls our attention to the fact that all things in their origin are divine and they return to their divine source. In his words "The ultimate reality according to the Holy *Qur'an* is spiritual and its life consists in its temporal activity. The spirit finds this its opportunities in the natural, material, the secular. All that is secular is, therefore, sacred in the roots of its being." If this be so, how does one manage to accept a system of organising economic life which has for its orientation a doctrine which rejects not only the primacy of the life of the spirit but accepts instead a way of life which is avowedly founded on a materialistic interpretation of History.

A person, who is persuaded to accept even provisionally the validity of the concept of Islamic Socialism, will, I submit, progressively find himself relieved of the obligation of listening to the voice of Islam and will instead come to heed more and more the voice of Socialism, if only because it is Socialism which becomes the substantive term and Islam is only its adjective. Similarly, a man who sets out to make peace with Communism with a view to eventually adding God to it, will get Communism alright but will find that it is too late for him by the time the gift of Communism is in his hand, to return to the concept or idea of God in order to allow it to rule himself and the world around him.

And what is worse, indeed, is the fact that although Socialism and Communism profess merely to organise the economic life of man, once they are accepted as Gospel truths they manage somehow to throw into the dust-bin of History all our institutions - political, social, cultural, educational etc. Men forget that if they are persuaded to accept a tragic off-spring of a false ethos, be it with the implied reservation that they will reject subsequently this very ethos, soon the time will come when this will become well-nigh impossible to achieve. We cannot accept the tail of the dog with the implied reservation that we will reject the dog itself. All things that are an integral part of a coherent whole stick together and the acceptance of one of these must inevitably lead us to the acceptance of the whole. This then is the danger that is lurking behind the concept of "Islamic Socialism" viz: that a nation, that accepts it, must accept eventually the materialistic ethos that has

given rise to it.

Now that in the Constitution of Pakistan we have constituted ourselves into an Islamic Republic and reiterated the values of justice and democracy as these are known to Islam, it would be a good thing if the constitution which was unanimously accepted by the nation rather than 'Islamic Socialism' becomes the manifesto of the nation's programme and policy for organising such of its institutions as have reference to the promotion of the "good life" of our people.

I do not wish to enter more largely than is necessary into the question whether Iqbal was a socialist or not, if only because whatever may be the academic value of the answer that can be returned to this question, the last court of appeal for me to decide the issue is not Iqbal but the Holy *Qur'an*. And to me Iqbal is a dear and beloved poet-philosopher only because he has attempted to interpret the Holy *Qur'an* and the mission of our Prophet in the vernacular of our own age. And should my understanding of his historical role be such as to make him out to be a socialist, I would discard that facet of his life's work if I found that the Holy *Qur'an* had not sanctioned that course of conduct for the *millat*.

To the age-old question, what the State is to do for the individual where the individual is not able to provide for himself those bare necessities of life which he is to have if he is to survive, Islam has, in my opinion, its own answer to return.

It is, says Hobhouse the responsibility of the State to establish conditions upon which not only the mind and character of its citizens must develop but also the conditions upon which its citizens are to win by their own efforts all that is necessary for a full civic efficiency. It is not for the State to feed, house or clothe them. It is for the State to take care that the economic conditions are such that a normal man, who is not defective in mind or body or will, can, by useful labour, feed, house, and clothe himself and his family. The "right to work" and "the right to a living wage" are just as valid as the rights of person or property — that is to say, they are integral conditions of a good social order. This was the concept of social order upon which the liberalism" of the nineteenth century European politics was based. "A society", says L. T. Hobhouse, "in which a single honest man of normal capacity is

definitely unable to find means of maintaining himself by useful work is to that extent suffering from mal-organisation. There is somewhere a defect in the social system, a hitch in the economic machine. Now, by the individual work, man cannot put the machine straight. He is the last person who can have a say in the control of the market. It is not his fault if there is over-production in the industry or if a new or a cheaper process has been introduced which makes his particular skill, perhaps the product of years of application, a drug in the market. He does not direct or regulate the market or the industry. He is not responsible for its ups and downs, but he has to pay for them. That is why it is not charity but justice for which he is asking. Now, it may be infinitely difficult to meet his demands. To do so, may involve a far-reaching economic reconstruction. The industrial questions involved may be so little understood that we may easily make matters worse in the attempt to make them better. All this shows the difficulty of finding means of meeting this particular claim of justice, but it does not shake its position as a claim of justice. A right is right nonetheless though the means of securing it be imperfectly known, and the workman who is unemployed or underpaid through economic mal-organisation will remain a reproach not to the charity but to the justice of society as long as he is to be seen in the land." (see his "Liberalism", Oxford University Press).

Now L. T. Hobhouse, whatever he was, was not at least a socialist. He was inspired by the ideal of justice and wanted to see that society was based on justice. Man's pre-occupation with the task of founding a just society is as old as the hills. This was long before socialism - or, as a matter of fact, long before any 'ism' was born. What could you say of the economic and political system of Hazrat Abu - Bakr, or Omar, or Usman or of Ali ? Were they socialists ?

The instruments of production were not owned by the State of their day nor had they the type of control which a socialist state claims to have on the means of distribution of wealth. And yet they were, I suppose, consistently with the conditions that obtained in their times, practising the gospel of Islam by founding society on justice - and thereby redeeming the believers from the dead weight and strangulation of economic bondage which was stifling their development as individuals and prevent-

ing them from surrendering freely their will at the alter of the  
Divine Will !

76, Muslimabad,  
Karachi-5.  
Dated:- 24. 4. 1974.

**A. K. Brohi**

\*

