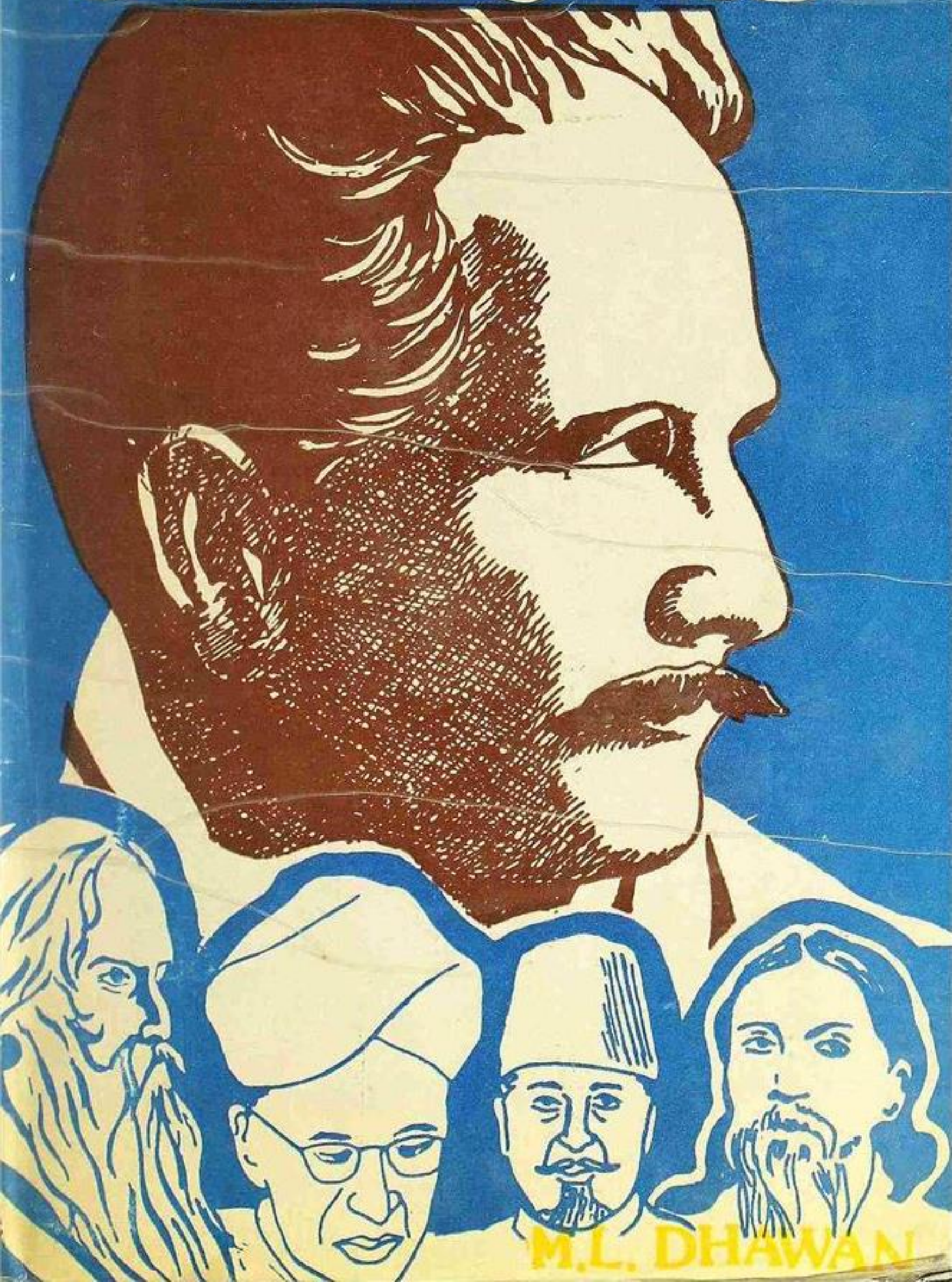


HERBAL

& HIS EQUALS



M.L. DHAWAN

IQBAL AND HIS EQUALS

IQBAL
AND HIS EQUALS

By
M.L. DHAWAN

BHAVNA PRAKASHAN
Delhi-92

Published By
Bhavna Prakashan
Delhi 92

© M.L. Dhawan

1986

Price : Rs. 75.00

Printed at
Vishal Printers
Navin Shahdara, Delhi 110 032

Dedicated to
my Respected Father
Shri Barkat Ram Dhawan

Introduction

This small work on Iqbal would disappoint all those writers and historians who are more concerned with the techniques of documentation, references, quotations and bibliography than with the contents. I have not obliged even those who set up Boards and Trusts and organise Seminars in the memory of Iqbal so that he could be deified. The pity is that their entire effort is based on the reasons other than those of Scholarship. This book would give rude shock even to those eminent editors and their literary friends who have been gumming imaginary perfections to the man.

A new generation of young men and women has come up and that is equipped with better methodology for looking into the past. It would look inside out of the man before pronouncing judgement. Its built-in radar is fairly objective and unbiased.

Iqbal was born and brought up in the Punjab. He mattered in the history of India and Islam in general but had left a very profound influence on the destiny of his province. He was a teacher, a poet, a philosopher, a visionary, a mystic, a prophet, a barrister, a journalist, a politician, an orator and a legislator. No other great Punjabi of the last six generations could vie with him in the domains of Poetry and philosophy. As such he remains a towering personality of the recent history of his land.

Contents

Cradle of the Punjab	1
Iqbal I	9
Iqbal II	18
Iqbal III	31
Iqbal As an Artist	41
Iqbal as a Thinker	52
Iqbal as a man	71
COMPARISONS	85
Iqbal and Tagore	88
Iqbal and Aurobindo	95
Iqbal and Azad	101
Iqbal and Radhakrishnan	111

Cradle of the Punjab

“Historically the Punjab may be considered the most important province of India. It was here the Aryas of Vedic times first made their home. It was here that the Hymns of Rig Veda were first chanted. It was to this province, at the great university of Taxila, that seekers of knowledge flocked from various parts of the world The scythians, and Tartars and Persians had to measure swords with the sons of the Punjab in their attempt to penetrate in to India.”

M.K. Gandhi

The Punjab formed the North-Western part of the sub-continent before 1947. In the ancient times, Vedas were written over here. Adi-Granth, Sacred book of the Sikhs was compiled over here during the medieval age. This part of the land is famous for its militant people since it had been the battle ground for so many centuries. Those who had come here as invaders, quickly settled here and those who invaded later had to face the defenders i.e. the erstwhile settlers. It is one of those regions of the world where people had repulsed many invasions, but there had been occasions when its brave people had been defeated also.

Whatever might be the fate of each battle, the social, religious and cultural milieu under which the Punjabis were destined to live had always been under strain. They had always to keep themselves in readiness for facing every onslaught from the North-West.

That Punjab has been divided in so many parts but its spirit is alive. If we walk through its bazars even today, we find that men and women are hale and hearty. All fresh and vigorous, lively and courageous. Punjabis live. Whatever may be their religious denominations, they are enterprising by instinct. Whatever were their climatic and geographical conditions, the circumstances had so conspired that its people should have been strong and sturdy. Gandhiji pays a tribute to their character.

“I find it impossible to forget the frankness and plain living of

the Punjabis, their simplicity and magnanimity of heart, nor can I forget their sufferings, I feel that I have been purified by sharing, in however small measure, in their tribulations”.

They are mostly engaged in agriculture, but they respond to the war cry spontaneously since their minds are so conditioned. They are very fond of quarelling and squabbling. They make quick decisions and vigorously act for realising their objectives. They welcome perils and refuse to play safe. They consider it below their dignity to sit on fence. They earn more, spend more and save more. During this century they have migrated to many parts of the world where they have given commendable account of themselves.

In the Punjab, it is true there had been conflicts amongst different cultures since time immemorial. The phenomenon of accepting influences from one another was also a historic reality of their lives. As a result, Hindus of the Punjab are not the Hindus of the ancient Vedic design. Muslims are also not the Muslims of the Arabian style. Even Sikhs do not comply with the specifications of their Gurus.

Where martial races have many positives points in their defence, there is another side of this character too. They do not easily forget their grievances. The victorious suffer from the sense of pride for their past achievements and rancour persists in the minds of the defeated. So they fail to adjust with the new situations easily and remain uncompromising. That makes them the best of friends and worst of foes. This had been the major reason for the repeated surgical operations of the land.

The Muslims formed the majority community of the Punjab till 1947. Whatever might be the assertions of certain Hindu and Muslim leaders, the fact remains that the ethnical stock of all the Punjabis was the same. All the Muslims did not come from the North-West. They did not use those dresses that were popular in Arabia and other parts of the Muslim world. Their costumes had been the same as those of Hindus and Sikhs on the Punjab. Their food habits were also like those of other Punjabis. Their language was also identical with others.

Prestine Islam stands for equality and brotherhood of the people but in actual practice we find caste-system amongst the Punjabi Muslims was running parallel with their Hindu and Sikh counterparts. Islam propagated in the books had very little relevance with the actualities of the lives being led by the Punjabi Muslims.

Iqbal could be hailed as ‘Sheikh’ since his ancestors happened to be the Sapru Brahmans of Kashmir who had embraced Islam.

Such high titles were the privileges of 'Ashraf' which could not have been affixed to all those converted to this religion. Punjabis Muslims have retained till date the Hindu law for regulating their property relations in the families. Even the Hindu vices like dowry-system are well entrenched amongst them. Go to the rural side, the calendar of "Bikrami" months is popular amongst the Muslims. They are so many Punjabi folk songs based on Hindu culture but they retain their appeal for all Punjabis including Muslims

Punjabi Muslims may prefer to correspond in Urdu, but their spoken language is Punjabi. They think in Punjabi even if they are to write in English or in Urdu. They abuse in Punjabi as and when they wish to hit severely. Their love for literature written by Sufi saints, Peers and Sants of the Punjab is proverbial. Writings of Waris Shah, Bulleh Shah, and of many other Punjabi poets are more popular even today than the epochal works of Iqbal and Faiz put together. Till the afternoon of the nineteenth century their poets had written in Persian and Punjabi.

It was a preposterous argument of the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha that India was the land of the Hindus alone. How could an individual lose his rights to a country simply by embracing a new religion? Punjabi Muslims were in no way less devoted to this land than Hindus and Sikhs.

They had peacefully lived under the strong and secular rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It is historically confirmed that they did not enthusiastically respond to the British supported efforts of Syed Ahmed in 1824 for overthrowing the Sikh rule. But the overall situation in the subcontinent had undergone a sea change by 1870 when there was realisation amongst the policy makers of British Raj that the Muslims should be so pampered henceforth that they could be kept away from the growing movement of Indian nationalism.

Late Sir Syed Ahmed, the principal spokesman of the Indian Muslims, was perhaps more patriotic Indian than any other celebrity of his time, pleaded to his community that it should remain loyal to the British Raj and not join Hindu nationalists. The said leader had correctly realised that times had changed. There was no possibility of the Muslim rule being reimposed. So the Muslims should stop day dreaming and try to adjust with the changing situations.

The anger of the defeated and the ruined carried no weight in the eyes of those happen to rule. The only course for reconstruction was lying in cooperating with the rulers so that the process of modernisation in the community could be accelerated. The position

of the most of Sir Syed's contemporary nationalist leaders was almost the same on this vital issue. His writings and speeches had great impact on the educated people of the Punjab. What to say of the Muslims even Hindus and Sikhs used to read them with interest.

As a community Punjabi Muslims were verile and strong, but more obscurantists than the people of other communities. They were mostly living in the rural side i.e. in the interior of the Punjab. Their profession was agriculture. Some of them were big land lords and all others had been poor landless peasants. The latter had generally been simple and God fearing rural folk. Hindu Baniyas were worse than the shylocks. The degree of their loot and exploitation can not be expressed in words. They had all legal protection from the law if not from their own religious community.

These Muslims had their own model of Islam and that was considerably influenced by Hinduism prevalent in this region. The Muslims, who had come from Central Asia, were a conquering and expanding lot. Their faith was living and dynamic. In the Punjab a large number of Hindus were converted to Islam. They accepted the external formulations of Islam but showed no considerable development of their inner minds through their new religion. They were more concerned with the religious formalities than with its spirit. They worshipped the tombs of their Peers. As a legacy of their past they were even respectful to the Hindu Brahmins and used to render them material services on their auspicious occasions.

Their religious life included great influence of Sufi saints. Islam in India was made more popular by them than by religious fanatics. Sufis were hailed as the symbols of sincerety and friendshlp. It is they who generated the fund of goodwill amongst the people. The main stay of their thought was the emphasis on purity of heart and sincerity of purpose. They spread the gospel of universal brotherhood, free from the constraints of caste, creed and class. This was perhaps the reason that under their influence there was no disease of communalism in the province.

A very small group of urbanised Muslims was influenced by the Aligarh movement. Jamat-i-Islamia was founded in 1869. It was basically a literary society and its main objective was to explain the steps being taken by the Government for the betterment of the Muslims. The Anjumani-Hidayat-ul-Islam saw the light of the day in 1866. Its original purpose was to attend to the work of the Muslim orphanages but gradually it expanded areas of its activities. It took

over the task of propagating the programme of the Aligarh movement amongst the Muslims. Its other objectives were to interpret in loyal tone the acts of the government affecting the future of "Mohamedan community", and to provide for the preachers of Islam in the remote parts of the Punjab.

Young Iqbal made use of its forum for urging the Muslims to restructure their ruined fortunes. Its headquarters were situated at Lahore. Here its annual conferences were held with great pomp and show. Muslims used to come from all over the province for listening to their religious cum literary cum political leaders. Visits to these functions were considered as a pilgrimage by the Punjabi Muslims.

The people used to be very fond of listening to those who could sing the glories of Islam. The Ideas of Pan-Islamism were very popular amongst them. They were made to believe that the Muslims of the world belonged to a special brotherhood. They were chosen people. It was deeply implanted in their minds that the spiritual bond between Muslim and Muslim was far stronger than between Hindu and Hindu, Christian and Christian. It was propagated that Muslims of all the countries should unite. Most of the Punjabi Muslims remained disillusioned and confused under the influence of such ideas.

The Sikhs were another important community of the Punjab. Their religion was a broad synthesis of the important cultures of the subcontinent Hinduism and Islam. Here we find the fusion of the Vedantic Philosophy with the best of Muslim mysticism. The Muslims looked towards Kaa'ba as their spiritual homeland. The Hindus had all along believed that their important holy places were situated in India. It is Sikhism that was born and brought up on the soil of the Punjab. Thus the spiritual and temporal focus of the community was here.

Sikhism and Islam agree on belief in one God who is at once transcendent and imminent. Individual has social obligations. Community life is based on work and it calls for generous sharing of what is earned with in the community.

Guru Nanak was fully conscious of the evils prevailing amongst the Hindus and Muslims of his times. So he refused to identify with any of the community. Prof. Mujeeb says, "An examination of the attributes—of historical process which gave Sikhism its known form—could be made to prove either that Sikhism is more than half Islamic belief lost in the Hindu environment or a reformed Hinduism in which certain Islamic doctrines parti-

cularly the ideas of the casteless society, was adopted as a measure of Islam”.

Since this religion was founded in the Punjab, its followers have more spiritual attachment with its land. They are more energetic, more courageous, more adventurous, more dedicated, more committed, more lively and more colourful than any other community of India and Pakistan.

Hindus were the only community of the Punjab prior to the invasions of the Muslims in the tenth century. But there was no Hinduism in an organised form. There were many brands of it. People had innumerable dieties. Then there was a strong caste system. There were Rajputs, Jats, Buddhists, Sanatanists and so on. Most of them were idol worshippers.

The day to day relations amongst these communities were generally friendly. It is true that there was no interdining or intermarriage amongst the Hindus and Muslims, still they were living together in the same streets. They used to participate in the festivals of each other. The marriages and bereavements of each other were also attended since the people were otherwise concerned with one and other.

The ripples of Renaissance had already reached the shores of the Punjab by sixties of the last century. Branches of the Brahmo Samaj were opened at Lahore as well as at Simla, but these could not cut much ice. Eminent Bengalis like S.N. Bannerjee, Keshab Chandra Sen and Swami Vivekanand visited Punjab to win the support of the Hindus. Some Bengalis came as teachers of English and other modern subjects. Still Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Brahmo Smaj influence in the Punjab was negligible. To the educated Punjabis he was just an intellectual who was not related to the Hindu tradition.

Swami Dayanand Saraswati visited Punjab in 1877 and founded Arya Samaj at Lahore. The efforts of said Swami could not bear much fruit in Rajputana, and in U.P. but Punjabi Hindus and a few Sikhs joined his movement very enthusiastically. Hinduism is largely individualistic in its scheme of faith, but here was now an organisation which gave the community some sort of social conscience. Arya Samaj brought simple Vedic beliefs to the forefront, No temples, no priests, no Brahmans, no idols, rather simple monotheism.

Swami Dayanand was not a mystic. He was a social reformer who fought against the vulgarities of the Hindu society. He had Vedas in his hands and used their authority for challenging the Hindu orthodoxy. He denounced the bases of polytheism, pantheo-

nism, idol worship, casteism, untouchability, infant marriage, forced widowhood, infanticide etc.

The social content of the movement was closer to new times and its real purpose was to reform the Hindu Society and provide it new yearnings to reconstruct itself. It introduced a new era of social, cultural and educational activities amongst the Hindus. D.A.V. College Lahore was founded in 1880. Many social evils of the Hindus were vehemently attacked.

In theory they were driven to the Vedic age but in practice were being pushed into the modern times. This created resurgence for which the old order of adjustment of relations amongst the different communities was also affected.

Now an effective Hindu organisation was coming up. Its positive influence was being noticed all over the Panjab. A large number of Muslims and Sikhs did not like the rapid rise of such Vedic Hinduism. The British Government apprehended something serious in the activities of the Arya Samajists in the beginning of the century. Sir Denzil Ibbetson Lt. Governor of the Punjab said :

“I have been told by nearly every District Magistrate of the Punjab that wherever there was Arya Samaj, it was the centre of the seditious talk”.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer expressed on similar lines in 1918:

“It should be noted in the fairness of the orthodox Hindus that while the Samaj does not include perhaps more than five percent of the Hindu population of the Punjab an enormous population of the Hindus convicted of sedition and other political offences from 1907 down to the present day 1918 are the members of the Arya Samaj”.

Arya Samajists like Lala Lajpat Rai and his friends used secular expression for explaining their view point but there was an other brand of Arya Samajists who were forth right in asserting their fair and unfair demands against the growing consciousness of the Punjabi Muslims. We find an interesting comparison of attitudes of Punjabi Hindus and Indian Muslims. The former were a minority in the province of the Punjab. They feared that the Muslim rule would again be imposed. As such they should resist it. Indian Muslims also lived under similar fears at an all India level.

Arya Samajists were the first in the Punjab who indulged in the modern economic activities. The Punjab National Bank Ltd. was floated in 1895 by men like Mahatma Hans Raj, Seth Prabhu Dayal Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia, Dr. Beli Ram and others. The Bharat Insurance Company came into being by the efforts of Lala Har Kishan Lal Gauba and others. Lala Ji himself was of course, not an

Arya Samajist. Then there was a Punjab Hindu Mutual Family Relief Fund. Certain Cotton Mills were also set up in different cities.

This has been the background of the Punjab in whose cradle Mohammad Iqbal saw the light of the day on 23 February 1873 at Sialkot.

Iqbal-I

There is some confusion regarding the exact date of birth of Iqbal. A few scholars have checked it up from the municipal records of Sialkot and confirm that he was born on 23 February 1873, but this does not strike to be correct since Iqbal comes to Lahore in 1895 after qualifying his Intermediate examination from the Mission College, Sialkot. Did he pass this twelve years course of studies at the age of 22 ? He was all along a brilliant student. Many distinctions, scholarships, medals and other awards were there to his credit. Even if it is taken that the Muslims were on the whole slow in taking the advantage of the Western education and Iqbal's parents were not forward looking and child Iqbal might have spent a few years in learning Persian and Arabic in some Madrasa, but there is no proof to confirm it.

His parents belonged to the lower middle class. This is a class which is considered custodian of all conceivable virtues such as piety, humility, honesty generosity and what not. His father Sheikh Nur Mohammad was an embodiment of all these qualities and over it he was a man of mystic persuasions. Though family had migrated from Kashmir many many years ago and its members were almost naturalised in the Punjab, yet they had always been conscious of their Kashmiri origins. Beauties of the valley and other details of family history were never forgotten.

Iqbal's parents were devoted Muslims. They were proud of the fact that their ancestors had embraced Islam, but they were not against Hinduism. This was perhaps the reason why Iqbal in his youth had very often taken pride in his Brahmanical ancestry. This is purely a Kashmiri trait, otherwise Punjabi Muslims are generally found reluctant to believe the historic fact that they are also the descendents of pious Brahmins or brave Rajputs or say of some other Hindu caste.

As the family atmosphere of Iqbal was surcharged with religious thought, he must have learnt the Holy Quran at the tender age. He venerated prophet and his great teachings throughout his life

The Sufism was very popular mode of religion amongst the Muslims of the Punjab but its content did not conform to the teachings of Algazali, Rumi, Samai, Jami and Hafiz. Punjabis and Kashmiris had their own Sufi saints of great merit namely Farid, Bullehshah, Hama-dan etc. Then inhabitants of the Punjab were not only Muslims. There were Hindus and Sikhs whose religious attitudes were also to leave some influence on the popular brand of Sufism of the Muslims.

Most of them had been the converts from Hinduism. Even if it is conceded that their change of religion was not symbolic, still certain very deep cultural values of Hinduism could not have been stamped out from their minds. In the common religious gatherings emphasis was invariably laid on the transitoriness of human life and ultimate dissolution of self in God. Well, much can be said for and against this theological position *visa-vis* Islam, but Punjab was the meeting place of different religious communities.

Well, there was nothing extraordinary in the parentage of Iqbal. Such people live and die unseen, unnoticed and unmarked by the learned historians, as if, they are inconsequential. They, however, aspired that their son should be a good Muslim.

They could not of course imagine that their child was destined to be a great Muslim divine, but intellectual gifts of the young boy were observed in the school. The first teacher to high-highs it was Maulvi Mir Hasan of Sialkot who happened to be a very punctual and dedicated professor of Persian and Arabic in the Mission College Sialkot.

It was he who played a notable part in shaping the mind of the young Iqbal. So far as the gift of poetry is concerned, it could be natural to Iqbal. He once said in his later age that writing of poetry could not be taught. No teacher would help much in this direction. Language is, of course, something to be learnt. As a young man, Iqbal had submitted some of his poems to "Dagh" Dehlvi for perusal.

Such eminent poets of the times used to maintain their offices where the Younger poets used to send their poetic produce. These were returned after carrying out necessary corrections and suggestions. In case of Iqbal the said Delhi poet indicated after a short period that former had acquired the degree of maturity. As such, further corrections in his case were no longer necessary. So Iqbal did not learn much from Dagh, though the latter used to claim with pride that Iqbal was one of his most promising pupils.

Iqbal comes to Lahore in 1895 for prosecuting his higher studies and joins the premier educational institution of the province Government college Lahore as a B.A. Student. Its alumni includes many outstanding personalities of the past and present generation of the Punjabi Hindus, and Muslims and Sikhs. His subjects were "English", "Arabic" and "Philosophy". As a young boy, he must have been advised by his parents, teachers, relatives and others not to be swept away by the so called modern life of Lahore. He was conscious that he had been admitted to a leading institution where he should make full use of his precious time. His higher studies were meant for rendering service to his religion 'Islam and to his people'.

In the evolution of a great mind, heredity plays some part in early stages. After a few years the urge of self-making takes charge of the personality. As a young man, he must have roamed about in the bazars and streets of the great city of Lahore and got himself acquainted with all kinds of religious, social and cultural activities going on all around. His young mystic mind was in the formative stage where impressions for all sides could easily settle. He must have observed that many far-reaching changes were taking place in the capital of the province. At Sialkot, he had studied textbooks, the Holy Quran and few other works of Persian and Arabic. Now an opportunity had come for learning new ideas and of observing new details. His intellectual apparatus was ready to receive that all, though religious hold was very strong, on his mind.

It would be difficult for the present generation of the young citizens of Lahore to visualise the colourful character of their great city a few decades ago when all the three communities of the Punjab used to live there as one people, Punjabis. Their relations were good or bad, they had nevertheless been friends and neighbours.

Lahore is an ancient city. The city "possesses as many and as interesting historical sights and reminiscences as any other famous city of India; while no Indian city can boast of having been the seat of so many imperial dynasties as Lahore". Had it been situated some where in Europe we could have found a library of books narrating the details of its history. It was an important Hindu principality. Its name is found in the annals of Kashmir and Rajputana. Once it was ruled by Bhatti Rajputs. One of the city gates is known as "Bhatti Gate" till date. Even if, it is conceded that Lahore could not vie with Delhi in its historic significance, it played a notable part in the Indian history.

Tradition goes that it was founded by Lav, son of Lord Rama.

It is situated in a region which had been the camping ground of the early Aryan migration and civilisation. It was the seat of the holy singers of the Vedic hymns. There is another view that it was built up some time in the first century A.D. It was the capital of many Rajput dynasties. Even to-day its sight confirms that it is "raised on the remains of a succession of the former habitation's". Early Rajas provided it a strong and prestigious fortification for its adequate defence.

It had experienced many upheavals. Lahore had been a centre of power under the brave Hindu Rajas. It retained its importance under Pre Mughal and Mughal eras. Akbar used to hold his cabinet meetings over here. Prince Salim had his famous romance with Anar Kali in its streets. Love of Jahangir and Nurjahan developed over here. Shahjahan was born here. History of Sikhs can not be written without referring Lahore very frequently. Arya Samaj as a movement saw its zenith in this city. It is doubtful if there is any other city of the subcontinent which had faced so many aggressions. Many of these were repulsed. Others were checked and at times the city fell. But its great people always recovered and recovered as quickly as possible.

With the establishment of Muslim rule in the Punjab, Lahore acquired additional importance. The Mughals paid special attention to it. Padshahi Masjid, Jahangir's Tomb and Shalimar Gardens are the majestic monuments of their times. It was the capital of the empire raised by Ranjit Singh. The East India Company had also confirmed its stature and therefore retained it the capital of the province. The British Government on one side, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs on the other, did their best in building up the city further during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Where Delhi and Lucknow had been decaying in the evening of the last century Lahore was coming up in so many ways. Many religious, social, cultural and educational institutions were opened during the period 1870 to 1907. The signs of New India emerging as mighty nation were noticed here more than in Lucknow. It could thus be compared with Calcutta and Bombay where new India was more in making.

Young Iqbal must have observed how massive buildings were coming up around his own college. University buildings were under construction by the orders of the Punjab Government and at the same time, Arya Samajists were vigorously raising their complex of educational institutions in the same area.

Poor Iqbal had no financial means to reside in the newly built

civil line areas of the city. He had to hire a small room in the walled city. He used to get up very early in the morning and attended to his normal prayers. Being a Punjabi he should have been careful about his health in his youth, but it appears that he neglected this side of his life totally for which he had to pay a very heavy price in the years to come.

He passed his B.A. examination with flying colours in the year 1897 and joined M.A. Degree Course in Philosophy.

Here he came into contact with Prof. Thomas Arnold. The said Englishman had been teaching Philosophy at the Aligarh University prior to his new assignment at the Government college Lahore, He had helped many gifted students at Aligarh to come up intellectually and now here was another serious and solemn mind at Lahore awaiting his guidance and affections. He noted the extraordinary calibre of young Iqbal and became his life long guide, mentor and friend. In the year 1899, Iqbal passed the M.A. Examination with distinction.

Immediately after the results were declared, he was appointed as Assistant Professor of English in the one of the University Colleges of Lahore. He was, infact, not born to address the classes of young students studying for the paper degrees, better say passports for seeking petty jobs in the Government offices. He had different ambitions.

During these years he was writing poetry also. His poems were listened with great enthusiasm and he had become a star attraction for the people of Lahore. He was at once a teacher of English, Master's degree holder in Philosophy and poet in Urdu. It is strange to record that the first book which he wrote was on Economics. How he became interested in this subject is not known. He might have perhaps felt that the study of economics was very important for the people of his generation.

He had appeared for the E.A.C. (Extra Assistant Commissioner) examination which was then conducted by the Government of the Punjab. He qualified in the written part of the examination as well as in the personality test, but as good luck would have it he was declared 'unfit' on medical grounds. We can appreciate the personal reaction of Iqbal on his rejection, but had he been finally selected and posted as some sort of administrative officer say in some far flung district of the Punjab, mankind would have been deprived of his enduring contributions in the domains of literature and philosophy. Some lesser man who must have been selected in his place, could have perhaps better manned that petty position of the administration. The medical board should be cheered for having rejected an outstanding

genius of the century so that he could do something more useful for his motherland, community and religion.

When the problem of livelihood was moderately solved for Iqbal, his interest in writing poetry and study of Islam became more intense. Time had come for him to write moving poetry which he used to recite before the august gatherings of the Anjuman-i-Hidayat-ul-Islam, Lahore. People used to listen to them all in pin drop silence.

'Makhzan' was the first important Urdu Magazine which started publishing his poems. Urdu Editors of the other weeklies and monthlies of the Punjab and outside approached him for obtaining his poems to print. Iqbal did not write poetry for earning remuneration. He was against the idea of selling his art. He was, then, wielding his pen for expressing his profound sense of grief.

He was pained to see how the Indian society was apathetic even to its own future. Certain eminent critics in Pakistan dismiss this period of his writing poetry, as if, it has been something immature composed by a promising poet. This is a travesty of fact. Iqbal's early poems had been seen by Dagh Dehlvi who testified that former's art had reached a level which required no further technical improvement. Each and every poem of this era is animated with prophetic inspiration. He wrote to one of his friends as early as in 1903, "For long I have been yearning to write in the manner of Milton". This is a clear indication that the young man in Iqbal was aspiring to conquer the literary peaks of the highest magnitude.

But for the time being he had set his mind on the national issues that were confronting his times. As a nationalist poet he could either warn against the impending dangers or make suitable suggestions as to how the future responsibilities should be discharged. Iqbal passes these tests with honour and dignity. He was conscious that shedding tears on the past glory would not pave the way for the bright future. He impressed upon his readers that the divisive tendencies which had proved disastrous in the Indian history should be stamped out. Religion, and religious thoughts should not be misused as a means for spreading hatred amongst the communities. These should rather be used for reconstructing the lives of the individuals. Ideas of nationalism echo from most of the poems written during this period. The poet prays that the urge to be true Indians should seize the minds of the people. He feels restless about the unhappy developments taking place all around him. He pulls up the Hindu Brahmin and Muslim Priest in the same breathe for being too orthodox and conservative. He impresses that as a poet he believes that

even the tiny particle of the dust of the motherland was a deity. As a young man he did not like the ideas of those Hindus who stood for revivalism of their faith.

His style of the poems written during these years is simple, fresh and moving. Most of them can be written in Devnagri script and would appear as if these had been originally composed in this very language. Their appeal is direct. It is a different matter that he does not express it in so many words but is apparently pained by the growing impact of the Hinduised Nationalism. He could not help warning its disastrous consequences for the country as a whole. He emphasises with all poetic force at his command that the vital interests of the country would be safe only if the people belonging to different religions were united.

Keeping the history of this century in view it can not be said that his fears were wrongly founded. It is argued that the religious colouration of nationalism was not directed against the Muslims. It however goes without saying that it certainly restrained the Muslims to join main stream of national life.

It is true that national movement amongst the Hindus was broad based but the Muslims were getting scared though clear separatism was not in sight. The crafty rulers were watching all these developments. It was obviously in their interest to keep the major communities of the country divided so that their own authority should remain unassailed. They had no moral obligation to help or guide in evolving concepts of Indian nationalism.

Iqbal's concept of nationalism appears to be more secular than many eminent Hindu leaders of his times since it was based on unbiased study of the prevailing circumstances. It was more Jeffersonian or Gandhian. Amongst the Hindus Bankim's nationalism was growing very popular. Iqbal deserves admiration on this score. Today we uphold that Nationalism which was echoed once by young Iqbal.

Men like Tilak, Aurbindo had identified their nationalism with cultural ethos of Hinduism. They had built up their arguments in such a manner as if India and Hinduism had meant one and the same thing.

There were of course many irresponsible Hindu leaders who advocated that their struggles for independence were not against the British Raj only. They were foolishly fighting against many long time dead Muslim Monarchs and generals of the medieval India. This was unfortunate extension of the argument by which the religious susceptibilities of the Muslims were badly hurt.

Young Iqbal denounced the idea of using the religion for seek-

ing the political ends. He knew that in the Indian History there were certain sordid accounts which if narrated with bias would not permit the people to get united. His own conscience on the issue was clear. He poetically translates the "Gayatri Mantra" of the Rig-Veda. He writes beautiful poems in praise of Lord Rama Lord Buddha and Guru Nanak. It is said he had once decided to write 'Ramayana' in poetic form. Had he done so this would have been the most valuable service which a Muslim poet of his calibre alone could have rendered. It would have been another milestone in the history of Indian Literature and Religion.

The visionary, in Iqbal wrote the preamble of the Indian secularism in his Poems. Millions and Millions are indebted to him today for rendering this signal service. His national song is on the lips of our children. When he advised for unity, the enthusiasts of Hindu nationalism did not listen to him. After a few decades when Gandhi and Nehru appealed on the similar lines, the response of Muslims including that of Iqbal was not favourable.

Time and tide do not wait. Our men of destiny failed to demonstrate the required level of modernisation in their thoughts.

Iqbal was a "pained and aggrieved" mind. What to say of the subcontinent, the entire Muslim world was in bad shape. His country was under the heels of the British Imperialism and lying helpless. His personal life was also not very happy. He was, at times found frustrated and weary. Yet there was no trace of accepting defeat in his battle of life. He was determined to find out his way.

His faith in God, Prophet and the Holy Quran was total even when he was championing the cause of Indian Nationalism though he had not yet become the spokesman of "Prestine Islam". We notice the impact of the English romantic poetry in his early poems. There are delicate touches confirming his belief in Pantheism. After all, he was writing in India. The ethos of this land, were to leave their impact on his youthful mind.

He is a staunch Muslim who pins high hopes on the human efforts. He believes that the men are capable of recovering from their misfortunes if they so determine. First of all, enervating thoughts and philosophies are to be shunned and then get prepared to face the most difficult circumstances courageously. Iqbal is clear that where there is will, there is a way too. God helps those who help themselves.

The style of his verses is lucid. The use of Hindi terms that are otherwise common in everyday life, is frequent. The poet in Iqbal was conscious that he was addressing to all the Indian people

irrespective of their religious denominations.

The rise of such a great young Urdu Poet from the land of the five rivers was a challenge to the traditional custodians of the Urdu language at Delhi and Lucknow. They left no stone unturned in under estimating the greatness of Iqbal. How could they tolerate their supremacy being challenged from a poet belonging to the Punjab?

Times have rolled on. Iqbal stands as an illuminating poet, philosopher, and bald of Islam but it is pity that his denunciation from U.P. did not subside for a very long time. He is presented as a poet of moderate attainments by a few celebrities of Urdu poetry namely Josh and Firaq.

The long stay in Lahore had furthered his urges in so many ways. He must have observed the scions of rich families going to U.K. for earning higher academic degrees. It was quite natural for Iqbal to aspire for going abroad to prosecute his studies if possible. Being an overage for the Indian Civil Service Examination, he could not be a probable candidate for this steel frame service. He could, therefore, think of doing something in Philosophy or Law and return as a Professor or a barrister so that he could either teach or start legal practice. It would not be out of place to mention here that most of the Indian leaders of those times had been lawyers of great eminence. Some of them had studied law in England.

It is a matter of belief in our society even to-day that "England Returned" lawyers, doctors and engineers are more competent than their counterparts produced in India. Foreign degree holders are offered more commanding positions.

Iqbal-II

Prof. Thomas Arnold took initiative that Iqbal should prosecute his further studies in England. He was convinced that his pupil was promising. The opportunity of studying abroad would help the young man to discover his best. So he got Iqbal admitted in the Trinity College, Cambridge for working under the guidance of Prof. Mc. Taggart, one of the ablest Hegelian thinkers of the times. His equals in the domain of philosophy were perhaps Bradley, Alexander and Whitehead.

Brilliant youngmen like Moore and Bertrand Russell had also learnt philosophy at the feet of Prof. Mc Taggart. Sheikh Mohd. Iqbal and Lala Hardyal, the two youngmen of the Punjab sailed for England in the same year 1905. It is very interesting to observe that academically speaking, Iqbal was M.A. in philosophy but he belonged to the world of literature. Hardyal was M.A. in English Literature and had been admitted in the all Souls' College Oxford, but he was essentially a young man of philosophic endowment with strong revolutionary urges.

Stirling's work on Hegel was published in 1865. This was the beginning of the German ideasism seizing the thinkers of the Great Britain. In the seventies the Hegelian philosophy had taken charge of the situation. Wallace's 'Logic of Hegel' was published in 1874, Bradley's Ethical Studies came in 1876 and Caird's book on Kant was published in 1877. Had Iqbal joined Cambridge two years after say in 1907, he would have heard more of Shaw, Moore, Russell, Keynes etc. New discoveries in the worlds of physics, mathematics, and other natural sciences had also led to the new ideas in the region of philosophy. New questions were on the lips of young British philosophers which the German idealism of the late nineteenth century was unable to answer.

Poor Iqbal was under the advice of Prof. Thomas Arnold who had long lived in India and was therefore unaware of new developments in the contemporary Western Thought. He put his young disciple under the charge of those whose times had run out. Iqbal

had been perhaps unaware of all this and was made to drink deep and deep at the drying springs of the German thought, ie under Prof. Mc. Taggart and Prof. R. Ward. During his stay at Cambridge he studied Kant in details and had developed love for this German thinker. He learnt Fichte as much as he could. Hegel seems to have no appeal for him. It is also quite probable that he did not like to swallow the intricate works of this German thinker which were not simply voluminous rather terribly exhausting and boring.

Neitzsche had died only in 1899. His writings were being frequently discussed in the study circles. Iqbal was fascinated by many ideas of this German thinker.

Iqbal was not a young fashionable college student. He was fairly grown up and mature. He knew that the time at his disposal was very short and he had a long way to go. He was very serious about his studies. He had all love for his motherland, but he did not indulge in revolutionary activities being led by the Indian Majlis. The students associated with it used to hold discussions about Indian affairs in which bold programmes against the British rule over India were made. Iqbal had many other important things to do.

He was a Muslim. The main anchor of his thought was the Holy Quran. Islam as a religion is not simply concerned with the personal affairs of the individuals. It is associated with the organisation of the society. Oman the great had once remarked, "There is no Islam without an organised society." Iqbal still supported the idea of the Hindu-Muslim unity. Even when certain Muslims of Lahore were speaking againsts the "Swedeshi movement" launched by the Nationalist forces, Iqbal admonished the former from England not to do so.

In England he was in the company of the idealists who were more concerned with the issues relating to 'God', "Absolute" and "self". In the circumstances, there could be no room for active scientific and objective thinking. There is another point too. Iqbal had a religious bent of mind. Certain ideas of mysticism and metaphysics were floating in his mind even prior to his proceeding to England and they got the direction for further development. So he tried to accommodate the newly learnt ideas of idealistic philosophies in his built in thought apparatus.

All this resulted in subtle changes of those philosophic positions with which he had left from India. Prof. Ward influenced him against Platonism, Pantheism, and Absolutism and strengthened his belief in Monoism i.e. again the "Confirmation of his theological position". It was a matter of belief for him that the salvation of humanity rested

in the path laid down by the Prophet which should not be tempered. Serious and hard thinking made him to imagine that by tearing out the veils of these isms referred just above, he would be able to create the bright prospects for the original Islam.

The Hegelians of Cambridge certainly enriched him in thoughts but could never convince him with their arguments. He had by then well realised the inadequacy of the Western Thought in solving the complicated human problems confronting his age. Iqbal came back to Islam with, of course, some "clap-trap" of the Western philosophy. This later part of his learning was not popularly known to the Indian scholars of Islam. Along with this, the actual problems of the Muslims living in Europe, Asia and Africa began to engage his attention. He was so seized with theological and other issues of the Islam and the Muslims that he once desired to stop writing of poetry and indulge in philosophic speculations and other allied work for energising the Muslims of the world. Sir Abdul Qadir who was incidently in England prevailed upon Iqbal not to do so. Prof. Arnold was also consulted who had also supported the view that Iqbal should continue writing poetry. Literature of the subcontinent would remain always obliged to both these friends of Iqbal as otherwise our literary loss would have been irreparable. But there is another side of the coin too, Iqbal was a great mind, who could have made equally great contribution in the realm of thought if he had stuck to his decision.

Under the advice of Prof. Arnold, Iqbal proceeded to Germany for studying certain original documents in Persian that were available in Munich. Here was an opportunity for him to write his doctoral dissertation "Development of Metaphysics in Persia." The same was submitted to the Munich University for which he was awarded Ph. D. on 4.11.1907. The authorities of the University were extremely considerate to this Indian. First, they allowed Iqbal to submit his thesis in English whereas it was the normal practice of the University that the doctoral thesis should have been in German language. Viva-voce was of course, conducted in this language.

It is really strange that a scholar of Iqbal's competence should have submitted his thesis to a German University. He could have been assigned some suitable topic in England also. What were the objections of the Cambridge University authorities in acknowledging the talent of Iqbal? Eminent orientalisists like Prof. Brown and Prof. R.A. Nicholson were there in England who could have examined the merit of this Indian student. They could be his examinees, but Iqbal was an Indian, born of an inferior race. It is regretted Cambridge honoured him with a simple B.A. degree when Iqbal was already

M.A. from the University of the Punjab. It is pity this error was never rectified by Cambridge.

Later on Prof. Brown who was otherwise not a great admirer of Iqbal's poetry in Persian appreciates Iqbal's dissertation for Ph. D. "an excellent little book". The subject demanded from Iqbal to study Sufism to its depths and understand it throughly. So he had studied Ibn-ul-Arabi and Aljili in details. His poetic temper drew him closer to Rumi's 'Masnavi'. So here was the discovery of another work which was dearest to him next only to the "Holy Quran". The poet in him was enchanted by the rhythm and rhyme of it.

Whatever were the strains of his philosophic studies, Iqbal did not forget to qualify as Bar at Law from Lincoln's Inn London. He knew that writing of poetry and philosophy would be an exciting exercise in India but not remunerative. At the same time, he was not very fond of teaching in the University and in colleges too. It may be so because the Universities of the subcontinent did not pay according to the merit of the teachers. Our institutions are governed by rotten scales of pay which do not bend this way or that.

The biographers from India and Pakistan avoid to discuss the private lives of their greatmen. They concentrate on the public images of their celebrities. This task becomes more difficult in case of men like Iqbal as he was not simply a phenomenon of poetry rather known as 'bald' of Islam. He is revered by his country men. So the study of his private life has remained a closed book. The facts relating to it are not discussed, as if, these had been of no consequence.

Authentic records are also not available and then many of his close friends had long paid the debt of nature. So we have no means to build up our study in details. Iqbal was a handsome Punjabi. His colour was fair like those of Kashmiris. He was robust in physique. Being a "Sialkotia" by birth he had some interest in the wrestling.

Where he had been writing passionate poetry since his early youth, Punjabi Muslims as a community were extremely conservative in their day to day lives. In the given circumstances this passionate youth must have been feeling suffocated. It was something impossible that Iqbal could have practised of a romance with 'fair' sex without being scandalised in India.

He must have felt liberated on the European soil. He frequently meets Attiya Faizi a beautiful fashionable and qualified Indian Muslim lady in England. She even accompanied him to Germany for some time. This writer has gone through Iqbal's letters addressed to this lady. The diary of Miss Faizi also throws some

light on this delicate issue. So let us leave the matter here. Iqbal had married more than once, but it is doubtful whether his wives had ever inspired him to produce great works of art.

Three years sojourn in Europe had transformed his head and heart to a considerable degree. When he returned home he was not the same Iqbal. He possessed the first hand knowledge of the Western world and had well grasped certain secrets of its life and philosophy.

He liked the vitality and dynamism of the European people. He admired their zest for hard work and constructive attitude of life, but he was disappointed regarding many things of their culture and civilization. He observed how the knowledge and love of material things had robbed their qualities of love, the most important human sentiment, the bed rock of real culture, and the hope of the society. He noted the inhuman techniques being applied by the Western people for exploiting the humanity all over the world. He was conscious how the progress in science and technology was being misused by the dragons of Capitalism and Imperialism. The shock of all this was so intense on his mind that he even did not remain the respecter of simple ideas of the Western democracy. He dismissed them as something superfluous.

In the same train of thought he ridiculed the ideology of nationalism since it was resting on the belief of race and geography to which Islam refused to acknowledge as the right factors of dividing humanity. Nationalism was un-Islamic according to him. His mind had also moved far away from the philosophy of Pantheism a strong meeting point of ancient Hinduism and medieval Islam.

On the other hand, the political life at Lahore had undergone a big change between the years 1905 to 1908. The Punjab Hindu Sabha was founded in 1907. In June 1909, it addressed a long memorial to H.E. Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India listing the grievances of the community. In October, 1909 its conference was held at Lahore where Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Hans Raj, Lala Shadi Lal and others participated. Lala Lal Chand was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. He stated in his address, "The times, we live in are characteristically of communal struggle, and survival of the fittest is the all pre-dominant and universal law which rules the issue certainly in animate life if not inanimate nature".

With almost similar state of minds the leading Indian Muslims had formed an All India Muslim League. The fears of the Punjabi Hindus were identical with those of the Muslims in the entire sub-continent. Iqbal was conscious how the situation had been deteriorating, and that drifted him away far away from the ideas of Indian-

ness. He was now a Muslim first and Muslim last and had planned to address the Muslims of the world.

He switched over to writing in Persian considering that it would be a more suitable means of communication for the Muslim world. This does not mean that he had gone against India or Hindus. He had simply set his attention on new horizons. After all, India is situated in that part of the world which is predominantly Muslim. It is a geographic reality. It shall have to swim and sail with the rest of the Muslim world. Late Mr. Mohammad Zafrulla Khan once an eminent leader of Pakistan, correctly said somewhere, "Main groups of the Muslim peoples occupy, as it were, a middle belt from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Beginning with North Western Africa, the indigenous populations of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria are wholly Muslim. Libya, Egypt Northern Sudan, Coastal Eritrea, and Somaliland, are almost wholly Muslim, the coptic minority in Egypt being the only notable exception. No census has been taken in Ethiopia, where the Amharic section of the population is in a position of dominance, but it is estimated that the Muslims constitute nearly half the total population. Along with the vast coast of Africa, Mauritania, Senegal, Mali Guinea are largely Muslim, Gambia, Sierra Leona and Ghanna have sizeable Muslim population; Northern Nigeria is largely Muslim. There is a scathing of Muslim in most of the other countries. Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Muscat, and the Arab Sheikdoms along the Southern and Eastern sea board of Arabia and along the Persian Gulf are wholly Muslim. Israel has a small Muslim Majority. Lebanon has, officially, a Christian majority, but no census has been taken in recent years, and the Muslims claim that owing to their higher birth rate and their lower migration from the country as compared to the Christian population, they are now in majority.

Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and West Pakistan are almost wholly Muslim. There are fifty million Muslims in India. East Pakistan (now Bangla Desh) is seventy per cent Muslim. Ceylon and Burma have small Muslim minorities. Malaya has a Muslim majority. Indonesia is ninety per cent Muslim. There is a sprinkling of Muslims in Thailand, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. There is a Muslim minority in the Philippines and the Fiji Islands.

Sinkiang and the North West Provinces of China have a majority of Muslims among their population. The South West Province of Yanan has over a million Muslims. It is estimated that there are altogether more than forty million Muslims in China. The Central Asian Soviets of U.S.S.R. are predominantly Muslim".

Iqbal's generation had experienced how in the country the British Raj and the new 'system' of education imposed by it were gradually cultivating respect for the European culture and indifference for traditional value systems. Iqbal vainly tried to checkmate this powerful cultural aggression through the medium of his poems. Like all great minds of India of those times, Iqbal was more vehement than precise. He tried to express what he had felt but not exactly what he had meant.

By 1908, India had well entered the twentieth century. In 1857, feudal India was defeated and the forces of national resurgence were in their embryonic stage, but with the turn of the century India was in ferment. The Punjab, though, integrated very late with the British India was uneasy. Men like late Sardar Ajit Singh, Lala Lajpat Rai and a few others had picked up the cudgels against the tyrannical rule in support of the poor peasantry of the province. Even if, it is conceded that Iqbal did not show keen interest in the peasants unrest he was not living in the vacuum too. It is quite likely that he might have thought that the peasants' revolts were being engineered by the Hindu and Sikh leaders with whom he had no sympathy. He was more concerned with the miserable plight of the Muslims. The Italian occupation of Libya, the extension of French control over Morocco, Balkan war, fears of division of Persia and even of Turkey were disturbing his mind more than the peasants' unrest of the Punjab.

There were, of course, certain problems of the Indian Muslims which had pained him badly. His real difficulty was that he had no means to know what exactly was happening all around within the country and outside. Muslim Press in India had no means to send the correspondants all over the world. It used to cook heart rending details in the Lahore offices to highlight the oppression or the exploitation of the Muslims. That was the only source through which information used to pour in Iqbal's small study room. Well, this was enough for a poet in him to move. He had no business to bother for verifying the details being made available. All this carried him to acquire peculiar perceptions and then at times to wrong conclusions. He believed that time had come for the Muslims to unite and move the history. This idea was of course fantastic.

The Hindu masses were now actively participating in the nationalist movement. Influences of Tilak and Aurobindo were expanding far and penetrating deep. The Muslim masses were not all happy about these developments but had no leadership to guide them pro-

perly. They had their own suspicions. The early resolutions of All India Muslim League confirm that the Muslim elite was seriously thinking for abandoning the policy of loyalty to the British Raj but at the same time it was not in a mood to join hands with the Nationalist Forces. Many leaders of the Congress who can not be dubbed as communalists were addressing to the Hindus alone. Their activities may not be directed against the Muslims but they were functioning with in the Hindu ethos and as such could not help providing Hinduised illustrations and interpretations in their speeches.

History had an other side too. There were, of course, a few eminent Muslim leaders in the Congress too who were similarly concerned with Islam and with the problems of their community in the beginning. They were active members of the Muslim League. It would be interesting to record that the sessions of Congress and Muslim League were held at the same place and at the same time, so that such leaders who happened to be members of both the parties could easily participate in different sessions of the respective parties. Identical resolutions were also passed at times. In this way, differences were minimised and difficulties of each other well understood and appreciated. Unfortunately this state of affairs was not to last long.

How could a man of Iqbal's stature be satisfied by teaching in a class room ? He was born to address an age. His mystical mind was yearning for throwing up epochal messages.

Iqbal had no ambition to produce that quality of literature now which should have simply augmented the urges for political emancipation. He had high peaks to climb but as a "Professor" in the Government College Lahore, he was aware of certain restraints on the liberty of his expression. He apprehended that his ideas would not be acceptable to the rulers. So, he tendered his resignation from the professorship in 1911 without caring for the financial consequences of his action. He was now determined to write such a master piece which would move the slumberous minds of the Muslims. Its study should make the reader feel as if he was passing through a psychological experience for reconstructing his future life.

Iqbal picked up the threads from the character of the prophet, "The Guiding star of Islam". This became his view of reality to which he committed himself. The strong Western influences on his mind were long shelved and had been seldom applied by him and that too only for establishing as to how the West was indebted to Islam of the medieval age.

His weakness for Nietzsche's philosophy is of course a different matter. It is rather a demonstration of his strong militant attitude. He did not submit to this German thinker, rather tried to learn what could fit in his philosophy. Iqbal had never forgotten that the decline of the East was brought by the unscrupulous Western powers. He wished that this loot should stop.

The first step which the people of the East should take was to muster courage the supreme virtue according to Nietzsche. The German thinker works out a specification of 'superman' who should create history. This concept seized many minds of that age but they all had provided different characteristics to their respective "superman".

Nietzsche, as a thinker, had a strong irrational side in his thought but at the same time, there are certain important ideas included therein. He did some elementary work for Freud. He was one of the early existentialists. He influenced the linguistic philosophy of Wittengstein. Men like Sartre, Sorel, Thomas Man, Gide, O'Neil, Havelock Ellis, Croce etc. were also indebted to his philosophy for working out their own details of thought.

Iqbal was now trying to do something more for which profound knowledge of entire human thought to the extent it was possible was absolutely necessary. His "perfect man" has a spiritual purpose but that is not just an inward looking say a 'peer' or a 'saint'. He means to draw an ideal for the material circumstances.

He aspires to transform the "man of common clay" into a 'Mard-i-Kamil', for which he finds some useful lessons in the works of Nietzsche. Iqbal had pointed out that this European thinker also possessed similar ambitions to realise. So as thinkers they meet at certain points. Both had led simple, straight and uneventful lives. As young men they had been bright students and great scholars. Iqbal was, of course, a poet but interested in philosophy. Nietzsche was a classicist and student of philology. Both had the bad health. They were fond of Music. Both loved strong men. Nietzsche admired Napoleon and Iqbal was fond of Tipu Sultan. They had no love for democracy. But there is one salient difference. Iqbal was strong religious mind. Being the ardent disciple of the prophet he understood the significance of great human virtues e.g. Kindness, love sacrifice etc., Nietzsche decried them all as nonsense.

Iqbal had a long period of incubation unseen and unwatched. It was all quiet at the surface, but the sensitised mind of the poet in him was always busy in handling subtler issues. He had created intellectual tensions for himself. In the process, he had abandoned certain

old positions and penetrated deep into those territories of the Islamic thought which had been the privilege of the very few in the history.

Around 1913, Iqbal started writing 'Israr-i-Khudi'. First he tried to pen it in Urdu but soon realised that this language had no tradition of such philosophical works in poetic form. Since 1906 he had been seriously studying Persian thought and poetry and had thereby acquired very high level of proficiency in the use of this language.

By 1913, he had almost abandoned writing of his poetry in Urdu and switched over to Persian for expressing his accumulated tensions. He was clear that this changeover was necessary if he had to address the Muslims outside India. Just as Kalidas and Milton used Hindu and Christian backgrounds but in their cases real throb is universal. This did not strike to Iqbal. It is true that message delivered in Urdu would not have reached beyond the frontiers of the sub-continent, but it could have attained his objective.

Persian was known to the educated Muslims in India as well as in some Muslim countries of the world. Iqbal used it without investigating even the situation in Iran. He perhaps did not know that the said country was passing through a period of intense nationalism. Its eminent writers had adopted simplicity in style. They were weeding out difficult Arabic words so that their masses should understand what they wished to convey. Well, Iqbal could have argued that he was not addressing the people of Iran alone, but still question remains how many Muslim countries other than India were there where his style of writing Persian was popular. Iqbal is not being taken that seriously by Iran or Turkey or Afghanistan or any other Muslim country of the world. He is a great poet of the sub-continent only.

This was a consequential mistake the poet had made. He did not realise that in doing so he was impoverishing Urdu. He was unaware of the fact that he had no means to know the contemporary trends in Persian poetry as his knowledge of it was largely acquired from the books written in the medieval past and from those friends and teachers who had been educated in Persian of bygone ages. As such, they too had no means to know what changes were taking place in the modern Persian language.

There was another difficulty also. Whatever he had to write, it was first of all to be thought either in Punjabi or in Urdu for conveying it in Persian. This is of course no aspersion on his linguistic proficiency.

It can be argued that men like Gandhi, Nehru, Radha Krishnan and many others had written in English. It is abundantly clear from their writings that the learning of the foreign language did not begin with their "mother's milk". Admirable skills of their writing had been achieved by persistent hard work. Since these celebrities had a vast English knowing readership throughout India, their works would survive for a long time. They are hailed as master pieces of Indian English.

What to say of India, at present even the people of Pakistan do not study Persian as a very important subject. Iqbal's original writings can be prescribed as text books in the Universities. but other readers would not take trouble to open them. Students would read either their translations or their commentaries written by competent critics. In doing so they would come to know the substance of his philosophy but would never be able to appreciate his poetic powers in which the secrets of his high thinking are bequeathed.

Iqbal was seized with the ambition that his "Israr-i-Khudi" should be an epochal work, but during the period he was absorbed in religious studies. At Lahore, he was so situated that he had no means to reflect over the major social, cultural and literary issues of the times.

Being a theological mind, he could attack the problems from the religious and ethical angles only. He was convinced that better world could be built up only if human mind was transformed by strong religious influences. Individual remains the focal point of all his arguments. Although work is Islamic in its scheme still it resembles with that of 'Bhagwad Gita' in its essence.

In its introduction Iqbal refers to the above message of Lord Krishna and its positive influence on the Hindu culture. Here he hits Sankara for writing misleading commentary on Gita which ultimately accelerated the decadence of the Hindu society. Iqbal was abundantly clear that all great men who founded the major world religions were 'Karmyogis' of the highest order and they were actuated by their love for the oppressed. They worked for realisation of God or not, but they did struggle for the human salvation. They rendered selfless service. They served friends and foes alike. They had no strangers and no enemies.

In the first edition of the book he lashes at Hafiz, the Persian poet of Middle ages for injecting those undesirable values in Islam through Sufism for which the fate of the Muslims was ruined, He warns:

“Beware of Hafiz the wine dealer whose cup contains nothing but deadly poison. He the leader of the drunkards is a sheep; and he has learned to sing and bewitch people. Avoid his cup of wine as he has poison in it”.

Iqbal finds the purpose of life is action. No rest. Like a cannon ball, movement should be kept, struggle should continue. Nations and individuals would grow so long as they are in a state of tension, keen edged and eager for battle. If tensions decline, the people would decline, the individuals would decline. The Muslims in India, as tradition goes, were either soldiers or administrators. Iqbal's specification of 'super man' appears to be a soldier cum administrator with strong spiritual inclinations. He is not concerned with the socio-economic problems confronting the leaders of his times.

Hindus did not bother his attack on Sankara even though it was not correct. Iqbal was an 'Updeshak' of action, how could he approve the Hindu idea of salvation through knowledge or self realization? For him, it had meant just escaping from the struggle of life. Knowledge should make life more purposeful. 'Self' realises its best only by enriching the scope of life from many dimensions. Man is not just a thinking animal. Had he been so he would have been extinct long long ago. It is the sagacious combination of thought and action which places him above all creation.

Muslims did not spare him for his unfair criticism of Hafiz. The late Khwaja Hassan Nizami of Delhi was one of those eminent Urdu writers of the times who raised this issue for debate in the Press. Iqbal had elaborated his views on Sufism in his correspondence with Akbar Allahabadi, Khawja Hassan Nizami and Sir Kishan Prasad of Hyderabad of (Deccan), and he defended that position already taken. So a pandemonium was raised. In the end Iqbal feared that the very purpose of his great work would be lost if the readers had grown that angry.

He wisely submitted and the objectionable lines against the said Persian Poet were withdrawn in the subsequent editions. Iqbal admired Hafiz's art as a poet. He had even tried to adopt the style of the Persian poet. He, in fact, wished to voice his ideas against that school of Sufism which had left epileptic effect on the thinking of the Muslims. This school, according to Iqbal, had sought inspiration from Hafiz and few others who had advocated the philosophies of self-negation and self-effacement. For him Sufi is one who is purified from worldly defilement. Iqbal was against hypocritical piety. He

was respecter of those who stood for the love for God and service of humanity.

Iqbal was essentially a poet but he at times passes judgement on those issues for which a qualified social scientist is required. Some expert was required to study the decaying conditions of the Muslims objectively after collecting the data from all the sources. This could not be the function of poet. In fact he was aspiring for being something more, say a mini-prophet.

He had come to make the lives of the Muslims purposeful. He was convinced that all kinds of negative influences integrated or incorporated or interpolated in the original scheme of Islam had left disastrous effects on the history of Muslims. Their immediate weeding out from the minds of the people was absolutely necessary. He had taken it for granted that the Sufis' recommendation of killing the individuals' ego or grounding it into the dust had ruined the Muslims.

Iqbal was not challenging the pseudo-erudite quackeries of Sufism, his real attack was on the essentials. He condemned certain principles which had acquired credibility because of their centuries old perpetuation. Assertions of Iqbal can, however, be disputed. Their outright support or condemnation would mean chauvinism which has no place in modern scholarship. Iqbal tried to explore his inward nature and made effort to integrate it with the world of his times.

This is what great Sufis had done in the past. Sufism is a spiritual adventure. It is not merely an intellectual or ceremonial effort. It is the fulfilment of man's life. It is an experiment through which the man gets elevated. A higher stage of consciousness develops in him by which his understanding expands. Iqbal quotes the Holy Quran in support of his argument.

“Ye the best
Of the people evolved
For mankind
Enjoining what is right
Forbidding what is wrong
And believed in God”.

Iqbal-III

“Although higher animals possess in crude form the rudiments of most intellectual processes, man in his ability to learn, reason, speak and create is unrivaled. He alone dreams of immortality and weeps in the face of tragedy; only man intercepts his destiny and conjures the infinite; only man knows that he creates. Because he is highly intelligent, adaptable, and creative, man has become king of beasts and on occasion, confident of angels. In the sense that man participates consciously in the creative process, he is godlike; in the sense that man is godlike in his aspirations but is neither omniscient nor omnipotent, he is human. Since man’s biological antecedents are animal, he is also part beast. In all of creation man’s heritage is without precedent”.

—Judith Groch

Iqbal’s size of ‘man’ is gigantic. According to him individual is capable of endless progress and is holding the final position in the arrangement of the universe. Sun, moon, oceans, rivers, stones and all other animals are capable of performing those duties only which have been assigned to them. He writes to Nicholson,

“All life is individual; there is no such thing as universal life. God Himself is an individual. He is the most unique individual.”

It is the unique privilege of man in the vast universe to look forward and create something new that is unknown in the world.

He knew the developments of the Western Philosophy till the nineteenth century. He was aware of the Darwin’s theory and its compulsive influence on the thought of Europe of his own times. He was aware that Neo-Darwinians had reduced man to mere simple atoms or molecules and still further just to radio activity. For them, ‘man’ is a useless biological organism. He is at the mercy of the environment and his entire progress as compared to other animals in the universe is only accidental.

Iqbal fights against this view, and reacts like a Shavian evolutionist. He seeks inspiration from Bergson that man is capable of climbing up and subduing his environment. His view of "perfect man" does not confirm that some higher quality of animal than the man would see the light of the day in the distant future and thus the homeosapiens would be superseded. Iqbal had full faith in this 'man' around him and was confident that this very specification had the potentiality of further improvement.

He was not attempting a thesis against Darwin, rather working to create those psychic conditions by which the people of his times should think in terms of progress and development. He was clear in his objectives. He was not even least concerned with the findings of the biology. He was anxious to stamp out the time old fatalism from the minds of the people. He considered it a very big obstacle in the march of their lives since it had stifled their thoughts for which they were heading towards their collapse. Iqbal was conscious that the scientific discoveries were sizing down the position of "man" in the cosmos. He feared that it may prove detrimental to human race. So he rises in the defence of "man" like Prometheus. He draws the attention of the readers to the latent potentialities in each man. He strives that these species should be saved and built-up further. Man is not meant for being battered.

He seeks the inspiration from the Holy Quran when he says that simple prayers of the Almighty would not do. These are farce. Only a man of action devoted to the service of humanity would be able to spread the mission of God. He was clear that the name of God was not some kind of "Allauddin's Lamp." It is the human effort that would move the wheel. The individual is not supposed to retire in some lonely place for cutting beads or for passive contemplation or for some sort of mystic absorption. He should seek closeness to God. But not through absorption.

Iqbal chides those who pray for meeting the Absolute. He was opposed to all those Sufis who were drowned in reciting the prayers of the Almighty. He was against such intensification which could have led the individual away from the normal duties, make him reach the ends of "lugubrian asceticism and profound abstract speculation". He wishes that the men should come out of absurdity and confusion. He pities the wrong conditioning of their minds. According to him, the ultimate aim of the ego is not to see something rather to become something. In the words of Iqbal, "World is not something to be merely seen and known through concepts, but something to be made and remade through continuous action".

Iqbal is a poet. He is not expected to propound a complete system of philosophy like that of Marx or Gandhi or Mao. Poetry flows from his heart and the thoughts from his brain. The poet in him is dominant who tries to see that the words, idioms, phrases, imagery and other artistic paraphernalia are not lost sight of. His literary achievement lies in the fact that his ideas however intricate these are at times, do not affect his art adversely.

His "perfect man" stands for self respect but he is not proud. He is an honourable one but not haughty. He is the embodiment of many manly qualities essentially of courage, service and sacrifice. He is fearless in head and heart.

Iqbal hates the practice of beggary which is well established all over the East. He highlights its paralysing effect. He violently attacks the prevailing laws of inheritance. For him a richman's son is no better than a beggar since he too does not live on the personal earnings. Iqbal knew a good number of rich land lords living around him doing nothing but still enjoying all kinds of luxuries man could ever think of. Their inheritance was just a kind of loot. He attacks the evil of slavery on the lines of Emerson since it damages both master and the slave as their personalities are distorted under its influence. Former is ruined for exploiting and later for being exploited. Iqbal is against all those kings and Rajas who extract tributes from the people and live as parasites.

Where he explains the social ailments which constrict the ego to grow, he makes valuable suggestions for its fortification as well as for its further development. He points out the details by which it can be resurrected. He starts with 'Love' i.e. *Ishq*. Next to "khudi", Love is the most important term in the thought of Iqbal. He provides special meanings to it, and applies it to express some of his profound opinions. According to him it helps both i.e. one who gets as well as the other who gives. Its possibilities can not be fully described. It conquers beyond frontiers. Even impossible tasks can be undertaken through its support. Then he discusses 'Faqr' a term very important in the thought of Sufism.

The element of Indianness is kept low in his Persian works, but it does not totally disappear. He expects his "perfect man" to possess the virtue of tolerance, a tried experience of ancient Indian culture and civilisation. It, however, does not mean adjustment or compromise with injustice or tyranny, rather is a characteristic of maturity in the formation of individual's ego. It also ensures respect for the egos of others. So his, "perfect man" is not a lonely wolf like that of Nietzsche's "superman".

Iqbal is, in fact, designing a leader or a hero who can possibly lead the Muslims towards progress and prosperity. His "perfect man" is a model who is not expected to live on the unearned incomes of others rather on his 'Kasib-i-Hallal'.

Iqbal discusses the role of creativity in the formation of his 'perfect man' also. One who is going to be a man of destiny should have strong imaginative powers. It is the function of the "perfect man" that he should find out "new ways and means" through which nature is conquered and life is turned more meaningful. Art of creation is an extraordinary quality, but is very important for smashing the barriers of the "declared impossibilities."

The Darwin's theory comes in Iqbal's mind and creates certain doubts, but he brushes them aside like that of Tagore. It is the man who lighted the fire, manufactured the wheel, used the hammer and reached the present stage of advanced civilisation. He is blessed with boundless powers, but the determination to make use of them is obviously the first requisite. If this is not there, what would lead him to grapple with the difficult issues? The span of life time allotted to him is very short as compared to the duration of time, but the tasks awaiting him are many.

This is an idealistic view of the situation as there is another side of the problem. The Darwinism quickly divided the religions and philosophies. Naturalism and materialism grew up very rapidly amongst the followers of Darwin. The religion was on the defensive. Philosophy was also in hot waters. The rise of materialism closer to scientific thinking was inevitable.

"Israr-i-Khudi" had been written under the prophetic zeal. Poet was determined to draw the outlines of that philosophy which should help his age to rise against all the possible odds. At the same time, he was to ensure that modern discoveries of science did not contradict his ideas blatantly. It was his principal object to see that this work generated the qualitative change in the minds of the people. His bias for making life purposeful on this earth is clear. He does not transport us to metaphysical realms rather keeps us on this earth and advises to enrich the personal existence both mentally and materially.

It is understandable that a thinker like Iqbal should have advised that defeats and failures should not dishearten the individual. It is rather the solemn duty of the latter to re-examine his position and scrutinise his past actions and try to locate the reasons of his failures. We men and women of average ability with normal potentialities have too many limitations. Our capacities are not infinite. We can not easily cross over those hurdles which are pregnant with

serious threats. We generally avoid to face them or say keep a low profile.

Well, if under the advice of great minds like Iqbal we put our heart and soul into some task assigned to us, it is quite likely that we may still fail to achieve our goals. Iqbal has no answer. He believes that the man is reservoir of great energy and his fund of strength is inexhaustive. This view of human life is alright when placed on paper in poetic form but in practical life there are many hinderances which can not be surmounted.

It is not essential that all our struggles and even ceaseless struggles would end in victory. It does happen sometimes that the breaking point may come in the life of a man and yet he is nowhere. In the efforts, his health is shattered. His talents are ruined. He is reduced to a living skeleton or a speck of dust. How can the idea of struggle be implanted in his mind at this stage? He would rather listen to those who weave their arguments around fatalism. This may not help him to come up in life, he would at least cling to it and save himself from going to the jaws of extinction. He waits at a station where he can at least breath.

Poet's ideas may help the young defeatists to recover and they begin afresh but not to those who had been emasculated by the brutal circumstances.

It is very surprising to observe that Iqbal's specification of "perfect man" comes very near to the great personalities of the Sikh Gurus who hailed from the Punjab. They were not other worldly men. They did business, farmed, got married and had children. They were men of action through and through. They had fought against fatalism, defeatism, and escapism and thereby created a vigorous spirit in the entire length and breadth of the land. At the same time, they did not forget God, who had remained always supreme in their minds. In His name they had been fighting against injustice and tyranny. They did not fear death and had risen to the occasion as and when the history had required them to do so. Iqbal was, of course, respectful to Guru Nanak only.

There is another important observation of historic significance. Iqbal had written this work when the revolutionary spirit of the Punjab was looking for a new purpose. The rise of "Ghaddar Party" which had the support of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs demonstrated that the Punjabis were awakening from the slumber. This effort had ended in fiasco but that did not dishearten the Punjabis.

They had come to this conclusion that murder, assassination, conflagration, terrorism would not help. Time for loud thinking had

come so that justice, freedom and progress could be achieved. Although Iqbal was in no way, connected with the revolutionary activities directly, still being a sensitive mind he could not be indifferent to the upheavals taking place around him. He raises his voice to prepare the people and enthuses them to face all challenges with courage and fortitude. 'Israr-i-Khudi' has gone down in the history of Indian thought and literature as a prophetic call for reorganising our lives.

When Milton was writing 'Paradise Lost' and Tulsi "Ramcharit Manas" they took it for granted that their works would be read by the Christians and Hindus respectively. Same was perhaps the opinion of Iqbal. He is addressing the Muslims only since the idiom used by him is Islamic but some books have universal appeal, like those of 'Paradise Lost' and 'Ramcharit Manas'. Iqbal's work is also free from all intricacies of unnecessary theology and mysticism.

It is pity, that we have still not included its translated portions in those anthologies that are being prescribed for our millions of college and university students. It is true that we can not include it in its original form since Persian is no longer the medium of instruction in any part of our country.

Patriotic songs of Iqbal are well known to our young children, but his profound thought is still to acquire its legitimate place in our institutes of higher learning.

"Israr-i-Khudi" gives a clear impression that the poet is a great Muslim with a sound background of the Islamic thought. It appears from the style as if Iqbal was under the magic spell of Rumi. The idioms, technique of versification and the order of composition all drive us to conclude that Iqbal had passionately followed this great Persian poet of 13th century. There was, however, world of difference between the times of the two poets. Iqbal was born in the evening of the nineteenth century when the social, political and economic problems were engaging more attention of the elite than ever in the history. Age of Rumi was not concerned with such issues.

As a youngman Iqbal had been aspiring to be Milton in the world of Eastern poetry. He once decided to write the epic of Ramayana for depicting the universal theme of war between good and evil, but the idea was dropped for the reasons best known to the poet himself. Had he completed this project, it would have gone a long way in cementing the Hindu-Muslim relations.

After handling the profound theme of "Israr-i-Khudi" he must have acquired higher degree of confidence for wielding his pen more firmly. In philosophic terms his "Mard-i-Kamil" was now well defined. The details of development of ego were almost worked

out. Iqbal was now to delve on the issue of society in which his 'Perfect man' was to operate. As a result, the work 'Ramozi-i-bekhuri' was produced in 1917.

In 'Ramozi-bekhuri' Iqbal's thought extends further. Here the ideas of the Islamic fraternity are pronounced with modern thought in the background. Poet is lending his entire weight for awakening the Muslim consciousness. He knew how the thinkers in the West had been seriously debating the issues relating to the society i.e. society and the state, or say society and the individual.

He knew that the Hegelians, Marxists and Socialists of all brands had regarded state as something super personal. Both society and individual were destined to remain under it. So how could the thinker in him remain indifferent for such a crucial issue? He is clear on the fundamental that like that of the individuals, development of a society is not something predetermined. Human effort goes a long way in shaping the course of its destiny. Men have to unite and struggle against the heavy odds. The fortune of the individuals can not be separated from that of the society. Just as a current of water can exist only in the ocean and it has no existence without it. Same is the case with an individual in a society. He can not function without it. His alertness would guarantee the strength of the society.

Here Iqbal is waging an all out war against fatalism, escapism and other allied vices which get support from certain religious thoughts and philosophies. He fights tooth and nail against their paralysing and debilitating effects and proposes remedial actions. He condemns the fox-like attitude of those who condemn the trap instead of scrutinising themselves. We are generally prone to condemn our strained circumstances instead of improving ourselves. We abuse our enemies. We despise the obstructions that come in our way. It is pity that we refuse to look at ourselves. Iqbal directs our attention to this side. He asserts the traditional principle of the Indian philosophy i.e. self criticism. He does not prescribe this for the individual alone but for the society also. Iqbal is clear that if the people themselves are not willing to take charge of the situation, everything of the world would come in their way, say government, sun, moon, stars and what not. But if they pluck courage, even God would come to their rescue.

Iqbal was not an active politician but his concernment with the political affairs of the Muslims was enormous. He wished they should rally under the banner of Islam. He believed it with absolute sincerity that it had been the Islam which came to the rescue of the Muslims and not the other way round. So it was quite natural in his circum-

tances to believe that the same Islam would reinstate the original position of the Muslims.

Poor Iqbal had no contact with the outside world and thus failed to realise that the faith of the Muslims of his contemporary world was qualitatively different from that of their ancestors. Muslims like other peoples of the world were changing as they had to move with the times. His knowledge about the current history of the Muslim countries was not considerable. He had no means to know their changing social, cultural and political conditions. The literature at his table was also of the great Muslim minds of the medieval ages. There was nothing which could have directed him to think on those lines by which modern outlook could have been built up. Still he was serious to reconstruct the future of the society like Maharishi Dayananda and Swami Vivekananda, the great Hindu minds of the nineteenth century, but his times were quite different.

Over this, he was to address a religious community which had slightly different social, religious and cultural background from those of the Hindus. The Muslim orthodoxy was perhaps well entrenched.

He vehemently rejects the ethnical, linguistic, economic and geographic basis of the state as well as of the society and deposits all his faith in the spirituality of the religion which should tie the people together. This was obviously swimming against strong currents of modern history but if we have a look at Iqbal with his other contemporary Muslim thinkers of the sub-continent, his position on the issue does not appear to be that anachronistic.

He goes back to the original Islam and makes its approach as the base for conceptualising his future society. The first condition he proposes is that the people should seek inspiration from the prophet. No man in his senses would challenge the decisive role played by the prophet in civilising the human race but to lend exclusive faith in his towering personality is the prerogative of the Muslims alone.

He further states that the society should have a code for its effective administration. Being a barrister himself he was conscious of the significance of constitution in organising human society. Code would help in enforcing justice on the basis of some form of equality. Since the entire human race had entered an era in which rapid changes in the living conditions were inescapable, he feared that this might not lead to chaos and confusion. So some system of codified law was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of discipline. Being a devoted Muslim he presented that there should be a focal point or some centre towards which the people should look for spiritual guidance. There was obviously Mecca for the Muslims.

Iqbal had lived in the West for three years. Even in India he was educated in the Mission School and then in a college where liberal education was imparted. He was fully conscious regarding the role of science and technology in shaping the destiny of mankind. He asserts that the people should conquer the nature and change the very character of their material conditions, but all this does not mean that they should abandon their spiritual props. Iqbal was clear that life would not achieve any useful purpose simply by aping the West.

Being a Muslim, he upholds the role of "millat" in the regeneration of humanity. Individual can play his role only in society. This is obviously a simplistic view of a very complicated issue of the political theory. We are still grappling the issues. An accurate balance of rights and duties of each side is still to be drawn by the constitutional pandits of the world. In the same way, individual would either dominate or get dominated in the society. Before he is in a position to influence a particular aspect of a society, he is more or less formed or deformed by the active and passive forces designing the social course. Certain fixities grow up in his value configuration. Rights of the state are the responsibilities of the individual and vice versa. The apologists of Iqbal state that his "perfect man" is a social being. He is more duty-conscious rather than a common rebel or revolutionary struggling for his rights. Iqbal does not go into the details how the genuine differences could be resolved between the individual and the society.

The Indian Muslims had always been conscious of the fact that they had been in the minority. They should increase their numerical strength as quickly as possible, as otherwise the evolution of the democratic administration would ultimately imperil their futurity. Poor Iqbal had not read Malthus. Many of his contemporary European writers were also emphasising for the increase of population of their respective countries. Since their control over the world was established and the same had to be stabilised; they wished that the sons of their own nation should go far and wide and administer all dark, brown and pale races of the world.

There is another point. Many Punjabi Hindu leaders were also advising for the increase of the population of their community as otherwise their ratio against the population of other communities would decrease which would affect their representation in the legislative assembly as well as in Civil Services. Iqbal was perhaps afraid of, the fact that the slight increase in the Hindu and Sikh population of the province would adversely affect the Muslims whose majority

position was conceded, but full benefits were not being derived by them.

He feared the glamouring side of the Western civilisation more since it had been rapidly subduing the cultures of the East including that of Islam. It was attracting educated young Indians both Hindus and Muslims whose religious convictions were fast thinning. Iqbal wrote fire against this situation. He highlighted the heinous crimes of the West in many of his latter works. He violently attacked capitalism and its paraphernalia i.e., irreligiosity, democracy, aggressive nationalism, wretched racialism and what not. He explained its dehumanising influences on the human race.

It is strange that in later age he did not vehemently oppose the British Raj in India which was the consequence of the same phenomenon. He was a known revivalist of his times. He called upon the Muslims not to be swept away by the Western propaganda and remain firmly rooted in original Islam. He wished to provide a vigorous elixir to his community through the medium of his poetry. It is true that he did not always inspire to fight against the festering stagnation and shackling conservatism and wretched foreign rule, still he preached for courage, sacrifice, struggle and devotion. His advocacy for early Islam can be compared with Gandhi's ideal of "Ram Rajya". Iqbal had no design to actualise a movement. His was just an effort to set people thinking on positive lines as their great ancestors had once attained while laying the foundations of their great civilisation.

'Khizr-i-Rah' was published in 1921 and "Tulu-E-Islam" in 1922. His other important work is "Piyam-i-Mashriq" a dialogue between Rumi and Goethe. In fact, it is a debate between Goethe and Iqbal a striking comparison of the West and the East. His "Musafir", "Javid Namah", and "Armughan-i-Hijaz" reached public in the next few years. The last work was published posthumously.

His most popular works in India is 'Bang-i-Dara' which happens to be a collection of his early poems in Urdu. This was compiled in 1924. Some of its poems are recited by the school children all over India. Its poem "Quami Tarana" rubs its shoulders with the national anthem of the country. His other Urdu works "Bal-i-Jabrail" and "ʔarb-i-Kalim" are popular both in Pakistan and India.

Iqbal, as an Artist

“Is there any other poet or a writer who has expressed the greater depth and sincerity of feeling the pulsating soul of socialism or his own courageous, uncompromising sympathy with those and whom an unjust and inhuman social order has always kept under repression?”

Prof. Saiyaden

Iqbal was a poet of Urdu and Persian languages. He sang metaphysics and philosophy. The important portion of his poetry is, of course, in Persian where as his popularity as a poet rests on his Urdu works. During his stay in Europe, he had once aspired to write poetry in English, but the idea was soon dropped. Iqbal knew Arabic too. He had been its teacher in the University of London for a short while. He had taught English literature at Punjab University, Lahore. As an advocate of the Punjab High Court he was supposed to argue his legal cases in English. As a leader of his community he used to address its meetings and conferences both in English and Urdu. His close associates and friends confirm that he was a fine conversationalist in Urdu and Punjabi.

Common people could fearlessly knock at his door and had heart to heart talks with him in Punjabi. His house was open to all. The medium of conversation could be English or Urdu or Persian or Arabic or Punjabi or even German. It is doubtful whether he possessed the required proficiency of studying the great German minds in original but he did possess elementary knowledge of this language. His understanding of German thought was of course based on the studies of translations.

Destiny had been unfair to Iqbal. It so happened that he could not help being driven to Persian for writing his master works. The use of this language for Ghalib in the nineteenth century was understandable but in case of Iqbal it had proved very unfortunate. He was essentially an emotional being, and perhaps did not ponder over this crucial issue at an intellectual plane.

Let us imagine for a moment, that the study of English language is banned in our schools, colleges and universities. How could millions and millions of our students appreciate the great works of Gandhi, or of Nehru? These great minds had used English as the medium of their expression, though whatever they had stated in their works was largely meant for the Indian people. The British Rule has gone, but English continues as a link language for millions and millions of our people.

Persian was the court language of the Lahore Darbar till 1846, the time when the Punjab was annexed by the East India Company. Prior to it, Punjabi poets used to write either in Persian or in their native dialect. Composition of Persian poetry was a popular form of literary writing.

In the circumstances Iqbal's adoption of this language was quite possible if not sagacious. Indian Muslims were fond of reading and writing of highly Persianised Urdu. Like all great scholars of Persian, Iqbal also believed that Urdu was far inferior literary language to Persian. It is a different matter that he did not bother to know the new trends developing in the language of Iran. He could at best be an expert of 'Indian Persian'. He had never been to Iran for specialisation. Professor Browns fires this Indian variety of the language,

“absurd exaggeration, recondite words, vain epithets, far fetched comparison and fastless bombast”.

Iqbal preference for Persian was essentially based on theological considerations. He must have felt that Persian was closer to the spirit of Islam than Urdu. It was considered a privileged position amongst the Urdu poets if some one could versify in Persian. It would be difficult to support Prof. Mohammad Sadiq that “switch over to Persian is symptomatic of an unconsciously waning interest in India and things Indians”.

Arabic would have been more suitable medium for service to the Islamic Brotherhood. If he had written in the said language his works would have more appeal for the Muslim world. Of late, some of his poems have been translated.

The total complexion has undergone a sea change. The study of Persian is no longer popular in any part of the sub-continent. Its knowledge is the privilege of the selected few. It is being taught as the foreign language in certain educational centres of the Foreign Languages in this country. So many great works of Iqbal that were written in it, cannot be studied at the mass level. An average reader

who is interested in Iqbal is therefore obliged to know the poet through the works of critics and other commentators.

Unfortunately, no Boswell has seen the light of the day to write his biography. No Fitzgerald had taken up his works for translation. Whatever material has come down to us as criticism is the consequence of the efforts of those who were either his affectionate apologists or say unfair critics. Their efforts, as such, lack the element of objectivity which is considered the first quality of the sound scholarship.

Ideological convictions, religious denominations, political ideas and other factors of the kind make a world of difference in the assessment of the critics. Well, cent percent objectivity is simply an ideal for quality criticism and thus cannot be practised. Iqbal had been unfortunate on this score. The theological professions and ideological credos of the critics had led to his misrepresentation. They love or hate the poet, and thereby try to resolve their own inner conflicts. In the process they pronounce their own view point.

Iqbal's early poetry reflects the ideals of secularism and nationalism. It is popular in India. The votaries of King's Urdu at times feel disappointed about his style and composition. The irony is that these poems cannot be admired in Pakistan since the substance contained therein does not fit in that ideology on the basis of which a separate Muslim state was carved.

His later works are addressed to the Muslims alone. Although India does not vanish from his thinking at this stage, yet it does not remain that potent force which it used to be in his early poetry. Now Islam and love for Muslims take charge of his attention area. The poetry of this kind cannot be read by all Indians very enthusiastically. Although the spirit of later works amply confirms that the terms Islam stands for spiritual humanism and the Muslims for the suppressed peoples of Asia, yet non-Muslim critics refuse to acknowledge it.

The live principle of Iqbal's poetry is that it is concerned with the real life on this earth. The advancement of knowledge had not assured more meaningful life to the West. T.S. Eliot a famous English poet felt as if he was living in the "Wasteland." Gertrude Stein an American novelist also believed as if he was living with a lost generation. But Iqbal was set against all kinds of self pity and self deception. He had a strong faith in man's potentialities and his ultimate progress. Individual was not born just to die after living a purposeless existence. He had rather to take charge of this imperfect world and make it a better place to live. Life is a reward in itself.

As a mystic Iqbal may, at times, be found transcending higher realms but he returns to the hard realities of existence as quickly as possible. We find that some of his poems breathe beyond time and space, but their number is very small as compared to those which relate to actual human conditions. Here he stirs the people to their depths.

It is not necessary that each and every verse composed by a poet should prove enduring. Quite a good number of his poems possess some innate strength, richness and profundity. These would survive the tyranny of time. Others might go into oblivion. What lives after centuries of composition is either great religious poetry or what relates to certain infinite and perennial problems of man. Works of this nature are always inspiring and go beyond the frontiers of logic and philosophy. Iqbal qualifies the tests on this score.

Iqbal marshals his facts and ideas in such a manner that they should acquire a permanent place in the history of literature. As a poet, he addresses his poems heroically and even when he turns a mystic he does not whisper, he loudly calls upon his audience to come and listen and act. Iqbal is a thinker but we do not go to him for learning philosophy. He is first of all a poet. His paramount objective is to provoke and then make us thinking very seriously. Philosophy provides an important dimension to the poetry but artistic greatness comes out from the radiance of its vision. The objective of poetry is not to convey the information rather instil genuine inspiration. It is not the medium of writing analytical and critical philosophy. Poetry is produced when the human mind is transported to some unusual state. It rests on that imagination which is thrown up by tremendous spiritual enthusiasm.

Urdu is the important language of the entire sub-continent. It has come to stay as the national language of Pakistan as well as of India. Grammatically speaking it is identical with Hindi. A good number of Urdu books, magazines, newspapers are being published both in Pakistan and India. Thanks to our film industry, it is one of the most popular means of communication. This industry has popularised this language far more than all the resolutions of the political and religious conferences and of the literary societies and organisations in India as well as in Pakistan. The peoples of the subcontinent could well divide themselves on account of their political differences, but this common language is a heritage which is indivisible.

As an artist Iqbal was second to none. He had always been careful to ensure that his artistic side is not adversely affected. It is a different matter if he was not a purist. He had no time for

attending to such kind of exercise. Iqbal applies Islamic idiom and terminology to express his view point but his emotional commitment with the welfare of the suffering humanity was beyond doubt.

Pakistan being a new state has a history of few decades where Iqbal is being hailed as a poet, a philosopher and a prophet, but in the history of modern India he stands in queue with the galaxy of men like, Vivekananda, Aurobindo, Tagore, Azad, Radhakrishnan and so on.

Iqbal ruthlessly rejects the glory of the West and calls his people to resist it and rise against it. This would pave the path of their ascendancy. The poetic talent of Iqbal took strong exception to the false and mendacious propaganda of the Western Imperialism. He possessed some knowledge of the Western society and observed its ugliness, injustice, high handedness and finally prophesied its decline. He was convinced that it was built up on sand. It would crack quickly.

He used to keep a small note book with a pen or pencil by his bed side at night, i.e. before going to sleep. By mid-night, his mind used to get surcharged with certain intense feeling and profound thoughts. This is a particular state of mind. Its experience is the privilege of the selected few. Whatever used to strike him during those sensitized moments was straight away scribbled. It was obviously his first draft which had to undergo certain revisions during the next day.

Poets do not always live in exalted mood. That pitch can not be maintained for long. Iqbal had natural talent for writing great poetry, but the thought content fused in his art was the result of his profound studies. The greatness of the poetry is not measured by the techniques of versification or by the wealth of imagery. Thought is important. Rational presentation is not the function of a poet. Poetry is the language of the heart. It is not something scientific. It flows from a particular state of mind. Iqbal had certain objectives to realise through his art. He claimed himself to be a mini prophet who was sent as a special messenger to deliver important messages to the confused and defeated generation. By assigning such an ambitious role for himself he was not supposed to deliberate over the improvement of poetic forms which had been in vogue since last one century. He had applied them but enriched their content with vigorous thoughts. That created a qualitative change in the very character of Urdu poetry. It drifted away from its nineteenth century influence.

The application of traditional techniques of versification were not simply convenient to him, it was rather helpful otherwise too

since the readers were familiar with them. They had loved them. Any change in their forms would have led to many controversies. So he preferred to work with the popular pattern of poetic art. Over it he did not like the idea of being lauded exclusively as a poet.

Iqbal had acquired a respectable, social and political station. In the new environment writing of poetry was not hailed as a respectable profession. Most of the poets of those times were economically wreck.

They earned no money, carried no prestige. Iqbal was conscious of it. The people may like to listen to a good poet, they may even pick up his works for reading, but they have no feel for that mind from which the burning lava has flowed in the form of poems. The audience may admire the light being given by a flame but would not at all bother of that candle which has extinguished itself to ashes. The moth is cremated alive but we do not raise monuments in his memory.

What to say of we Indians who are not much literate, even the developed societies are very slow in acknowledging the greatness of their artists. It should be acknowledged that the habit of reading poetry is fast declining all over the world. Most of the so called, educated people consider it just idling away of their precious time. They are absorbed in their professional specialisation. They fail to see beyond the realm of their own field and roll on over the road of time.

The experience of ecstasy is not in their reach. Their crippled and paralysed though calculating minds fail to peep in this direction. Even then a few artists emerge here and there but they are seldom acknowledged. Very often, great works remain un-published and are found in debris. The poor writers die unseen and unnoticed and the Goddess of Recognition comes to meet when they are mortally not available.

This was, however, not the case with Iqbal. People knew him all over the country. The Muslims used to claim, as if he was their leader only. This assertion was however unpalatable to the large number of Hindus.

Iqbal wrote heroic verses for stirring the minds of his generation. He wished people should apply their minds and muscles. He advised them to look up, muster some strength, learn new things and go ahead. His arsenal was full of powerful and militant phrases. He augments the effects of his poetry by becoming anecdotal. Whatever critics might say, he did not write librettos for the political operas. He was a different man entirely. His political affiliations with certain

Punjabi Muslim organisations had very little to do with his art or philosophy for most of his works, he coheres round the centre of early Islam.

It was obviously a safe bet for which no controversies could be raised. A good number of poems were written with tears in his eyes, a few with cold and dry sadness, others with wounded ego, and the remaining with conflicting self. There are many with barrelful of white hot phrases. Whatever were his moods and strains, the symbol of "eagle" remains at the top in his imagination of expression.

This demonstrates what he had expected of his readers. It is the function of the professional scholars to study his works in details, but a common reader is concerned with those essentials of his thought which are lasting. The volcanic content of his poetry had clear objectives to make the peoples of the East to rise as "one man" and wrest their just and righteous position in the world.

Some of the Indian critics had rubbed him wrongly by charging him that he wrote exclusively for the Muslims. The real difficulty with these people is that their own outlook is narrow and their understanding of Islam is negligible. They do not know how much of Muslim world. Over this their study of the Muslim politics of the country had turned them biased. Iqbal's poetry helps us to know the great role of Islam which dawned in the history of mankind as a revolutionary movement. As a religious faith, it had helped the human civilisation in so many ways. It had succeeded in liberating the human souls from so many prejudices and negative ideas. At the same time it had injected the spirit of positive ideas and urge to look forward.

Islam did not come to India as a revolutionary force. It was rather the religion of the conquerors and not of the liberators. The Muslim monarchs used to swear in the name of their faith, but their real motives were political i.e. to set up a strong rule. Other objectives were secondary for them.

Iqbal did not go to their historic records for illustrating his ideas. He had never been a serious student of history. He had never learnt the techniques of shifting factual details. He was a poet and a thinker.

He warns his readers not to be misled by those stories of the past which had encouraged divisive tendencies. But the aged Iqbal abandons this position. It should not be concluded that he wished to spread the vulgarity of rabid communalism. He was more concerned to propagate the enduring values of Islam for the regeneration of the Muslim world. For that he makes use of certain hagiographical details.

There is religion in his literature, but it has been used as a means for achieving certain ends for the Muslims. His poetry has other important qualities, a broad and healthy view of life, profundity in emotions, musical flow of feeling and what not. The words are instinctively selected. Then there are throbbing ideas. He helps us to fight out against those great issues which confront us.

The study of his poetry gives a new dimension to our thinking. We set aside our aimlessness. We over-power our sense of alienation of being *Declasse*. He gives perception to our moral vacuum. He hits the hollow and meaningless existence and calls for becoming a live-force.

He had a distinctive style of his own. He knew the art of versification well but he did not approve the idea of starting a school or movement where the young aspirants could be recruited as disciples. Great poets of Delhi used to have the tradition of establishing offices where the youngsters had send their poetic attempts for correction. Iqbal had neither time nor energy for undertaking such time consuming work.

Well, so long as an artist in him writes under the spirit of religion and in the process guides the people to shed those tendencies which enervates their spiritual, moral and physical strength, he is entitled for reverence from the humanists of the world. Original Islam is very close to modern humanism in so many ways. It had propagated those ideas which had helped the humanity to come out of the abyss of darkness.

Iqbal is concerned with the ritual side of Islam. Still strict conduct of "Namaz" and fasting during 'Ramzan' do not form the subject of his poetry. He rather lays more emphasis on the social and spiritual sides. The individual is advised to work out a mature integration of his personality within the society of which he is a part and parcel.

Men like Vivekananda and Aurobindo had written a lot, addressing Indians but their appeal was essentially meant for the Hindus. Still we emphasise the universality of their thought and character. Why should not the same yardstick be applied while analysing the works of Iqbal? Tulsi lives. Kabir lives. Sur lives. Even Mira lives. They all live in the history of literature as well as of religion. They live because they stir and guide our souls even to-day.

He was not alone who made use of the religious history and ideas to inspire his people. It was the popular practice amongst his contemporary leaders of thought. Renaissance of the Indian society under the heels of the British imperialism could not have been possi-

ble without making use of the religious sentiments of the people. Abject surrender or blind imitation of the West had demoralised the people to such a degree that recovery of the Indian society would have been an impossibility. After all the thought in the sub-continent had been religious thought till the present generation had taken charge of the situation with Jinnah, Nehru and M.N. Roy. Finally Jinnah about turned. Nehru also did not remain all agnostic. Even Roy found comfort in Vedanta.

Iqbal's study of Islam may not be very objective or analytical, but had a splendid purpose. His entire poetry is epochal in nature distinctly different from those who sing the glories of religious past and present themselves as pathetic shadows of their great ancestors. It rather helps us to fight against the modern conditions of living which are schizophrenic spreading the atmosphere of tension, drift and aimlessness. Man, in our times, has lost certain moorings. There is a peculiar sense of alienation.

Iqbal had been confident all along that he was not writing on water or on sand rather on the hearts of millions and millions. His potentialities as a great poet possessing the enormous capacity of writing with fire were known to the reading people. He was of course different from those professional poets of Uttar Pradesh who had no substance to communicate but were more concerned with the purity of phrases and with the methodology of composition.

It is true that he was not a socialist or a revolutionary but he sincerely wished that the exploitation of man by man should end. He had no love lost for the Communist Ideology or for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but he applauded the efforts of those workers and leaders who had participated in the Revolution. He had no personal axe to grind. He had no ambition to enjoy a trip to the Soviet Union. He was a sick man but he had never thought of his medical treatment in Moscow in lieu of his writing powerful poetry in the defence of the Russian Revolution. He wished to create a different environment in which people could rise above from pettiness.

In the name of modern art, poetry is being written which has neither head nor tail. Its study makes us doubtful whether the poet himself is really clear or even partially clear what he wishes to convey. Everything is in chaos. The old order is in shambles and we see no direction where the caravan of life is proceeding. It appears as if we have lost the track. There is all confusion in the domain of ideas and modern poetry is also doing its bit for confounding the situation further.

Iqbal was crystal clear about his objectives. He is a poet of

power. He is valient like a great Marshal here in his verse. The readers feel the movement of a powerful personality in the length, breadth and depth of his poetry. In some of his verses it appears as if he had splashed out even the last drop.

Iqbal is one of those few Indian writers who placed man above angel. Minor issues of day to day life had generally been subject matter of his prose but not of his poetry.

He had innate talent for the art of versification. As regards style, he did not make any special effort for being a stylist. Command over the language is absolutely necessary for a poet so that exact words and phrases should strike to him at the appropriate moment i.e. when the poetic passion has taken charge of his mind. Iqbal qualifies on this score. He had great vocabulary and knew the appropriate application of the words. He was well aware of the details of the artistic achievements of Urdu poets of the nineteenth century.

If asked, he would have ruthlessly denounced the idea of "art for art's sake". For him literature was not an amoral force rather something ethically positive and morally constructive by which the fortunes of the individual as well as of the people could be ameliorated. It must serve some lofty purpose. It should not simply be a source of pleasure rather help the man to think seriously by which he should take steps to enrich himself from all angles. It should encourage human beings. It should help the people in arousing themselves with some sort of credo or philosophy so that they could engage themselves in the struggle of life fearlessly.

They should stop looking downward and fight out their way through convictions. Iqbal might be wearing theological robes in asserting his viewpoint, but the objectives he is pressing come very near to those that were high-lighted by men like Gandhi and Nehru and the other great celebrities of our times. Iqbal had very often stated that his objectives were moral and spiritual. Still the objective assessment of his works confirms that he had the life of a scholar and the mind of the poet. He considered himself a fast moving stream. He was a keen observer of manifestations of nature, clouds, mountains, trees, flowers and streams. He deeply felt and understood the unexpressed agony, anxiety, fears, griefs, complaints and sighs of the people around him.

The study of some of the poems generates a sense of catharsis. The orator in Iqbal had an edge in the rendering of his poetry. It appears as if the poet is addressing a huge crowd inspiring it to conquer time and space. Each verse is vibrating with passion, love and

courage. There are serious attacks on the citadel of fatalism, escapism and indifference.

All what he achieved as a poet is really creditable. It was not in Lahore rather in Delhi and Lucknow where the techniques of writing King's Urdu were developed. Lahore had the tradition to throw up the poets either in Punjabi or in Persian. Iqbal is the first great Urdu poet from the capital of Punjab, he was quite different from his predecessors. He gave a new direction to the art. He expanded the subject matter of poetry in so many ways, say by integrating new ideas in its body and also by improving the meanings of certain old symbols which had been popular in Urdu poetry.

Iqbal deserves appreciation on another score too. As a great mind, he had consolidated the Indian Muslim cultural ethos in Urdu. Times have moved further. Urdu appears to have left an artificial influence in certain parts of the sub-continent as many people had belatedly realised that they would best understand the totality of their lives only through their regional languages. Of late, eminent Urdu writers of Pakistan have pressed their government that Urdu should not remain in imposition in the name of Islam. Regional languages should also be developed simultaneously.

It is, however, true that our circumstances have undergone a sea change during last few decades. Many old values have become irrelevant. New thinking has taken charge of the situation. We can not cling to certain outmoded ideas simply because they were once propounded by Aurobindo or Tilak or Iqbal. These are to be re-evaluated by each generation. It should not be treated as if some disregard is being shown to our great predecessors. This is rather setting of a healthy trend for the profound studies of our masters of thought. A considerable portion of their works is majestic and inspiring even to-day and should be transmitted to the future generations.

We should fill up the gaps through the means of the constructive criticism. We are very much in need of the propagation of the ideals like hard work, sacrifice, dedication, courage, humility and what not. Our struggle against deadly lethargy and decadence shall have to be intensified. Iqbal as a poet can help us a lot. T.S. Eliot rightly said that a poet should write, "not merely with his own generation in his bones". Iqbal is therefore relevant on many issues for our age. Each generation would discover something new in his poetry and philosophy. Writing of great literature is a very difficult task which can not be undertaken casually or half-heartedly even by a genius.

Iqbal as a Thinker

The defining principles of Islam had been the same all over the Muslim world, but these were not evolved for creating a strong unified empire under which all the faithful of the world had lived together. Geography, history, culture, languages, varieties of Sufism, climatic conditions and many other factors had led to the historic situations for which a good number of sovereign Muslim States had come up on the world map.

The identical ideas of "Shariat" could not override those divisive factors. It, however, goes without saying that the Muslims were conditioned as a strong group of societies. In the Punjab they possess entirely different environment from that of their Egyptian or Turkish counterparts.

Man is essentially a regional animal. Adaptation of particular moral, social and spiritual ideas comes much after since the physical living conditions pre-exist. The Punjabi Muslims of the nineteenth century were at once Punjabis and Muslims. They had a distinct ethos and that was not the fascimile copy of the Muslims of other countries. They had rather many things in common with other communities of the Punjab. They may claim themselves to be monotheists, but in their deeper depths strong elements of pantheism can be noted.

The people of Pakistan are privileged to hail him as the "poet" and "philosopher" of their State, but this is only a limited view of the man. He was at once a poet, a philosopher, a politician, a theologian and a mystic. As a politician, he was a failure. As a political thinker, his position is controversial in the subcontinent, though he had left a considerable political influence on the minds of the Indian Muslims.

There was, of course, a small group of Nationalist Muslims who did not approve his political thinking, but they graciously acknowledged his poetic and philosophic greatness. Iqbal did not suffer through exile or imprisonment or censorship or terror, still his contribution in the liquidation of a British Raj was there, over and above this he had a big role in redesigning the political map

of the sub-continent.

Iqbal had very strong religious ideas. His religion called upon him to know man inside and out. He opined about human nature, individual and society. Since he was living in an age when the study of social problems had grown very important, he tried to grasp them through the intellectual tools he possessed. The difficulty is that he did not know anthropology, sociology, psychology and even intricacies of economics. All this did not permit him to grasp the socio-historic conditions in his times correctly.

He ardently felt the need of the orientation of the Muslims on the lines suggested by Sir Syed, but the former lacked the foresight and insight of this great Muslim leader of the preceding generation. Sir Syed was more pro-west than other Muslim leaders of those times. Iqbal picked up the thread of history at this particular juncture and held it fastly. Time does not wait. He started moving backward.

In the most effective years of his life, he went deep into his religious studies and was thus cut off from the reality around him. Time had, in fact, come to re-integrate the religious thought. New interpretations should have been thrown up by a thinker of his stature. Islam did not dawn for dividing the human race. It was rather meant for promoting unity and equality amongst the peoples from all parts of the world.

Religion, as it is, can not be assigned the omnipotent role of shaping the total landscape of human life. As an individual, Iqbal was a straight, simple, honest, God-fearing Muslim with easy going habits. He was more an introvert, His philosophy may be militant but he had never aspired to capture power for himself. He was perhaps clear that he would be incapable of wielding it, if given.

The most of his contemporary thinkers both Hindus and Muslims had been advocating the renunciation of power. They considered that it was something brutish. Iqbal was one of those few who had emphasised other way round. He understood its significance in human affairs. It is true he had no personal axe to grind. He kept his own ambitions at low key but the wave length of his mind was enormous which he could not help expressing through writing passionate poetry for stirring the mass of his readers. As a thinker he wished to elucidate Islamic thought, philosophy and jurisprudence. He had no trait in his character which could have confirmed of his becoming a great hero riding over the horse for overpowering the prevailing conditions. He wished others to seize all those qualities by which their lives could acquire enduring purposes. The main principles of his thoughts are courage, sacrifice, love and charity. In practical

life he gave the appearance of relaxation and reflection.

It appears that he was reconciled with the view that others should take up the cudgles against heavy odds and set the direction of history. His poetry throws up the sparks of courage, adventure, rebellion and even of the revolution, but unlike Aurobindo, Iqbal was careful not to confront the rulers directly. He knew that if he had opposed the Raj openly, his pen would be broken.

We do not go to the works of Iqbal simply for enjoying the fun of his poetic greatness. Some sort of elixir is contained therein which is a valuable heritage bequeathed by him for human civilization. It helps the individual as well as the society to organise themselves on lofty principles. He had exploited his natural talent of writing poetry but in the process he integrated powerful thoughts in his poetic scheme.

The peoples of the East are familiar as to how philosophy and religion get intensified through the medium of poetry. Their holy books were not written in prose. Poetry was used as a means to penetrate deep into the minds of the people. Iqbal applies it. The strict jacket of cold philosophy or dry logic of any kind is not the befitting technique to evaluate his greatness. We have to drink deep and deep from the wells of his imagination. His ideas are vital, constructive and purposeful. On one hand, his name should find place in the list of eminent poets of the Indian history, say Valmiki, Vedvyas, Tulsi, Ghalib and so on. On the other hand he should be included in the Roll Call of great Indian thinkers of our times, e.g. Bankim, Dayanand, Aurobindo, Azad and Radhakrishnan.

As regards, the purpose of his own life, he was clear that he had come to move the minds of the peoples. He wished to give them a strong push. They should shun the influences of the fake peers, and foolish Maulvis. He persuades them to engage in those activities that are permissible under original Islam. He advises to sail on the seas and soar high on the skies.

The thinker in him is always conscious that castles cannot be built in the air. So he does not try to get away from the hard and crushing realities of their miserable lives. It is true that he was on very friendly terms with many Muslim knights, Khan Bahadurs and Khan Sahibs of his times but his love for the poor and downtrodden was real and genuine.

As a Muslim he was clear that the entire drama of life was to be enacted here and here alone. He remains rooted on this earth and advocates righteous and courageous actions. His opposition to popular brand of Sufism was situated on this very rock. He was

opposed to the view that the man should constantly think and only think. For Iqbal the purification of the 'self' was one of the ends. He wished the same should be strengthened enriched and fortified. He lamented that in the name of purification it had been reduced to nothingness. He was all opposed to those who tried to connect themselves with God and forget about the reality of this world in which they were born. As a young man he was influenced by the winds of Indian nationalism but his love for Islam was supreme even then. His national spirit was just a yearning of an enthusiastic young man that the major communities of India should forget their petty differences and apprehend the common perils concerning futurity. He was well aware of the teachings of Nanak, Kabir and popular Sufis of the Punjab.

Then the revolt of 1857 was also not an event of the distant past in 1900. Many people living around him had physically witnessed that struggle organised by defunct feudal India in which both Hindus and Muslims had joined hands against the foreign rule. Iqbal was however conscious like other Muslim elite of the times that after the defeat of 1857, Hindus had superseded the Muslims in the race of social and educational adaptations. The politician in him did not like this lopsided development. He calls upon the Hindu orthodoxy to understand the winds of nationalism of which he is an admirer.

As a student, he had specialised in English literature, Western philosophy and law. He yearned to know more and more of Islam. His devotion to religion gradually led him to the theological realms which ultimately began to influence his understanding of the times in which he was destined to live.

In other words, his studies led him to depend upon outdated scales. He did not learn the techniques of weighing facts objectively. He was rather swept away by the hagiographic details of the heroes of Islam and hoped that future history could be shaped on the pattern bequeathed by them. All this could have been acceptable in the world of his poetry but his readers took him very seriously. They revered him and valued his ideals.

Iqbal was Sufi in the sense that he stood for the purity of heart. He searched for the spiritual happiness and illumination. What he objects is the resignation from the worldly activities. This world is not 'maya'. It is not to be shunned. It is a reality. One is not to die of hunger or live in destitution, rather work hard, earn and spend. Material considerations are not to be ignored. These are of course, not to be given preference over other values. For Iqbal, Sufism should rest on spiritual yearning and ceaseless action. This

position was obviously not acceptable to lazy beggars, foolish peers and thoughtless faqirs. Man is a capable animal. He should grow and progress in his life.

Iqbal was one of those early thinkers of this century who had correctly visualised that the western design of nationalism was not a suitable remedy for the poor and downtrodden humanity of India as well as of the world. It would not help the peoples of Asia for overriding their hardships.

Had Iqbal stuck to his principles of nationalism and grasped the significance of modernising influences further he would have acquired status in our history closer to that of Gandhi. India as a nation was still in making. Contents of its Nationalist Ideology were being evolved. Iqbal was correctly aware of the ghastly effects of European and Hindu brands of Nationalism. He wished that there should not be blind following of such ideologies. If we look at the present content of Indian Nationalism, it is similar to that of Iqbal.

The irony is that he changed his position without thorough scrutiny of the facts confronting him. His tormented mind reverts to the original Islam which, according to him, could still free the human race from all the shackles of all kinds.

Next to Islam his love goes straight to the poverty stricken Muslims of Asia. He voiced their urges who were groaning under the yokes of the different Western imperialisms. He highlighted what had gone wrong with their affairs. What should they do now for recovering from their prevailing plight? Although he was directly addressing to the Muslims but his message could well be appreciated by others too who happened to live under the similar circumstances. After all, the fortunes of Asia were largely to gravitate with the Muslims of the continent.

Individual's masculinity, femininity, height, colour and other things relating to the genetical development were not of his concernment. He was aware of the epochal discoveries being made by Einstein and others in the world of Physics and knew their possible repercussions in the domains of thought and philosophy. He seems to have studied the important writings of Bertrand Russell and Prof. Whitehead that were available at Lahore. He had personal equation with Prof. Bergson, a noted French thinker regarding whom Bertrand Russell remarks, "the number of similies for life to be found in his works exceeds the number in any poet known to me".

But the weight of all these academic studies appears to be very nominal on his mind when compared to that impression which had been left by the extremely abnoxious roles being played by certain

Western powers against the Muslims of the world. Bergson and Iqbal hold identical views on instinct and intuition. Both try to make intellect "turn inwards on itself and awaken the potentialities of intuition which still slumber within it." Bergson compares the relation of instinct and intuition with that of sight and touch. Like Iqbal, he too is more an artist than philosopher. 'Reason' may be the cardinal principle of the Western thought; but Iqbal was not inclined to consider it that way. He pointed out that even the eminent Physicists of his times were voting in defence of "probability" against the "certainty" of reasoning. Other sciences were also transcending the reason, mainstay of the Western civilisation.

He was conscious that scientists and doctors might give the scientific description of pain in physiological and psychic terms, but the experience of pain is quite different from their description. The Sufi in him could go deeper and deeper in different zones of consciousness.

There are certain human values say freedom of will, freedom of choice or of decision or of action do not always come under the umbrella of strict objectivity and sciences. What is beautiful or morally correct can not always be determined by the scientific analysis. Well, why was this world created, why was I born, why should I die, why were there stars, and so on are the problems in which scientific knowledge does not go very far.

Many other Hindu and Muslim thinkers accepted the authority of scientific knowledge, but they were pressing the scientists to acknowledge that their knowledge regarding cosmic process was inadequate. The whole range of the natural phenomena cannot be accounted in terms of the composition of atoms. We can not account "life" on principles which govern inorganic phenomena. "Human mind" is still more complicated affair than all organic processes.

Indian Muslims as a community had corpus of problems of their own, but their oversensitivity for the sufferings of the Muslims outside India was proverbial. Iqbal was with them. He ardently supported their priorities. Here comes his Pan-Islamism. He pressed that the Muslims should learn English, Science and Technology, the precious gifts of the Western advancement but their love for Islam should not get diluted in the process of modern learning.

He was obviously fighting against a lost cause. The religious hold was declining all over the world since the beginning of this century. Religious assumptions, adumbrations fictions, prejudices, opinions and beliefs all had been under severe scrutiny, but his devotion to Islam did not permit him to realise that the very study of

European languages and then progress in the knowledge of science and technology would ultimately lead to a new kind of spirituality which would be qualitatively different from the pristine Islam of which he was a living exponent.

Good books on the ancient Indian thought and philosophy were available at the Book stalls of Lahore. But the scholar in Iqbal, did not rise to go through the same. Poets like Emerson, T.S. Eliot, Aldous Huxley and many others made special efforts to learn "Upanishdas" for penetrating deep into the Hindu Thought. Iqbal was undoubtedly proud of his Brahminical ancestry but his knowledge regarding the philosophical systems of his Hindu forefathers was superficial. In "Israr-i-Khudi", he had criticised Shankara and fixed up the responsibility on him for the downfall of the Hindus. Accuracy of his views is seriously doubtful.

We observe another fact. His occasional references regarding Lord Rama, Buddha, Visvamisra, Bhartri Hari and certain other ancient deities of the Hindu mythology and history do not confirm his deep knowledge of Hinduism. He mentions them all with respect and even with reverence. He understood the psychology of his Hindu readers. He knew a good number of them around him, still it is not clear how it became a matter of conviction for him that Casteism was the foundation of Hinduism. Without it Hinduism would not exist. Who would agree to such biased pronouncements?

It is true that there were many early Arab scientists in the past who could vie with their Greek counterparts. Still there had been many unique and important discoveries to the credit of the former since they applied their minds how best the matter around them could be conquered and then utilised for the human benefit. He wished that the old Arab spirit should be revived. Since his contact with the world at large was limited, he could not visualise that agnostic attitudes of life would soon replace the remnants of the religious hold. He could not realise that history was moving too fast and he was being left behind in his study room. Instead of getting closer to the men of destiny like Lenin, Kamal Pasha, Russell and Gandhi he kept himself away from them and lived in the forts of the past say of Rumi and irrationalists like Neitzsche, Bergson and others like them. They had no answer for the intricate problems of our times.

It is not a plausible defence of Iqbal if we say that after his return from Europe he had no means of updating his thinking. He had no live contact even with any eminent Indian intellectuals of his times. He was rather friendly with petty politicians better say semi-educated landlords and few others from UP and Punjab.

The people from all walks of life used to come to him for seeking his blessings as if he was some sort of a Sufi or Peer. Still, whenever he was alone, he used to make serious intellectual exercises. It was all quiet on the surface, but his sensitive mind was always set very high, capturing new territories of thought and producing great poetry.

His friends and visitors used to sit around him for listening to his 'Updesh'. They had nothing to contribute except to be present and hear all in silence. There was seldom a healthy discussion or debate under such circumstances. Religion was unfortunately the most powerful factor in the politics of the Punjab. Hindus and Muslims could be easily moved and organised under its name. All social, political and economic problems of the people were to revolve around it. So largely Muslim leaders of the local fame could easily walk into his house and explained to him their view points on different issues. With the passage of time die was cast in his mind to work exclusively for the Muslims nationalism. He was never a serious student of politics or history or sociology. It was not necessary that a leader of thought who was to fight against poverty and misery in the symbolic forms of poetry should possess detailed knowledge of these subjects.

He was of course, clear that the West would not help much the human race as its own future was in jeopardy. It had not built the nest of its own civilisation on the enduring and steady branches of moral spirit and sound thought, rather on damned greed.

A Punjabi may not always join the Army, but his love for the details of war and its heroes is immense. Iqbal had been so conditioned by the history of this region. He had words of praise for Lord Rama, Arjuna and a few others from the Hindu mythologies, Napoleon from French history, Tipu from Indian history and Mussolini from Italy. Men like Columbus and Gandhi had perhaps no appeal for him. His religion was Islam, the focal point of his philosophy was 'self', his ideology was struggle and his theory was action.

In his 'perfect man' he is trying to search that hero who should take charge of the historic forces and drive them forward. He is heroic in stature. He is militant. He is a self made man. He understands the spirit of age in his own way. His soul is Islamic. Like Aurobindo he looked into the world of Nietzsche for the rise of such a militant leader or superman who should completely transform the world.

He had an other side of his personality too. He made special study of many Muslim divines of the medieval past, but he had all

along been most respectful to Rumi. How could a poet of the thirteenth century help much to a thinker who wished to set the directions of historic forces in the twentieth century?

Rumi was born in Balakh in 1207. He was close to Tabriz. Iqbal's works bear his stamp. Rumi is there in "Israr-i-Khudi", "Ramozi-Bekhudi", "Piyam-i-Mashriq", and in "Javad Namah" of course. Iqbal had always conceded his indebtedness to this Persian poet with pride. Rumi was a mystic with some distinction for he had clear preference for struggle and activity, something not always available in popular brands of Sufism. He refutes quietism. He votes for love against intellect. Iqbal learns the meanings of "Immortality" from Rumi.

Iqbal was physically part and parcel of his own times. He got very much upset when Tripoli was attacked by Italy. He was pained to note the invasion of Turkey by the Balkan States. In the same year France had closed her grip over Morocco as a result of Agadir-crisis. How could traditional Sufis think of all these issues? Iqbal wished something should be done immediately for all these attacks on Islam.

He did not much bother for the heroic sacrifices of those Punjabis who were involved in the Ghaddar movement. The poet in him now wished that the Muslims of the world should rise like Leviathan. The irony is that the tragedy of Jallianwalla Bagh at Amritsar where hundreds of Muslims were also gunned down along with Hindus and Sikhs did not shake him severely. We just come across only a "Rubayi" expressing his anguish.

Prior to Gandhiji, no Hindu leader worth the name had shown interest in the affairs of the Muslim world. The complexion of the Indian politics underwent a sea change with his participation in the Khilafat Movement. Iqbal heard the shots at the Jallianwala Bagh Amritsar physically at Lahore but had not reacted valiently. His waging of war against escapism, fatalism and bogus Sufism would have acquired additional purpose if he had come out openly against that injustice and tyranny which had shaken India in general and Punjab in particular. Iqbal as a thinker fights against the paralysing doctrine of self negation as a principle but avoids to take side in defence of the oppressed on such a crucial moment of Indian history.

He prays to God but he is convinced and tries to convince others that God would not be pleased by prayers alone. Regarding God and man Iqbal says, "physically as well as spiritually man is a self contained creature, but he is not yet a complete person. Not that

he is finally absorbed in God. On the contrary he absorbs God into himself”.

He had very often ridiculed those who were engaged in long prayers. The dependance on ‘Bhakti Marga’ alone was not acceptable to Iqbal. For him, the Almighty expects the implementation of those major tasks for which men were created. The scholar in Iqbal knew that the existence of God could not be proved by the known scientific methods based on observation and experimentation. The issue should therefore be weighed by the spiritual scales.

Love is very important term in the entire range of his poetry. For him it is the exponent of the religious truths, the Commander of the armies, it is the breath of Gabriel, the heart of Mohammad. . . . Such ideas regarding “love” flow from his pen under the influence of Rumi. His “Love” is actually a call for the total involvement of man, materially, intellectually and spiritually for those tasks which awaited performance. Without “Love” all debates about God, Prophet, Quran, Hell, Heaven etc. are meaningless. “Love” is an inner reality whereas wisdom is concerned with something external. “Love” is something very deep, very vast, and very far reaching. It can see universe in a drop. Iqbal used this term for the character building of his readers. Men should rise to the occasion by developing a sound mind, courageous behaviour and unimpeachable conduct and above all possess the will to act. He speaks essentially for generating a disciplined way of life. The elements of profound spirituality and even theology do come in from the back door of his mind, but his attention on the real task for which he had been writing remains supreme in his thinking.

Iqbal did not work out a complete programme of action rather left it to others who should chart out how the voyage should be proceeded in the circumstances they were placed. For him, the biological evolution of human mind was something unique. The animals prior to man’s evolution are far far away from him. The human mind possesses the unlimited power to observe, imagine, understand, appreciate, predict, criticise, examine and recognise. It is capable of mastering the difficult affairs through skill and organisation. Even if, it was just a casual development in the history of evolution, its influence had been enormous. Its possibilities are so immense that works of biology alone would fail to explain it away. Scientific investigations made till date are unable to fathom its depth. The laws of matter discovered so far, are inadequate to comprehend it from all angles. Human knowledge collected beyond the hills of rationality may conjecture about its possibilities but does not provide any convincing

answer. So such a valuable thing is not meant for annihilation or destruction. It is rather meant for further improvement towards perfection through persistent efforts.

Iqbal had acknowledged his indebtedness to the Pan-Islamic ideas propounded by Jamal-ul-din Afghani. We are told too much by certain European and a few Hindu writers that Pan-Islamism was a very potential movement in the Muslim countries. The peoples there had been aspiring to unite under the banner of religion and were thus ready to set aside all those considerations which had welded them into nation states. They were determined to sink their mutual differences and organise a strong universal Muslim empire for challenging the European powers and for suppressing Hindu India. This is all travesty of facts.

So far Afghani was concerned, he had left some influence on the social and the constitutional life of the Muslim countries. He had visualised that the Muslims of the world could unite and form one strong empire and then resist the European exploitation of their respective regions. Afghani wished to organise the power of the Muslim governments. He restated the bases of the Islamic community in terms of nationalism. He attacked the evils of the Muslim society and Muslims governments. He wished Muslim should know modern thought.

Mohammad Abduh was a true pupil of Afghani who wished that the religious issues should be separated from the political conflicts. Religion and politics should grow independently. Thus Pan Islamism was obviously a positive and legitimate ideal. Had the nationalist forces in India come under the leadership of a dynamic man like Gandhiji when Afghani was operating, the history of the subcontinent as well as of Asia would have been written differently.

The false and malacious propaganda launched by a number of Western writers poisoned the minds of good number of people in India and of Christians in Europe against the Muslims of the world. So the vested interest disfigured Pan-Islamism as something vicious through which Muslims of the world would unite and push the history backward. It was inevitable that a Muslim like Iqbal should have been fascinated by the writings and speeches of Afghani. The ideology of Pan-Islamism had immense appeal for all the Indian Muslims who had all along believed that the Muslim world with whom they had spiritual ties was more Islamic than India, their homeland. They had been emotionally involved in the problems of the Middle East. They could easily forget their own misfortunes if they had learnt that some help could be rendered by their sacrifices in defence of their

brothers outside India. The educated Muslims produced by the Aligarh University did not, of course approve this trait of their community but their numerical strength all over the country was negligible.

Afghani was a progressive mind otherwise. He was looking forward. He wished that the Muslims should acquire scientific knowledge and modernise themselves but at the same time should remain within the orbit of their faith. According to him, there was nothing in the religion of Islam for which Muslims should refuse to learn scientific knowledge. Since their religion upholds the duality of the spiritual and material values of life, it was rather all the more important for them that they should modernise themselves. The application of science and technology was required for increasing material production through which better living conditions could be created in the society. As regards the study of the attributes of God, human reasoning was not to depend on the scientific investigations. It was rather a different area of consideration altogether.

Iqbal was swept away by the arguments of Afghani as if these were the ideas he was looking for to explain his view point. According to Afghani "there are two kinds of philosophy in the world. One of them is to effect that there is nothing in the world which is ours, so we must remain content with a rug and mouthful of food. The other is to the effect that everything in the world is beautiful and desirable, that it does and ought to belong to us. It is the second which should be our ideal to be adopted as our motto".

He had travelled over the length and breadth of Muslim world and was well aware of the real social, political and historic conditions prevailing over the entire region. He could throw up useful social, political and constitutional suggestions for adaptation in the Muslim societies but poor Iqbal was ignorant what exactly had been going on in the Muslim world. He was not living with the times. Lenin could extend the ideology of Marxism to suit the conditions in Russia. Iqbal fails on this score with the ideology of Pan-Islamism. He simply supported what Afghani had stated.

Afghani warned that the Muslim world was going to collapse. The British government saw in him a serious threat. He was imprisoned for a while in India and thereafter he left for Egypt. He actively participated in the anti-European movement led by Arabi Pasha. When Egypt fell in the hands of the Britishers in 1882 he went to Sultan Abdul Hamid. There he became the Head of the Pan-Islamic Propaganda Bureau. His principal objective was to rescue the Muslim world from the strang-

lehold of the European Imperialism. But his ideas were given deliberate twist by the European writers so that the suspicions should spread against the Muslim aggressiveness. There was nothing abnoxious if man like Afghani or Sir Syed or any other Muslim had taken initiative of restructuring the lives of the Muslims in the Muslim world or even in the sub-continent.

Many Hindu thinkers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Bankim, Vivekananda, Aurobindo and others of that era who knew Hinduism and had grasped the essentials of the European culture were more concerned with the plight of the Hindu society. They had been airing their ideas as those of Nationalism but the entire edifice of their thinking was derived from the Hindu thought. The British Raj could well divide Hindus and Muslims. The former did not know much of Islam and the latter also were not aware of profound Hinduism. So they could be easily misled against each other. This ignorance had been the root cause which had kept the people divided in the name of religion.

Any conceptualising of the Modern Indian Philosophy without integrating the views of the Hindu and Muslim thinkers of the land would be unfair as well as incomplete. Indian Muslims had been a minority in the numerical sense of the term and were a over-sensitive mass of people. Initiative should have been taken by the Hindu thinkers and leaders to understand Islam and examine those points of its philosophy by which the possibilities of understanding between the communities should have increased.

Men like Gandhi, Nehru and few others had understood the genuine fears of the Muslim community. A few Muslim leaders knew that the re-establishment of the Islamic rule in India was an impossibility. A scare was created that introduction of democracy would result in the Hindu dominance over Muslims. Had the Muslims understood that Hinduism was not a unified religion, they would not have perhaps been afraid of the Hindu rule.

The Muslims set aside the great teachings of Islam and became victims of the baseless fears of their own. So a time came in the history when they deliberately decided to go wrong. Aged Iqbal was convinced that communalism was a fact of life. The ideology of Pan-Islamism had no future. Hindus were not reacting sympathetically to the urges of the Muslims. So the adoption of thoughtless path was inevitable. In the circumstances, Muslims were so surcharged with their emotions that all reason, all understanding and all compassion which had been the basis of Islamic thought were abandoned. Even geographical compulsions were set aside. It is true that they

were Muslims, but they were quite different from Arabs, Turks, Afghans and others. Their faith in Islam did not eradicate their Indianness. It is true they were no more Hindus, but they had been Indians through and through. The rulers were very cunning and unscrupulous. They persuaded Muslims that it was not in their interests that they should build up a strong subcontinental civilisation in which Hinduism and Islam should come closer.

They so manipulated the entire situation that the Muslims tried to be away from the national movement. There was a good number of such people who had realised the mischievous role being played by the agents of Raj but they could not cut much ice. The fears were imaginary but they appeared to be the walls of granite. We should not simply condemn the Britishers for fomenting all the communal troubles amongst us. Even our leaders were also not clear how best the unity could be achieved.

Both Pan-Islamism and Pan-Indianism were the movements set against the Western domination which met for a short while during the Khilafat movement. Men like Gandhi, Maulana Mohd. Ali, Azad and others tried to weave a situation from where new era of thought and action should have begun. For them, religion was just a means which could have been used for making the people understand to rise against the wrongs of the history. They all wished to see that the people should join the social, cultural, political and educational movements enthusiastically and thereby acquire new consciousness for reconstructing their future. It could not have been imagined that the times would change so fast.

What to say of India which became secular republic three decades after, even in Pakistan a theocratic state, religion is losing its hold. Here is an extract from the Munir's report reflecting the present temper of a Muslim of that country who "finds himself standing on the cross roads, wrapped in the mantle of the past and with the dead weight of centuries on his back, frustrated and bewildered hesitant to turn one corner or the other. Freshness and simplicity of the faith which gave determination to his mind and spring to his muscles, is now denied to him. He has neither means nor the ability to conquer and there are no countries to conquer He therefore finds himself in a state of helplessness, waiting for some one to come and help him out of this morass of uncertainty and confusion Nothing but a bold orientation of Islam to separate the vital from the lifeless and preserve it as a world idea and convert the Musalman into a citizen of the present and the future world from the incongruity that he is today",

Iqbal's shifts from Nationalism to Pan-Islamism was understandable. How best could a man of thought and religious faith react against the situation? This was obviously the appropriate evolution of his political thought. After the failure of the Khilafat movement, the thoughtful mind of Iqbal witnessed another change. The communal riots and "Shuddhi" and "Sangathan" movements in the Punjab and U.P. had gone too far in encouraging the separatist tendencies amongst the Muslims, who feared that Hindus were militantly organising themselves. This placed the Muslims on the defensive.

The British Raj tried to fish in the troubled waters through magnifying the minor differences of the Hindus and Muslims all over Northern India. It succeeded in convincing the Indian Muslims to a very great extent that their real enemies were Hindus. Iqbal was still committed to Pan-Islamism. He says, "I confess to be a Pan-Islamist. The mission for which Islam came into this world will ultimately be fulfilled, the world will be purged of infidelity and the worship of false gods, and the true sword of Islam will be triumphant. I convey the same message to the Mussalmans through my poems. I want the same spirit in my coreligionists as once pervaded the early followers of Islam, who in spite of their wealth, never hankered after the mortal world. This is the religious spirit which was manifest among the Mussalmans when they were the kings and emperors, and believed in the principle that the whole earth belongs to God and none else. This is the kind of Pan-Islamism I preach".

We find that a brief period came in Iqbal's life when he wielded his pen under the influence of the Russian Revolution. He felt elated that a strong Socialist State had been founded after a revolution. Islam as a religion is humanistic to its core. Now that was a clear testimony of his faith that man had unlimited potentialities. Many eminent writers of the times received inspiration from the said revolution which provided hopes and courage to millions and millions all over the world.

Iqbal was a true Muslim and as such his love for certain socialist principles was genuine. He was convinced that Islam had stood for Socialism in the history since it had played a big role in shaping the destinies of the poor and downtrodden. His serious objection against the Soviet society was that it had been atheistic. His strong faith in Islam did not permit him to concede that the real, positive and constructive formation of the individual and his society was at all possible without the spiritual development. There are other significant differences. Marxism discusses about man in gene-

ral. Its man belongs to a particular class, and that conditions his thought apparatus. Iqbal's man is individual who is capable of moving mountains. In the matter of Individual and Society Iqbal is closer to Man and Marx to the Society.

Iqbal sticks to the Eastern position of thought. He was clear that material progress did not mean total progress of man and his society. If non-living substances out grow the living ones, the world would go to pieces. This view would have been rejected by Marx. Islam may include strong social content in its details but still individual is very important in its scheme. Emphasis on the individual is serious. Iqbal draws his inspiration from this view for which his "perfect man" is a model of courage and service who strives for the welfare of the society. For him, human life is a unique phenomenon. It is to be lived with full gusto. A continuing war against nature and all those evil forces which did not permit the individual to progress, should be waged. The improvement of economic conditions is not the end of his philosophy.

Iqbal had always kept in mind the exemplary character of the prophet and other eminent heroes of Islam who did not look for luxuries and even for other material comforts of this life. For him, man should be a man not a moneybag but at the same time he should not be a beggar in ordinary sense of the term. Being a devoted Muslim he always held the fort of optimism in his mind. Certain apologists have tried to implant as if he had some socialist ideas so that his image could outshine. This is not fair. He shines otherwise too.

Iqbal as a thinker starts with the individual and proceeds to the society. A socialist as a principle is supposed to go other way. Iqbal was essentially concerned with human spirit and its ethical development to the extent possible.

Many great writers of the nineteenth century like those of Carlyle in England, Neitzsche in Germany, Plekhnov in Russia had expressed their views regarding the roles of heroes in shaping the course of history. Iqbal was unconsciously doing the same job in India.

Although Iqbal's own life was uneventful yet the period in which he happened to live was very important. He had long painful moments of bitterness and sadness, though on the surface he was all quiet. The artist in him took the total charge of the lava that used to gush out from his heart in the form of poetry and that has come down to us as rich heritage. His European contemporaries who were perhaps more ideally situated than he could have ever

imagined, but they were roaming about in the barren "Waste Land". On the other hand, Iqbal was building up the hopes of his peoples and encouraging them to wage war against all that was wrong. He tried to weed out cowardice from their minds. He strove to generate moral and spiritual drive amongst the people of clay so that they could participate in epochal actions awaiting them ahead.

Being a staunch Muslim, he was a champion of equality. He confirmed that each and every individual was blessed with a unique ego and that was capable of further growth and improvement. Human mind is not just a matter. It is much more than that. It transcends the world of matter and is capable of piercing through the secrets of the universe. So far as physical side of the man is concerned, it is made of atoms and molecules. It is governed by the same laws which govern the rocks under foot and stars over head. Still the living man is something more than that. He is not just a functional being rather an existing being who wills, who changes and who grows.

Iqbal tries to reduce the distance between action and thought and believes them to be the two faces of one coin. What is action? It is thought being concretised. What is thought? It is action being idealised. He asserts that it is the ideal that "animates and sustains the real and through it alone, we discover and affirm the ideas. The life of the ideal consists not in total breach with the real which would tend to shatter the organic whole view of life, but in the endeavour of the ideal to appropriate the real with a view eventually to absorb it and to convert it into itself and illuminates its whole being". It is clear from many of his works that he accords less important role to the Almighty in determining the conditions of the homeosapiens.

For Iqbal God is transcendent and not imminent. Creator and created are two and not one. God can not be the object of personal experience. He can be realised only by revelation through faith. Each man is provided with a 'self' a unique phenomenon thrown up in the process of biological evolution and that is capable of further development by efforts. So each and every individual is obliged to build up himself as a model of perfection by the medium of self. In other words, he means that human thought and action should so combine that possibilities of continuous growth and expansion of individual should increase and through him human society should carry on forging ahead.

He was conscious that the diseases of idle thinking and meaningless speculation were rampant all over the Eastern world. He quotes the authority of the Holy Quran to impress that action is

more significant than meaningless contemplation. It is action which would lead to conquest of nature and create something more useful. The poet in him takes charge of the process of thought. Positive attitude of mind is very important, but this alone would not move the heavens.

It is an ideal that where there is a will, there is a way, but there are at times difficulties which can not be overcome simply by the courage, determination, sacrifice and dedication by the men of common ability. We require the know-how of solving complicated problems confronting us. At the same time, certain other resources are also absolutely necessary. Iqbal did not explore into these details.

In the end, his elaboration of 'self' is a notable philosophical contribution in the world of thought. Islam being a great religion does not constrict the human spirit rather helps it to progress, expand and look forward. It helps the faithful to face the battle of life more fearlessly. It provides a strong social sense by emphasising equality and cultivates understanding and love amongst the people. It rejects those individualistic tendencies which turn men and women selfish and self-centred.

Iqbal also emphasises the love over knowledge. For a Sufi, knowledge is not an end. It is to be harmonised with spiritual side otherwise it may mislead and misguide and end up to disastrous consequences. Man's realisation occupies the most important place in the Sufism.

Iqbal earnestly believed the superb powers of intuitive mind. Intuition is the extra-ordinary power of human mind. The use of science and technology is the consequence of growing edifice of reason. These might strengthen the hands of man to solve his difficulties but destructive side of their use can not be ignored. Even a golden medal has a dark shadow. The scientific discoveries if not used for the benefit of man are capable of annihilating the entire fabric of the civilisation. It is ultimately the "man" behind science and technology who has to determine their application. It is his ethical strength which is to decide. After all world of man is not simply atoms or molecules or radio activity.

Diamond is not simply carbon. Light is not just vibration of ether. Thus this "man" is just not a biological phenomenon, he must have some spiritual insight of things. If his mind is corrupted or not properly tampered with right ethics, the chances of extinction of human race are many.

The redeeming features of his philosophy are many. Instead of being lived one should live. Defeats should not dishearten. Life is a

series of relapses and recoveries. It is at once delicious and horrible, charming and frightful, sweet and bitter. It is high time that his philosophy should be given an important place in the volumes of modern Indian thought. By doing so, it would acquire additional force, purpose, and grace. It would help the young readers to know that their lives could be more purposeful than what they are.

The study of Iqbal would help the non-Muslims to understand the spirit of Islam, who have unfortunately been long fed with distorted ideas of this religion and they prefer to live under their shadows.

Barriers of mistrust would disappear only if we try to know and understand others. Many of the distortions would disappear. While commenting on "Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam" by Iqbal Prof. Gibb says "Indeed, had it not been for Iqbal's prestige as a poet and a leader in Indian Islam, it is doubtful whether so revolutionary and heretical a work would ever have been published". This remark may strike to be sweeping but it bears the testimony that in cold thinking Iqbal could get away from his religious positions. Not only that. While going through "Essays Indian and Islamic" by Khuda Baksh, "Spirit of Islam" by Amir Ali, "The Great Prophet" by Durrani, "Notes on Islam" by Ahmed Hussain, "Turjuman-ul-Quran" by Azad we find that the same spirit pulsates that we find in the book of Iqbal.

Iqbal as a Man

We have already discussed in this book regarding the growing ferment in the Punjab, but it is to be kept in view that its influence was on a microscopic elite. The millions of the Punjabis were living in the old feudalistic environment. Its poverty stricken people were engaged in agriculture and few other professions, such as petty shop-keeping.

The new educational system was set up by the British Raj for producing humble teachers and poor clerks so that the wheels of administration could move on. That qualitative education through which vision is built up and imagination is enriched had not been in the luck of the students of those times. Iqbal was, of course, an exception. He was not the product of the system. He had merits of his own.

The over all psychic conditions of the Muslims of the Punjab were different from those Muslims who were living in other parts of Northern India. The consequences of the Revolt of 1857 had implanted in the minds of the Muslims of Oudh and Delhi that they were defeated. The Muslims of the Punjab were not much influenced. In the Punjab the disaster of the Khalsa army in 1849 did not create that demoralising effect amongst them.

Indian historians assert that the Sikh rule was secular in which Muslims did not feel alienated. This view is challenged by a number of Pakistani historians. Some of them even opined that after the defeat of the Sikhs, the Muslims felt relieved since a tyrannical rule had disappeared. The ideas of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan regarding co-operation with the British Raj were not very palatable to many Muslims of Lucknow and of Delhi, but this had not been the position at Lahore.

It goes without saying that as a man Iqbal was physically less daring than Aurobindo and Maulana Azad. He adopts the road of caution in the field of action and of gallantry in the domain of ideas. As such, he can be compared with Emerson of America and Carlyle of England. Whatever might be his assertions in poetry, he was not

to lead armies like Tipu or Subhash. He does avoid the active confrontation of the British Raj for the reasons advocated by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan as he was convinced that foreign rule should not remain, but there were practical considerations for which he appears to have followed the line of least resistance like that of Munshi Prem Chand, an eminent Urdu story writer and novelist. Whatever had been aspirations of both these writers, they did not permit themselves to take huge physical risks for the causes of which they were the exponents.

In the second decade of this century, the writings of Maulana Azad were very popular amongst the Indian Muslims. His paper "Alhikal" was enthusiastically read by the educated Muslims. Iqbal was not ignorant of it. He was also concerned with the fate of the Muslims. It would, however, be absurd to state that his mind was formed by Maulana Azad. Both of them were, of course, engaged in the similar tasks, then both had similar theological background, it was quite possible that they could have arrived at the similar conclusions.

The Muslims in the Punjab were lying low. Their landed gentry was darling of the British Raj. Their landless fold was cannon fodder for the Defence and expansion of the British Imperialism. The people used to join Defence Forces for livelihood. How could they approve the ideas of political violence and revolution? Iqbal was living amongst them.

The sensible eye of Iqbal must have observed that a good number of the Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs were engaged in cultivating new social and religious temper. Education was fast growing amongst them. Social evils were also being attacked and calculated silence was being observed so far as the challenging of the foreign rule was concerned. Their educated youngmen were more keen to adapt new profession and find some government job. Even if, it is conceded that on all India basis, Hindus adapted the Western education more readily than the Muslims.

The friends of Iqbal who had mostly been Muslims, were always trying to put into his ears that the legitimate rights of the Punjabi Muslims were being thwarted by the Hindus and Sikhs. It did not strike to Iqbal that these minorities of the Punjab were not in very good books of the rulers since they were more aligned with the Indian Nationalist Movement. Whatever may be the fate of the Muslims in the subcontinent, Punjabi Muslims had always been receiving the favourable treatment from the British Raj. It, however, does not mean that all Punjabi Muslims had committed themselves to support the British Raj against the struggle of independence. The part played

by the Ahrars of the Punjab and the record of sacrifices of certain nationalist Muslims should be an eye opener against such sweeping generalisation. Iqbal was, of course, not closer to such forces.

Theoretically speaking, he maintained his position against the imperialism. He wished that Muslims should not ape Western culture, but so far his political activities were concerned, he used to rub his shoulders with those who wished to thrive under the foreign rule. As a politician, Iqbal had defended the externalised form of Islam. He pressed for the privileges and rights of the Muslims. As a poet and thinker he was more concerned with the inner side of the man. In fact, the communalists amongst all the communities were convinced that the British Imperialism had been something invincible. It would be knave to threaten it. The safer course would be to work for it and appeal and manage for seeking minor opportunities and advantages for the community. And at the same time, the drum should be beaten as if they were engaged in a life and death struggle in safe-guarding the vital religious interests which if threatened would bring utter ruination.

The Punjab Muslim League was a divided house since later twenties. The Shaffi Group set up a separate All India Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah did not like this development.

Being a shrewd politician he wished to patch up with the Unionist Party, that was ruling over the Punjab. The British Raj was favourably disposed towards it since it had the support of landed aristocracy of the Punjab with special reference to the Muslims. Mr. Jinnah could well visualise that co-operation with this party was absolutely necessary for acquiring foothold in the Punjab. The Muslim League would not have provided him even toe-hold. Iqbal did not like this shrewd politickig. He believed that the Muslim Zamindars had been indifferent to the interests of the urban Muslims who formed the back-bone of the Muslim League in the Punjab. The Shaffi Group of the All India Muslim League was not against the British Raj. Its influence was limited within the Punjab and had nothing to do with the interests of the Indian Muslims. It may be recorded as a matter of interest that like Congress, All India Muslim League also boycotted the Simon Commission whereas the Shaffi group of the League presented a memorandum to the said Commission. This writer does not agree with Prof. V.G. Kiernan who said that,

“Iqbal, a man of middle class was close both the landlords and princes above it, and to the labourers and peasants below it, to be able to look out life through the eyes of all of them

and his ideal of religious brother-hood desired from this fact”.

Iqbal did not like the political style of Muslim Zamindars of the Punjab. He had a different wave length which grouped him with frustrated Muslim Leaguers, who were sore on the issue that the Punjab was a Muslim majority province but in the elections non-Muslims could so manipulate that a pure Muslim Party was not in a position to come to power. The Punjab Muslim League was indifferent to the advantages being derived by Muslims in U.P., Madras, Bombay and other provinces because of the Lucknow Pact. It was in fact, hardly willing to admit similar concessions to the Hindus and Sikhs in the province.

In the circumstances Iqbal's mystic mind hit an important intuition of far reaching political consequence. He was by now convinced that the Hindus and Muslims would never become one nation. The idea of two nation theory was a reality for him. He seized and extended it further in his historic address of 1929 of Allahabad.

He suggested that a Muslim State on the lines of Afghanistan, Persia, Iraq should be formed in the North-Western part of the subcontinent, where the Muslims could lead a life according to the dictates of their own culture and civilisation. Iqbal was aware that Hindus would not be united politically. There were many religions in them, but he feared that in a united India, the Hindu religious environment would take over. Hindu ethics would dominate. Hindu presuppositions would indirectly rule. He as a thinker was trying to help the Muslims to ascend in conscience but as a politician he put them on the defensive. Iqbal was however not clear when India would be free and a separate Muslim State would be carved out of it. Even prior, to Iqbal's address the idea of dividing the country on communal lines was in the air.

It is very interesting to note that in the original scheme of Iqbal, there was no demand of creating a state in the Eastern part of the subcontinent where Muslims were in majority. This obviously testifies that he was all concerned in the welfare of the Punjabi Muslims. He did not visualise how the partition plan thrown up by him would mitigate the hardships for those Muslims who would be destined to live in the rest of India which would include still raised percentage of Hindu population. A really thoughtful plan should have kept their interest first in view and not of those who were already placed in the advantageous political position in the Punjab. Whatever might be the assertions of Pakistani writers on the issue,

Prof. Edward Thompson who had met Iqbal in latter thirties and discussed with him on the issue, did not support the view that the poet was very serious about his partition plan.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, being a Kashmiri Brahmin himself, was highly respectful to Iqbal. He too had once heart to heart discussions with the poet at Lahore in which Panditji had explained to him the dire consequences for the Muslims in partitioning the country. Iqbal was affectionate to Panditji and must have listened to him attentively. It would, however, be erroneous to state that poet had ever revised his opinions on the issue. Jinnah stated for Iqbal, "His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India, and finally found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumbrated in the Lahore resolution of All India Muslim League (1940) popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution".

Iqbal paid his final debt of nature in the year 1938. The demand for separate state became more vociferous after his death.

The British Raj had their own strategic interests in the political developments of the Punjab. It correctly knew that the propertied class of Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus would always prove more reliable mass of men for the perpetuation of the foreign rule. The numerical strength of the Hindus and Sikhs of this class was not much, yet they had sailed with the Muslim Zamindars for safeguarding their own property rights. This was the base of the Unionist Party of the Punjab. Its first and last duty was to see that the private ownership of the land was preserved and the British hold continued and that should defend their rights. Some of the leaders of the Unionist Party were of course good and intelligent men. They had, however, limited purposes Idealism. Great ideas of Nation-building or say of community building did not touch them.

They could not anticipate that the subcontinent would be liberated so soon. It should however be stated in their defence that they were not rabid communalists. They did not approve riots. Landlords from all communities were on the roll of the Unionist Party. They wished that all the communities should live peacefully.

Iqbal did not approve the policies of the Unionist Party. He was convinced that these would serve no useful purpose for the poor Punjabi Muslims living in the urban and rural side. He wished that the participation of these elements in the political activities should increase. The masses of the Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs did not belong to the propertied class but they were actively engaged in

various social, cultural, political, educational and economic activities.

Iqbal was not the first Indian thinker who supported the cause of two nation theory. A sizable number of educated Hindus in the Punjab were opposed to the growing ascendancy of the Muslims in politics. They had anticipated earlier than those of All India Muslim League that all efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity would end in a fiasco. They tried to convince their community that Congress would never watch their interests since it had an all India perspective in which Punjabi Hindus would be crucified and it would always feel shy in advocating their cause for in that case it would be branded as being a communal organisation.

What to say of lesser men even a man like Lala Lajpat Rai whose patriotism and nationalism were enviable had quite often expressed certain fears which confirm the trouble in the psyche of the Punjabi Hindus. He once wrote from Jail to Shri C.R. Dass regarding Hindu-Muslim unity, "I have devoted most of my time during last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law, and I am inclined to think it is neither good nor possible". In the same letter he refers to his study of the Holy Quran which seems to have furthered some of his apprehensions. He confirms his total ignorance of world history by stating "I am not afraid of seven crores of the Musalmans, but I think the seven crores in India plus the armed hosts of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotemia and Turkey will be irresistible". We can today pass judgments against such assertions of the Hindu leaders with the hindsight of the history at our disposal, but those who are engaged actively in politics are likely to make grave miscalculations at times.

By 1922, it was clear that the Khilafat Movement would end in vain. The hopes of Hindu-Muslim unity were being shattered. In the Punjab the "Shuddhi" and "Sangathan", Movements led by the Hindus were running parallel with those of 'Tabligh' and 'Tanzim' amongst the Muslims. The Punjabi Muslims feared that many people had embraced Islam in theory. Their going back to the fold of the Hinduism would be easily possible. The majority of the Muslim population in the Punjab was very slender. The slight increase of the Hindus in the province would turn the coin.

Prior to the advent of the "Shuddhi" movement religious conversion had all along been one way traffic. It was difficult for the other communities to concede that Hindus would ever react. The unscrupulous press was engaged in its mischievous role. It was highlighting news of conversions by which communal passions were being

aroused. How could these organised efforts for proselytisation have permitted the communal harmony to grow ?

Iqbal was an eye witness to all that noisy drama being enacted in Lahore. He was reading Muslim Press. The people who used to meet him quite frequently were also from his own community. They obviously presented him Hinduism as a growing Frankenstein. Poor Iqbal had no means to ascertain the facts. He took it for granted what was being reported to him.

It is strange that leaders like Pandit Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu used to visit him at his residence during their trips to Lahore. Being great minds themselves they had correctly understood the importance of Iqbal but the irony is that no eminent Punjabi Hindu or Sikh leader worth the name had ever visited him for explaining the viewpoint of his own community.

It is true that Iqbal was not a rational mind of the kind of our familiarity, but his innate greatness cannot be denied. The thoughtless utterances of many Punjabi Hindu leaders that were being published by the Lahore Press had convinced Iqbal that Hindus would never be generous with the Muslims and as such the idea of Indian Nationalism would not sustain. The psychological results of the fears real or imaginary are always the same. The feared feel threatened. As such they get ready either to destroy or get destroyed. This might be the reason for Iqbal's strong opposition to the idea of the parliamentary democracy.

The democratic ideas had direct appeal to the Hindu thinkers since that did not jeopardise the political position of their community in any way. These were rather ensuring them better times to come. The Muslims could not believe that the caste ridden Hindu society would ever be considerate to their legitimate demands. This is why during the first four decades of this century Muslims had largely been struggling for privileges, and safeguards. They had seldom thought of organising their struggles in the spirit of Islam. Political considerations generated by day to day life had obviously put them on defensive. There had been, of course, a few Muslims like Maulana Azad who had consistently pressed for the democratic rights of the people without taking their religious denominations in view.

Prior to 1926, Iqbal's interest in politics was on intellectual plane, but it was only in this year he entered the arena of elections and contested for a seat in the Legislative Assembly. Well, his victory was a foregone conclusion. This was nothing extraordinary. The Muslims of Lahore who were electors had been highly respectful to him otherwise. His greatness did not rest on their precious votes.

Meanwhile his health began to fail. He had no sources of regular or irregular incomes. It is painful to state that there was a sizable number of Punjabi Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs who could have come to his material help. Plenty of funds could have been raised for his best medical treatment in London or in New York or in Geneva so that few years of his life span could have increased if possible.

Here was a man, the greatest man of five generations of the Punjabis since 1839. He was an embodiment of a true peer of the land. He had no personal axe to grind. He simply wished that his people should know what he had to say. As a poet, he was an eagle. As a philosopher, he was a mystic. As a man, he was a darvish. The greatness of poets or thinkers or leaders rests on the fact how far they push mankind forward. Pericles said, "For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; and their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives". It was ultimately Sir Ras Masud who could impress upon the Nawab of Bhopal for a moderate financial help to Iqbal. Had Iqbal been a clever politician, Heavens and Earth would have moved in the land of Five rivers to save him. Active politics was only thrust upon him.

Poor fellow had always asserted that he had no knowledge or experience of dirty politics. Intrigues had no place in his mind. True to the traditions of Islam lived on moderate incomes he earned through teaching or from limited legal practice. He was opposed to mint money from the works of his poetry.

Iqbal would live for his lasting contributions. A Sufi should not visit courts of the rulers. Iqbal followed this practice. A Sufi should not be close to the authorities. Iqbal did not try to be closer with the Government. He could shed tears easily. He should be at the service of the people but at times he would like to be alone. He does not worry about health. Sir Fazal-i-Hussain, an eminent leader and one of his close friends and had very often wished to help him out of financial difficulties. But "Qalander" in Iqbal did not yield.

A furore was created in the literary circles of the country when the honour of "Knighthood" was conferred on him. It was the policy of the British Raj to placate Indian thinkers so that they should always use their pens with restraint. It is true Iqbal himself claimed to be a Qalander or Faquir and was not hankering after such titles, still when it came, he graciously accepted it with a simple condition that his teacher, mentor and guide of childhood Maulvi Mir Hassan of Sialkot should also be rightly honoured.

Iqbal was not only the great intellectual of those times who had accepted it. Men like Raman, a noted scientist, and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan a great Hindu thinker had also been similarly honoured. The point to be made is not this that he was knighted rather a bard like him should have refused to accept it especially after the tragedy of the Jalianwala Bagh at Amritsar in 1919 when a writer of his stature, Tagore had renounced the same title for protesting against the atrocities committed by the foreign rule. Tagore asserted his desire to "stand, shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of my country men". The voice of Bengal was moved for the tyranny over the Punjab, but Iqbal seems to have been indifferent to it. His greatness all over the country was already established. He required no British feather to improve his stature.

But Iqbal's silence appears to be studied. The thinker in him was probing deep into the political situation of the country. Khilafat Movement forms an important chapter of the Indian history. He does not appear to be very enthusiastic about it which had strengthened the bond of Hindu-Muslim unity. The negative forces immediately took charge of the politics especially in the Punjab. In private conversations Hindus used to say that the Muslims were bullies, impulsive, bigoted and very poor in calculations. On the same lines Muslims used to assert that the Hindus were cowards, miserly, greedy, obscure, liars, cunning and metaphysical. The substance of his political thinking comes out in his detailed address delivered as President of All India Muslim League in 1930 at Allahabad.

"I have no hesitation in declaring that if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. There are communalisms and communalisms. A community which is inspired by feelings of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty according to the teaching of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship, if need be. Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture and thereby

recreating its whole past as a living operative factor in my present consciousness. . . .

Communalism in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy can not be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All-parties Muslim Conference at Delhi, is, to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, afford them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this House will emphatically endorse the Muslim demands embodied in this resolution. Personally, I would go further than the demands embodied in it. I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontiers Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidate North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India."

Along with this his historical speech we have on records a few letters of Iqbal addressed to Mr. Jinnah explaining his political opinions. We find that it was not Islam that had been carrying him away from the composite Indian culture. He was convinced that the Hindus would never demonstrate high degree of understanding towards the Muslims. The communal politics of the Punjab went too far in convincing him. Iqbal learns that his plan of partition was received well in the circles of the Hindu Maha Sabha. Dr. Moonje a prominent leader of this party blessed his ideas. It should have opened his eyes.

It can be safely proved from the available records that Mr. Jinnah was never impressed by the political ability of Iqbal. He himself was an astute politician whereas Iqbal was just a prophetic type. Jinnah was more eager to befriend the Unionist Party for realising

his objective. In the process, he had very often ignored many suggestions of Iqbal. Jinnah was clear that Iqbal was only a thinker, a visionary and a poet. He had a religious frame of mind though not a man of priestly disposition. People might love him and read his poetry but in political affairs they would not support him. Mr. Jinnah was angling for late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan then the Premier of the Punjab. Iqbal did not like it but for that he did not pick up a row as he could well anticipate that Jinnah was the man of destiny, who would finally lead the Muslims of the subcontinent.

The idea of Pakistan was placed on the Conference table of the All India Muslim League Session at Lahore only in the year 1940 with certain modifications. In 1947, Pakistan was ultimately created by the untiring efforts of Mr. Jinnah and the dream of Iqbal was thereby realised. The greatness of Iqbal does not lie in the fact what he achieved rather what he had longed to achieve. That became a reality in less than two decades.

The matter does not here, since the problem of the Muslims could not be solved by partitioning the subcontinent. Objectively speaking, it had materially helped only the Muslims of the West Punjab who were relieved of the British Raj as well as of their Hindu and Sikh competitors in the fields of services, business, commerce and industry. It had opened the possibilities for them only to become the most important community of the total population of Pakistan.

It may be left to the Indian Muslims to state how partition had robbed of the unity of their community in the subcontinent. It, however, goes without saying that when partition came, they were unnerved. Thanks to the Indian leadership of Gandhi, Nehru and Maulana Azad that had helped them to stand up. The formation of Bangladesh in the year 1971 is another convincing proof that the ideology of two Nation Theory was not at all enduring. With the dismemberment of erstwhile Pakistan it became clear that religion alone could not determine the character of a state.

It does not mean that the present arrangement of three states in the subcontinent is unsatisfactory but it is a cruel fact that the unity of the Muslims of the subcontinent had been irreparably affected by the decision of partition. It is true that Iqbal toyed with the idea of partition, but he did not strive for it. He gave a new direction of purpose to those Muslims who were lost in the blind alleys of the Khilafat Movement. He had somehow reached this conclusion that the communal problem would not be solved by debating the issues around a round tables. The other course was peaceful partition if joint living had not been possible. The times are fast changing. The

Muslim world is wide awake. Many of its countries' do not permit religion exclusively to determine their total destiny. They take in view the social, economic, geographical and many other factors for deciding their vital interests.

The state of Pakistan was carved out in the year 1947. It was a theocratic State. Has pristine Islam made any dent in the religious and cultural life of its society till date? It is a very important question which a Pakistani biographers of Iqbal are supposed to answer. Many among the Indian Muslims ask the searching question to themselves as to how far Iqbal's thesis of partition was responsible in persuading their minds. Whatever may be the assertions of the people of Pakistan regarding his thesis, even they would accept that partition did not benefit all the Muslims of the subcontinent. Iqbal had a passion to do something for the Indian Muslims, but he was not a social or political thinker. Total credit or discredit for the partition of the country should not go to Iqbal alone since his contemporary late Lala Lajpat Rai had visualised as early as in 1924 for "the creation of Muslim provinces in the North East and North West of India". The idea did not catch the imagination of the country till All India Muslim League had taken it up in the year 1940. It is, of course clear that both these important Punjabis saw the solution of the communalism in the partition of the country.

Aged Iqbal was an armed chair philosopher. In philosophy, journalism and correspondence his manner is fairly serious and deliberate, but in day to day life he was an easy going personality. He could listen patiently even to those who held diametrically opposite views. When a group of progressive writers happened to meet him under the leadership of late Dr. Ashraf, they found the poet an amiable personality and who had no rigidity in his thinking. Iqbal confesses before them like an innocent school boy that his studies were not upto date and he would very much like to study Marxism and other modern thought.

He was essentially a thinker with strong feelings. No great achievement is possible in thought and philosophy without the interfusion of feelings and ideas. Iqbal qualifies on this score. He looks beyond the horizons of fate and arms his readers with a courageous and powerful outlook.

Amongst the Hindus, late Raja Narindra Nath of Lahore was his close friend. Amongst the Sikhs, Iqbal was very friendly with late Sir Joginder Singh. His Urdu poems were taught in all schools of the Punjab before the year 1947. Their impact of some form on the mind of each and every educated Punjabi was inevitable. His verses are

quoted by all. Poems are recited in the religious gatherings of the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims.

The Punjab may boast of producing many great Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in modern times but the towering personality amongst them all is undoubtedly Iqbal till date. Others would be forgotten under the tyranny of time, but he would live amongst the immortal Punjabis, as a poet, as a thinker and as a prophet. His philosophy and poetry would endure. The people knowing Urdu or Hindi would frequently quote him in their day-to-day lives, for justifying their points of view with the belief that these would provide additional force to their arguments.

Iqbal had married twice, He did not possess very good relations with his first wife. As a result, his son, Mr. Aftab who was from his first wife had never been happy with him. From his second wife, he had two children, a son Javed and a daughter, Munira. Iqbal had been very affectionate with his elder brother Mr. Atta Mohd. who was largely responsible for financing his education abroad.

Although, his brother had changed his religious views, yet Iqbal's love for him continued as before. This had not been a general practice amongst the orthodox Punjabi Muslims. He was a Muslim. He was a Pan-Islamist. He was an Indian but he was a Punjabi by upbringing. On the night previous to his death, he asked Diwan Ali his friend to sing him a Punjabi song. So a few verses of Bulleh Shah the great Sufi poet of the Punjab were recited. Iqbal was moved. His new end was very near. He could have asked something for his own poems or from Rumi suitable to the occasion, but did not wish that. Many Peers, saints and qalandars, students, teachers, writers, poets, politicians, lawyers, tongawalas and even wrestlers used to visit him so freely as if they were to meet a man who was their dearest relative.

Davindra Satyarthi a famous Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi writer had once met him incidentally in a bazaar of Lahore just as a frustrated young man who had nothing to look forward, but this sudden meeting becomes a turning point in latter's life. Iqbal removed that foliage of abstractions from Satyarthi's mind which had been confusing and disturbing the young man and made him realise his real possibilities. Iqbal was anxious that the material conditions of the people should change, but he had absolutely no attachment with wealth for himself. Had he devoted more energies in practising law, he would have gathered a good fortune.

He was not afraid of death. He had once told a German writer that he would meet his end smilingly, but it does not mean that he

was ready to die. Such great minds are rarely born. Will Durant the noted American philosopher says somewhere:

“Why should we stand reverent before water-falls and mountain-tops, or a summer moon on a quiet sea and not before the highest miracle of all—a man who is both great and good? So many of us are mere talents, clever children in the play of life, that when genius stands in our presence we can only bow down before it as an act of God, a continuance of creation. Such men are the very life-blood of history, to which politics and industry are but frames and bones”.

Iqbal had many personal problems many more perhaps than Tagore and Munshi Prem Chand, but he paid no serious attention to them.

It is also true that biology was not very kind to him, but he had also never realised that he was an extraordinary mortal who should live a longer span of life. If he had lived ten or fifteen years more, his intellectual pursuits would have continued.

One of his eyes was damaged at a very tender age. As such, the huge burden of vast studies was to be carried by the other eyes. Since he was hailed as a man of saintly disposition, the critics are quiet about his consumption of liquor. He was, of course, very fond of eating good food. He used to enjoy it even against the medical advice.

Such men are rarely born. Let us end this chapter with a quotation from Aldous Huxley:

“Perhaps the men of genius are the only true man. In all the history of the race there have been only a few thousand real men. And the rest of us—What are we? Teachable animals. Without the help of the real men, we should have found out almost nothing at all. Almost all the ideas with which we are familiar could never have occurred to minds like ours. Plant the seed there and they will grow, but our minds could never spontaneously generate them”.

New Comparisons

We have set aside the common practice of comparing Iqbal's poetry, his thought and his personality with those of his Muslim predecessors and contemporaries who had held the field in the domain of the art of versification or they were otherwise very popular for their religious thought or political activities. It is generally a foregone conclusion in those studies that Iqbal should be proved far superior as a poet and as a thinker and even as a statesman. Here we have brought him to wrestle in a different arena. He is being sized with equally distinguished Indian minds of this century. We find them meeting at certain points but at the same time their differences were also real and profound. The people looked at them with reverence and attached great importance to their ideas. They emerge before us as titans of the era. Even if, some of their ideas are elusive still on careful examination we find that these are wrapped with the affairs of men.

All of them believed in the dignity of man. They were optimistic through and through. They were confident that truth would ultimately prevail. They were men of strong faiths and had either been Sufis or Vedantis but at the same time held very strong opinions regarding issues of their times. They had even participated in various constructive activities. If they were shaped by their times, they had also shaped the futurity of the people by their forceful ideas. The purpose of writing this chapter is not to establish who amongst them was greater or lesser than Iqbal, it is rather an endeavour of viewing his position by placing him with those who are considered the makers of modern India.

They all discouraged the blind aping of the West and had tried to discover that past which could still be usefully applied. Bertrand Russell's view "the military superiority of Europe to Asia, is not an abnormal law of nature, as we have tempted to think, and our superiority in civilisation is a mere delusion" was clear to leaders much earlier than the British philosopher could confirm. Whatever might be their religious denominations, their future aspirations were almost similar. After all, they were destined to operate in the same times

and were confronted with identical issues.

When Tilak was writing his magnum opus *Gita Rahasya*, Aurobindo was penning his "Bhawani Mandir", Maulana Azad was shooting his passionate articles in "Alhikal" and Iqbal was busy in producing powerful poetry.

The progressive thinkers of the West have been asserting for the last one century that religion was something negative, but this view had been challenged by great minds of this land say by Tagore, Iqbal Azad, Gandhi, Radhakrishnan and others. All these personalities had been humanists through and through. Their messages are of universal application. Where they had been erasing the sharp divisions between the East and the West, they wished to see that their messages should reach the common masses who understood the language of religion. They had a strong conviction that the West was incapable to teach them much. Prior to Nehru and Roy (M.N.) all great minds of the country laid emphasis on their respective faiths.

Many Western thinkers refuse to acknowledge the philosophic insight of these great Indians of our recent times and dismiss them as no original thinkers. Well, originality is not to be identified with the inventiveness alone. It lies in highlighting that also which has been long forgotten. The real difficulty is that the Western minds have not been able to understand, better say, refuse to understand the simple facts of our religious life. Swami Vivekananda had beautifully explained in his address at the Shakespeare Club of Pasadena California in 1900,

"In the midst of their degradation, religion comes first. The Hindu man drinks religiously, sleeps religiously, walks religiously, marries religiously, robs religiously".

The history of modern Indian philosophy should not end simply by narrating that portion which is situated on the ancient rocks of Hinduism. Young Indian thinker should know that it would not be enough if he has read the works of Vivekananda, Aurobindo, Gandhi Nehru and Radhakrishnan. He has to go to Sir Syed Ahmed, Hali, Ali Brothers, Iqbal and Azad. Then he should come to Nehru, M.N. Roy, J.P. and others. This is his heritage. He has to pick up the threads from all sides.

Islam is a great religion and a culture that had shaped the history of subcontinent before and after the rise of the British power. It is pity that in recent times certain books of Indian thought and history have been written in which the role of Islam in shaping the

destiny of the Indian society has not been adequately highlighted. In other words we are encouraging lopsided intellectual development of our young scholars and readers. It is therefore considered absolutely necessary that our Non-Muslim youngmen and women should study the works of thoughts written by eminent Muslim minds like those of Maulana Azad, Dr. Iqbal; and others. Similarly Muslim youth should know the philosophic details of Hinduism. This would help them to acquire balanced and healthy views of Indian thought and culture.

Once we learn the broad principles of a religion other than our own, we may not follow them but we can not hate the same.

We cannot discuss the growth of modern Indian consciousness without delineating the part played by different religions in shaping the minds of the people. Young men like Tilak, Aurobindo, and Iqbal were not against the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity as such, but as they grew in years, they abandoned their original positions.

The religious ideas of the Hinduism were weaved exclusively on the Indian soil. These have, therefore, strong elements of Indianness. The leaders had so presented their case to a common Hindu as if his being patriotic and nationalistic was just an integral part of his religion. The matter was not that simple for the Muslims of the subcontinent. They had their religious beliefs and particular history which did not permit them to think like those of the Hindus, even though they were not less patriotic. In the words of Tagore the position is "when in the new age the Hindu was roused to a sense of dignity of his Hinduism, if the Muslim had simply acquiesced therein, that would doubtless have suited us admirably but the same causes likewise roused the Muslim to a sense of dignity of Islam".

Iqbal and Tagore

Let us take up Iqbal and Tagore first. The times are fast changing. A lot of literature had been produced in all Indian languages by eminent writers and poets of this century but the envious position of these two literary giants amongst them all remains unrivalled. They had lived on this land as contemporaries. It is a different matter that they could not study of each others' poetry in original, but they were aware of the fact that they were destined to make mark in the history of world literature. Tagore represented the modernised spirit of Hinduism with Bengali ethos in the background and Iqbal stood for Islam with Punjabi spirit therein. They represented the cultures of the centuries built up in the East. Both had held identical views on the basic issue of Imperialism. Tagore condemned it as "a high sounding Shibboleth" to hide the infamy and monstrous cruelty implied in the effort to disarm the multitudinous population of an extensive country and to perpetuate its utter deprivation of all rights and opportunities.

Both knew English literature and European thought well, appreciated its spirit and understood its character, but decried the mechanistic and utilitarian aspects of the Western civilisation. The areas of their literary fields may be different, but the rare qualities displayed in their art deserve similar admiration.

Poetry was natural to them both. It was not acquired or learnt as a profession rather just a consequence of certain inner most urges stirring their agonised minds. For them, love is not just a sentiment. It is rather truth. It is not something blind, it is rather true light. It helps in the transformation of man. Love for life and action is a healthy instinct.

Both had immense love for music. It is a different matter that Iqbal did not specialise in this direction but his strong sense for it cannot be denied. Tagore and Iqbal had never been total politicians, but they had strong political opinions. They even attended and presided over the sessions of the political parties. They wrote articles and had delivered speeches. Still politics was not the end of their lives. We

hear the echoes of Nanak and Kabir in their writings.

Both of them had oceans of feelings and above it, possessed the rare gift of presenting them with artistic beauty. It strikes as if, each and every verse of theirs is instinctively written. And the artists in them had perhaps made no special effort in their composition. They were essentially men of ideas but the poetry came to them easily. The qualities of their throbbing ideas could not be contained in prose.

They were deeply concerned with the elevation of their people. They were in fact mini-prophets who had come to serve their decaying society from the total destruction. As a young man Tagore had many advantages over Iqbal. The former had a very rich and highly cultured parentage. Many social, cultural and religious movements had already become very popular in Bengal and in them Tagore's family was taking active part. Tagore's grandfather and father were associated with the Brahmo Samaj.

Then there had been other brilliant members in his family. One of his brothers was an I.C.S. officer. Another was a great artist. Tagore knew the social and educational work being organised by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar in the province of Bengal. Being rich, his family had connections with the important Muslim families of the region. This helped Tagore to acquire some rudimentary knowledge regarding Islam.

Iqbal had no such circumstances. The few details of his early life have already been stated. As a young man, Tagore was considered a literary out caste. Iqbal also took up the cudgles against the established and popular brand of Sufism which had been the blend of self surrender and self assertion. Here emphasis had been on the transitoriness of human life and ultimate dissolution of 'self' in God. He had to pay the price for offending the popular sentiments of his community.

Certain critics in Pakistan have so offensively written against Tagore as if the Nobel Prize awarded to him was a result of some sort of some wire-pulling for him. According to them, Iqbal deserved it more but was denied. Tagore was just a wooly mystic whose poetry was inconsequential.

Such underrating of Tagore is absurd. The correct position is that Tagore deserved it very much and had obtained it. Iqbal too deserved it but was not considered. It is also true that the confirmation of such awards is not based on merit alone. The list of the Asian laureates till date is very small.

The difficulty is that the decision makers at Stockholm are

unaware of the languages of the East. Then chance also plays its part. Many eminent writers like Tolstoy and Gorky were denied this distinction whereas their services to the cause of art and literature were more enduring than many of those who had been honoured by the Swedish Academy. But how does this denial of recognition underestimate the merit of a great writer? There are many factors which go against the orientalisists. According to Irving Wallace, "the language in which an author published was sometimes a factor in his winning an award. Any one writing in Hindi, for instance would have a difficult time for winning the award, since the Nobel committee had no personal knowledge of the language and no experts upon whom they could rely".

Tagore was a poem himself. Edward Thompson wrote of Tagore as the greatest Indian poet since Kalidas (5th Century A.D.). Sarat Chander the noted Bengali novelist assigned the position of Tagore next to Vyasa the writer of the epic of the Mahabharata. In the words of Shri Narvane, "He (Tagore) sees in his art something which transcends utility and is yet supremely purposeful; something which rises above cognition and is yet meaningful in the highest sense". The eminent literary critic A.C. Bradley, an authority on Shakespeare casually glanced the poetry of Tagore and remarked, "at last a great poet amongst us again". The British Raj had acknowledged with constraint the powers of Tagore i.e. only after the reputed literary circles of the world had confirmed them. Once it was acknowledged all over the world the rulers could not help awarding him Knighthood even though he continued to be a seditionist in their records. Tagore was of course, not hankering after such things. He had to fling it back after the massacre of the Jallian Walla Bagh, Amritsar. Iqbal's "Israr-i-Khudi" was translated by Prof. R.A. Nicholson and the same was published in 1922. This made the poet very popular in the Western world. Even a high brow critic like Sir Harbart Read paid tributes to Iqbal. Subsequently British Raj honoured him with Knighthood.

For Iqbal, man is a piece of biological evolution. God's world in which this poor creature is destined to live is also imperfect, but it is his privilege to improve it by persistent efforts. The 'perfect man' would emerge only from this human material already available, and would so operate in the world around that he could change it for the betterment. Individual is obliged to build up himself. It is the principal duty of each man to progress spiritually, materially, morally and so on. This is the path of his coming closer to God. Iqbal being a staunch Muslim is monotheist and an ardent follower of the Holy

Quran and as such he is clear on the issue that God is to be absorbed in "self" and not the other way round.

The evolution of human life is unique phenomenon and is therefore meant for achieving lofty objectives through ceaseless struggles. Each and every moment of this life is to be lived purposefully. Past and future are therefore less consequential. Only that time is really crucial in which individual is destined to make his mark. For Iqbal, life is an assimilating movement. Human desires and ideals are all the time dialectically growing, expanding and developing. Whatever comes in the way of progress and growth would be defeated. For him matter in its natural form is an obstruction. It should therefore be transformed and made useful by man. Iqbal further emphasises that the man should be strong willed and must work hard. There is no permission of flabbiness of any kind in his conduct of things.

This is why he was deadly against the popular brand of Sufism which according to him had stood for the individual's total absorption in God and thereby it had resulted in the ruination of the Sufis. Iqbal would live in history for his untiring crusade against fate. He rouses the heroic in us. Life is not for living in idleness and suffering. Its real purpose is progress, activity and improvement. These would maintain the flow of the stream of evolution.

Tagore being a Hindu is very near to the popular form of Vedantic position. He is a Pantheist and sees God in the humanity. For him, "He is there where the tiller is tilling hard ground, and path maker is breaking stones. He is with them in Sun and Shower, and his garment is covered with dust". This quotation does not represent Tagore in totality. He had no fibre of a hero. He was a poet of grace. Iqbal was a poet of struggle. Both were mystics and fond of ancient thought. Both did not approve long hours of prayers. They were convinced that even the time devoted to such activities should be reduced to minimum. Tagore says, "Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads. Whom does thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with the doors all shut?" Iqbal was also clear that it had been the tragedy of the defeated nation since it failed to act valiently at right moment and had thus turned fatalist and thereby wasting its residual energies in futile worshipping, a symptom of its paralysis.

Both Tagore and Iqbal were against the ascetic life. They believed that ascetics wasted their precious time. They stood for sincere human emotions. They had no patience for a society which was based on discriminations of class and caste.

Both were great men and artists at their respective places who

did not think in terms of India alone. Iqbal was clear that he had come to help the Muslims of the world. He wished that his works should help them in the fortification of their personalities. The spirits of Asian peoples were lying low and it appeared as if, there had been no hope of their recovery. He wished that they should rise and wage struggles against all those evils which had been eating into their vitals. It does not mean that peace was not important in the philosophy of Iqbal, but the peace sought by the oppressed and downtrodden is invariably based on their abject surrender. Iqbal fights against this tendency. With the passage of time he had abandoned nationalism.

Tagore also flayed national chauvinism. He stands for universalism which appears to be the broad generalisation of modern Hinduism. Both were of course, intensely concerned with the political developments, but they did not like active participation in the political affairs. They ardently believed in "self" and participated in the Swadeshi Movement. Iqbal wrote strongly from England in defence of the "Swadeshi Movement" and violently criticised those Punjabi Muslims who were against it.

Tagore is rich in imagination, original in expression and profound in his thoughts. He has no love lost for dogmas, no religious obsessions. He had made intensive study of the Upanishdas which played a very big role in the development of his mind, but along with this the growth of strong eclectic attitude had helped him not to under-rate the significance of the Western thought. His mind was open on the issue. He was born Hindu but had accepted influences from Brahma Samaj, Christianity and Vedanta during the formative years of his life and by the evening of his life he became a symbol of that humanism which has become a popular brand of thought all over the world in our times.

For Iqbal, Islam was as important as the Muslims. He aspires that the Muslims of the world should unite and once again install themselves at the helm of the affairs. Still he was a poet possessing a sensitive mind. While asserting to acquire greatness and power he personally could not help sticking to those moulds of original Islam which should have normally been rejected by him as an enlightened scholar of this century.

He is at times found directing his readers on unintellectual paths of obscure religion and even propagating many of its outmoded practices. He was so much absorbed in the books produced in the mediæval ages that he had for quite some time abandoned the study of great works being written in his own times.

On the other hand, Tagore had been corresponding with many

outstanding minds of his age such as Croce, Bergson, Einstein, Romain Rolland, Russell, Dewey and others. He was in close touch with Gandhi, Nehru and many other celebrities of Indian politics. In the world of religion, Iqbal did not bother to know in details regarding Christianity or Buddhism or Hinduism or some other important religion. His mind was saturated with Islamic thought and history. Tagore understood Christianity better than many eminent Christians. He had toured East and understood the spirit of the Buddhism. He learnt about Islam from many of those eminent Muslims who were friendly with his family. Tagore had determined "to synthesise the elements of highest in every religion and philosophic tradition, to soften the edges and fashion a creative middle path between contending points of view, to mediate between extremes". This is why he is hailed as a "supreme reconciler, harmoniser, and peace maker" in the domain of modern thought.

There is another difficulty with Iqbal. He had adequate knowledge of the Western philosophy as well as of Islam but not of the history of Islam or of India or of the political theory. Here is a small instance. Mussolini, the Fascist leader of Italy, once succeeded in earning praise from both of them. Tagore changed his opinion in view of better knowledge obtained afterwards, but Iqbal stuck to his position.

In the domain of social thought both held opposite views. Iqbal did not accept even the simple fact that with the passage of time religions, cultures and philosophies could get synthesised of their own and acquire new dimensions even if no conscious effort is made by the individuals to do so. Process of synthesis carries on just as a historic inevitability. Tagore accepts the latent interaction of cultures. A powerful and effective culture might leave more influence on a weaker culture. Nevertheless, weaker culture is not mutton and retains some strength which could effect the peripheries of powerful culture at least. This is why orthodox leaders like Aurangzeb and others who stood for Islam and Islam alone had appeal for Iqbal but Tagore in the similar situation would have voted in favour of men like Akbar, Kabir and Nanak.

Tagore has another incidental advantage over Iqbal. The former had largely written in Bengali and English. Both these languages are living in the subcontinent at the moment whereas Iqbal had mostly written in Persian and Urdu. As regards Persian, it is no longer spoken in any region of the subcontinent. So his original writings in Persian would be studied by the scholars and specialists in this part of the world. A common reader with moderate education can not be the beneficiary. But Iqbal's poetry in Urdu would endure. The founding

fathers of Pakistan were committed for the adoption of this language as national but this was obviously an artificial trapping since it is the mother tongue of that microscopic minority of the population that had migrated from India in the year 1947.

Prior to Iqbal, most of the eminent Muslim poets of the Punjab had either written in Punjabi and few in Persian. They had their own idiom, diction and poetic devices. Urdu had reached Punjab from Delhi but it turned out to be the lingua franca of the Punjab. Most of the Punjabi Hindu and Sikh contemporaries of Iqbal were also writing in Urdu.

Tagore was on the other hand convinced that a writer could give his best only in his mother tongue. Iqbal is of the opinion that the mind of the poet is formed of its own whereas the language is learnt by the poet from the society in which he happens to see the light of the day. Iqbal rendered no service to his mother tongue, but Tagore had enriched it to a degree that today Bengali stands head and shoulder above many other Indian languages.

Both were over conscious regarding the poverty stricken masses and wished that their future should change. Both of them had regretted that they were too old when the ideas of the Progressive Literary Movement started spreading all over the country. Iqbal indicated the desire to Late Sajjad Zaheer the author of 'Roshnai' that he wished to meet progressive writers. Tagore also expressed the desire to write on progressive lines. Iqbal confessed that his studies were not up-to-date.

So Iqbal and Tagore meet at many points but remain apart on certain vital issues. Say for Iqbal, God is the creator of the universe who supports strict moral law. As regards Tagore God is just a primary datum of experience rather than hypothesis to be proved. For him, God is an axiomatic reality rooted in practical life. He is Pantheist who realised intuitively that the same spirit (or God) that pervades this wide world also dwells in him and guides his life and genius.

Iqbal and Aurobindo

Aurobindo is another great Indian intellectual of the century vying with Iqbal within the fields of literature, religion and mysticism. It is interesting to note that there were certain striking similarities in their thoughts. Both were vigorous minds who had accepted the Nietzschean influences in their youths. They were closer to Bergson (1859-1941) and accepted his postulate of "Elan vital" which governs the life movement.

Bergson was essentially a man of letters. He was elected to the French Academy in the year 1914 and received the Nobel Prize in 1928. After the World War I in 1919 he took up the cause of promoting international understanding. He was associated with the activities of the League of Nations.

Both Iqbal and Aurobindo conceptualised "super man" for the transformation of the human destiny. As youngmen, they stood for action against inaction, freedom against slavery, struggle against surrender, courage against cowardice, power against renunciation and sacrifice against self-interest. They were in fact self-denying Yogis. They had fought tooth and nail against the forces of inertia rampant in the Indian society. They were at once notable writers of poetry and prose.

Aurobindo knew English, French, Latin and Greek. Iqbal knew English, German Persian, Arabic and Urdu. Both had strong poetic sensibilities. As thinkers Aurobindo and Iqbal did not belong to the traditions of Nanak and Kabir. They demonstrated militant spirit on one side and touched the heights of philosophy on the other.

Aurobindo as a young writer, orator and leader becomes the champion of the Indian Nationalism. He defines it before Bombay National Union in 1908. "What is nationalism? Nationalism is not mere political programme. Nationalism is religion that has come from God. Nationalism is a creed in which you shall have to live". He tries to provide spiritual content to the term as a religious mind. He does not try to discuss it like a political scientist. In theory, the term should have been studied in respect of language, race, econo-

mics, politics etc. Aurobindo depends more on the culture, religion and geography.

Whatever his admirers might say Nationalism, as an ideal is not something spiritual or mysterious. It is a phenomenon created by the historic forces which motivates human mind to think and act in a particular way. Aurobindo tries to convert it into a religious belief so that it should penetrate deep into the minds of the people as a vision of something "the motherhood of God in country".

Aurobindo was not the first great thinker advocating like this. The ideology of Hindu Nationalism had already acquired credibility. So long as poor Indian labour was being tortured and humiliated in the tea gardens owned by the Britishers, the questions of exploitation and tyranny of the foreign rule was discussed at low key. But when men like Bankim, Pal, S.N. Bannerjee and Aurobindo were maltreated, the issue acquired a different dimension. All of them tried to spiritualise the struggle and in the effort the ideology of Nationalism was Hinduised.

Even a Yogi like Swami Vivekananda said, "In Asia, the religious ideals form the national unity. Unity of religion, therefore, is absolutely necessary as the first condition of India". On the other hand Iqbal defines his views about Nationalism. I am opposed to nationalism, as it is understood in Europe, because I see in it the germs of atheistic nationalism, which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity. That which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical tradition—things worth living for and dying for—not the piece of earth with which the spirit of man happens to be temporarily associated. Islam as a religion, has no country. So long as this so called democracy, this accused nationalism, this degraded imperialism are not shattered, so long man will never be able to lead a happy and contented life and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialise".

Aurobindo as a boy was brought up in the European style in England but as he grew in years, he understood that the perpetuation of British rule would ruin India. The only course struck to him was to join some active terrorist group and work for the emancipation of the motherland. He was convinced that the freedom would not see the light of the day by fervently appealing to the rulers. Valiant and violent struggle was inevitable for defeating the British imperialism. On the other hand young Iqbal believed in secularism and nationalism, which became the political programme of the Indian National Congress. He was an exponent of the Hindu-Muslim unity who

prayed that people should unite and stand together. Their solidarity would force the British Raj to give way.

As the time marched on, Aurobindo seems to have realised that the path chosen by him would not bring the freedom or perhaps he realised that the Nationalism as an ideology was not something perfect. His superior spiritual faculties were now awakened for which he peacefully settled in Pondicherry and became a seer of very high order.

So far as Iqbal was concerned he had never shown active interest in politics, rather advised others to dabble in it and act as per the instructions given in the Holy Quran. Aurobindo retired from active politics. Had he continued in the field, a serious confrontation between him and Gandhi Ji would have been inevitable, as their ideologies of nationalism were not identical. Iqbal worked for Islamic thought, and his deeper interest in the cause of the Indian Muslims kept him closer to political developments in the country. Aurobindo left the field but the void created by his departure had always been felt. Nehru explains the position—"Sri Aurobindo retired from active politics at the early age of 38. Most of the people of my generation who were immersed in political aspects of our struggle, did not understand why he did so. Later, when Gandhi Ji started his non-cooperation movements and convulsed India, we expected Sri Aurobindo to emerge from his retirement and join the great struggle. We were disappointed at his not doing so, though I have no doubt that all his good wished were with it". So Aurobindo got himself physically isolated. He goes out and tries to perfect the spiritual powers of which the human material is capable. Well, this is what Kant did in the West during his own times.

Aurobindo and Iqbal represent the profound spirit of the East. The latter champions the cause of Islam and Aurobindo of Hinduism. They try to fight against the disease of spiritual blindness through spirituality. Aurobindo was a thinker, a poet and a Hindu Yogi. Iqbal was a poet, thinker and bard of Islam. Aurobindo's early writings are simple and straight. The ideas regarding nationalism contained therein are not simply volcanic rather strike as if these were highly spiritual.

It was the normal practice of great leaders to give mystical orientation to their political thoughts and actions. Under the prevailing conditions this was the most suitable technique for arresting the attention of the people, since their response to the religion was at once intense and immense.

The later works of Aurobindo and Iqbal are highly philosophic

which a common man cannot easily comprehend. Their early writings are simple and powerful. Their language is lucid and direct. They stand for service, suffering, courage and self-sacrifice. Aurobindo could have found a place in the coveted Indian Civil Service, but he declined the same. Iqbal resigned from the Professorship of the Government College Lahore so that he could freely express his ideas.

Both asserted 'self' for the regeneration of men and women. Whatever attributes were provided to this term in their philosophies, their real aim was the regeneration of man so that he could emblazon his prospects. Aurobindo was clear that in the evolution of man till date had been blind and instinctive. It was slow and delayed. Now human race was conscious of her future possibilities. This awareness would obviously hasten the evolutionary process of further evolution. He had made detailed study of human consciousness and discussed its different stages.

He gives a concept of complete Yoga. It is based on 'Karma', 'Bhakti', 'Jnana', 'Raja Yoga' and 'Tantric Principles'. The paths of desireless action, emotional worship, intellectual discrimination and psycho-spiritual principles are elaborated. Dr. Karan Singh, an authority on Shri Aurobindo defines yogi, "The key to his (Aurobindo's) approach was for the Yogi to rise the supramental plane where the light and power of the supermind constantly blazed forth, to incorporate that light in his consciousness and then to descend back to the material plane so that the power of the supramental itself could be brought to bear directly on this earth and thus hasten the evolutionary process". So Yogi is not to work for self illumination only. Iqbal being Muslim defends the great values of Islam. He avoids to go into the alleys of abstractions. But if, at all, he is at times carried by his mysticism he rushes back to the earth quickly. He even tries to simplify the obscurities of religious mysticism.

Aurobindo is an Indian Hegel, very difficult to grasp. Iqbal is not so. Both of them were anxious that India should rapidly progress. They wished people rather common people should come up and get themselves enrolled, enlisted and associated with future struggles. They were disappointed with the elite who had learnt a drop of knowledge through Western education but had demonstrated no serious interest in the welfare of their own people. They were clear that foreign rule would not easily go. The task awaiting the entire society was gigantic. The enemy was well equipped and the Indians were armless and helpless. The struggle was so uneven that intellect would never get convinced that Indians would ever be victorious against the invincible

imperialism. Still they were clear that regeneration of India would not be brought about by outside forces. Indians were to organise themselves. They should not get disheartened and wage struggle after struggle. Even if, they did not win and get defeated, they would wear the crown of martyrdom.

The future generations would feel obliged to them for their sacrifices and heroic approach at least. Their total appeal was directed to the heart. Aurobindo gives us a means of believing in our own possibilities, not only human rather in our superhuman and divine possibilities. His concept of Yoga is the art of conscious self finding.

There is a strong point of similarity in their art. Aurobindo speaks from his heart like Iqbal, but the former is more immersed in intellectuality. Aurobindo is a philosopher and writes poetry. Iqbal is a poet and brings philosophy in his works. Their writings are wordy and interspersed with metaphors and picturesque images.

Iqbal wrote in Persian but the study of this language is no longer popular in the subcontinent. Aurobindo's thoughts are concealed with foilage. Iqbal like Aurobindo also goes deep in the world of mysticism. In the circumstances their detailed study remains the privilege of their specialists. Iqbal's writings in Urdu are more easily understood. These do not call for any extraordinary effort on the part of an average reader. Aurobindo is very tough. He is still to be "made easy". The texture of his works calls for its simple rendering.

Young Iqbal's nationalism was very neat and clean. There is no confusion. Subsequently he had shifted to Pan-Islamism and finally reached the shores of Muslim Nationalism. Aurobindo had expressed quite different views from Lala Lajpat Rai on the ideology of Pan-Islamism. The former was happy to see "the signs of life where there was no life before, even if its first manifestations should seem, to be ill-regulated and misguided". His Nationalism was "not afraid of Pan-Islamism or any signs of the growth of a separate Mohammedan consciousness, rather welcomes it. Aurobindo took up the cudgles against the mendicant thought of the Congress Party. His nationalism had strong spiritual content.

For him nation is a form of power. It is not just a piece of land on the map. It is not just a mass of men and women. He makes it divine and hails it a maternal power. He builds up the theory of divinity of the motherland which led him to look upon nationalism as a religion and upon the national movement as a religious "Sadhna". It had its own self and its own personality and its own individuality. Ideas of secularism held by Iqbal were known to

Aurobindo but latter was of the belief that they did not touch the inner chords of the people's minds. He therefore oriented his ideology of nationalism as if it was something divine. It was seeking inspiration from ancient India. It was a sort of Pan-Indian Nationalism which could be compared with that of Pan-Islamism for which Iqbal said—"The mission for which Islam came into this world will ultimately be fulfilled. The world will be purged of 'infidelity' and the working of 'false Gods'". Critics might raise objection against such phrases, but Iqbal did not mean to attack Hindus here.

There is a marginal difference between Aurobindo's early nationalism and Iqbal's later communalism. In latter's idea of partition of the subcontinent he tries to provide spiritual and cultural content to this thought. For a common man communalism is an ideology which only divides. Here they are less directed to construct themselves and emphasis is laid on the idea how the others are crippling them. Iqbal and Aurobindo were essentially devotees of life.

It has been stated some where in this book that Iqbal was highly indebted to Jamaluddin Afghani for his ideas for Pan-Islamism. Aurobindo was obliged to Bankim for his Pan-Nationalism which was based on the Hindu ethos. He writes—"Bande Matram as an expression of Bankim's creative imagination held out a new conception of the country and initiated the people into a fundamental worship of the motherland as paramount diety of national adoration with her cosmic body or virat Deha extensive with physical configuration of the country".

To a casual reader it would appear as if Iqbal is appealing to the Muslims alone and Aurobindo was addressing the whole humanity. This is a travesty of fact. The truth is that they had used different idioms. Iqbal finds universality in his Islam and thus applies it even for explaining those ideas which are humanistic. Aurobindo speaks to the whole human race but in fact his philosophy is an elevated form of Hinduism.

There are many points where they meet. Both of them were against the Western Civilisation. They knew its ins and outs. They highlighted its inherent vices. They advised their people to shun it. Both were creative artists, philosophers, sages and seers. They sum up their era in so many ways and direct the future forces. Whatever is relevant in their thoughts and lives to our times is to be highlighted. Whatever has spent its utility is to be ignored. Such uncommon leaders should not be studied with biased political spectacles, since they own the wisdom of the ages and are formidable voices of the awakening Asia.

Iqbal and Maulana Azad

Here is a brief account of two great Muslims of this country. Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Both had played significant roles in influencing the destinies of the peoples of the subcontinent. They were not simply 'supermen' for their own times, even the posterity is grateful to them for leaving immortal heritage in the form of literature, religious works, philosophy, poetry, articles, speeches and what not.

Where there are certain striking similarities in their thoughts, we find serious differences in their approach to many delicate problems confronting their era. Much has been said by their friends and foes. We have to walk on razor's edge for making categorical statements, especially on their differences, but it would also be unfair if we try to escape.

Both of them had drawn their spiritual strength from the prophet and Holy Quran. They were seriously concerned with the pitiable lot of their community. They had fought against the bankrupt spiritual mysticism, widely prevalent amongst the Muslims. Both had drawn inspiration from the personality and thoughts of Jamaluddin Afghani. Azad followed this great Pan-Islamist through head and heart. Iqbal had certain reservations. Few brakes were provided to his thinking because of the influences of Sir Syed. Although the same streams of religion and thoughts were flowing on their minds, yet the course of action proposed by them for their community was not always identical.

Iqbal as a young man was the product of the Mission High School, Sialkot and of the Government College, Lahore, whereas Maulana Azad was largely educated at home. Former had been a student at Lahore, Cambridge and Munich, the latter had gone to Al-zahar for some time. Iqbal had acquired proficiency in English, German, Urdu, Persian and Arabic. Azad did not know much of English but his knowledge of Urdu, Persian and Arabic was unbeatable. Both of them had been wielding their pens since their early youths for awakening the dumb driven Muslim masses of the sub-

continent. In the process, they had enriched the contents of the languages.

Azad initiated a new era in Urdu prose and the same was done by Iqbal in the domain of poetry. Some critics had been unfair to Iqbal for charging that he had plagiarised many ideas from the articles written by Azad. This charge is not simply baseless rather ridiculous and malacious. The fact is that both Iqbal and Azad were living in the same era. The conditions urging them to do something for their community were the same. When the motives were the same, circumstances were same, it is quite likely that proposals being thrown up by them may bear some resemblance.

They observed the contemporary life very carefully and reacted vigorously. So there is absolutely no substance in the charge of plagiarising. In fact they were destined to meet at many crossings. In physical appearance Azad appeared to belong to the traditional school and Iqbal had the touch of modernity, but their minds were other way around. Azad being a practical politician used to think on modern lines. He was not a mystic rather a strong religious thinker who searched for the rational basis within the scheme of his faith. Iqbal more or less lived in medieval world of thought and avoided to understand the compulsions of his own age.

Azad was against the British rule but not that much against the Western culture. He learnt a lot about the West but from the sources of Arabic. Iqbal abhorred Western culture but not that much the British dominance over India. It does not mean he wished the continuation of the British Raj. Azad lived in the company of those who were engaged in the life and death struggle against the foreign rule. Iqbal lived in the company of those who believed that the British Raj would perpetuate for a long time to come. Muslim masses loved Iqbal. He fitted in their existence in which there was lot of sentimentality. They had respect for the learning of Azad, but somehow they did not bother to pierce through his high brow exterior.

The meeting point of Pan-Islamism is very important in their lives. Iqbal's position has already been explained in this book. For Azad it was a movement for realising certain social, political and religious ends in the Muslim countries of the Middle East. Enchantment of the Indian Muslims for such a great cause had been well known. Islam as a religion was embraced in many parts of the world in the medieval times. All those who had come under its banner had faith in the Holy Quran. They had adopted the Arabic names. They had even accepted Arabic as the most sacred

language since the prophet had delivered his message in it. These are the facts which are put forward by those who think in terms of Islamic solidarity, but there is another side of the coin too. The Muslims of the world did not totally abandon the original languages of their own regions as well as even certain traits of their early history is prior to Islam.

Rather in certain parts of the world Islamic value system was made to adjust with the existing norms of popular living. The early crusaders of Islam were simple, honest, devoted, straightforward, liberal and even farsighted. They did not insist for the total annihilation of the original cultures of the Neo-Muslims rather tried to see how these could be integrated with in the faith of Islam.

Different regions of Asia, Africa and Europe had varied cultural, social and spiritual backgrounds. The differences of climatic and other geographical factors had left profound influences on their environment. Iqbal defined his own "Islam", believed that it pulsed amongst all the Muslims all over the world.

His contacts with the Muslims outside India did not exist. There were many Muslims like him in India who lived under this impression that spirit of Islam was all alive in its pristine form in some parts of Muslim world. Idealistic conditions of the normal way of life were prevailing there. It was only the misfortune of the Indian Muslims that they were destined to live under miserable conditions.

This was the psychic condition of the Indian Muslims which the leaders of the Khilafat Movement including Azad used for the realisation of their religious and political objectives. He utilised Pan-Islamic feelings to whip up their religious feelings and in the process aroused political consciousness amongst them. He supported the need for a Universal Caliph and entertained the personal ambition of assuming the status of Imam of Indian Muslims.

He was a man of great learning. He knew what was happening in the Middle East. The poor masses sincerely believed that the position of the Caliph was jeopardised on account of the tyranny of the British Imperialism. The politician in Gandhi Ji saw the golden opportunity of building a mighty international movement in which the forces of Indian Nationalism and of Pan-Islamism could get united against the injustice and tyranny let loose by the forces of the Europe.

Far reaching ideas working in the mind of a great leader like him remain unexpressed since the effort had ended in fiasco. Claims of rationality for defending the cause of the Caliph can be disputed,

but the idea of Pan-Islamism was a live fact of the lives of Indian Muslims.

History did not move as designed but it certainly helped the Muslim masses to come out for active politics. They learnt the new lessons in the art of agitation. There were certain Muslim leaders from the Punjab who maintained lips sympathy with the movement since they had well understood its futility as it was not likely to help the Indian Muslims. These so-called leaders had another side also. The truth is that they did not like to earn the displeasure of the British Raj. It was not in their luck to suffer for the people.

Iqbal understood the futility of the Khilafat movement, but the irony of the history is that he visualised the destiny of the Indian Muslims not as a statesman rather as a poet. After the failure of the Khilafat movement, Muslims were disillusioned. As a leader he was justified to throw up the new myths or new symbols to which the Muslim masses could be driven. The Hindus were gathering under the banner of the Indian National Congress led by Gandhi Ji. Their goal was complete independence. Iqbal worked out the destiny of the Muslims.

Azad was a force, an institution in the Khilafat movement, who came as a crusader on the political scene. As a youngman he had contacts with certain rebels of Turkey. He tried to come closer with Aurobindo and others in Bengal. He yearned to participate passionately in the struggles against the foreign rule. Since the beginning of his political career he had opposed the Sir Syed's line of submission to foreign rule. Azad was in close touch with the Indian and foreign revolutionaries.

In his "Al-Balagh" he preached the idea of the Quranic state. His "Ilhilal" came in June 1912. It was a turning point in the history of Indian journalism. It acquired a circulation of 26000, a very high figure as compared to any other Indian weekly of those times. He could not tolerate the policy of conciliation towards the foreign rulers. He valiently participated in the Khilafat movement and even offered unrealistic programmes to the enthusiasts.

There is a strong charge against Maulana Azad. At his instance the Khilafat Committee included the suggestion that the brave Muslims should migrate from India to Afghanistan and continue their struggles. The Government of Afghanistan forbade the entry of those who were carried away by their emotions. He had at the same time come in very close contact with great minds like Ali Brothers, Gandhi and Nehru.

He was convinced that all Muslim countries could not be so

united that they might form one state. They would not be able to abandon their national individualities. Regarding Pan-Islamism he stated in 1934 "the doctrine was formulated by a French man whose name I cannot now recall with a view to inflaming the feelings of the European nations against the Muslim countries and by frightening them of Muslim aggression to give them an excuse for influence in their countries. English statesmen themselves gave currency to it in India in order that Muslims should not attend to internal political questions and should dissipate their power of action by lip sympathy with Muslim world; they wished that Indian Muslims should not become practical but theoretical". The factor of religion would not settle all the problems. Muslims would remain Turks, Arabs, Iranians, Afghans, Indians and what not. All important Muslim states had their own heritage even prior to that of Islam. The religion could at the most be a spiritual force which might have helped them to set up enduring friendship amongst themselves but it could not integrate them as one national or supernational state. They stuck to their traditional costumes, languages and even certain customs.

In the circumstances, the best course proposed for the Indian Muslims by Azad was to join hands with the Non-Muslims and strive for the liberation of their country. The first condition to achieve of this end was Hindu-Muslim unity. Petty differences engineered by the foreign rulers or by the narrow minded communalists were to be contained. Dividing walls were to be razed to the ground. Azad was clear that the united strength of the Hindus and Muslims in the sub-continent would help the forces of liberation all over Asia. Destiny of the Muslim world could not therefore be separated from that of India.

Broad out-lines of this ideological position were worked out by him even as a youngman. He stuck to them heroically and paid heavy price for it. His own community could not appreciate him, but he remained firm. No amount of intimidation could deter him. He was undoubtedly a man of very strong nerves. He located the danger to Islam from the European Imperialism but not from the Hindus.

Iqbal, Jinnah and Azad started with the strong belief that Hindu-Muslim Unity was absolutely necessary. Iqbal was first who abandoned this. Jinnah followed him. We have the illustrious example of Azad to testify that the Muslim communalism should not be identified with Islam. So long as a religion is an active social movement, it is not simply shock-absorber rather something dynamic. It has the capacity to absorb men, material and ideas from many sides by which it deepens and widens its scope. But time comes when

it grows old and its early vitality is exhausted. Its supporters try to retain its forms. Thus the whole process is stuck up. Azad's Islam helped him to maintain forward looking attitude to his last breathe. His life is an open book. It is a challenge to both Hindu and Muslim communalists.

He was at home in the Indian National Congress of Gandhi and Nehru. He could at times be unhappy with the activities of certain other leaders of the party, but that did not depress him. He remained an ardent Congress man through out his life. Iqbal with all his learning had more or less a simplistic view of the political life.

Azad was committed to the great traditions of Islam and its international character. Iqbal with all his learning continued to be a Punjabi Muslim in politics. His ambitions of humanism and universalism were limited to poetry, but in practical life he was persuaded by the local influences. Azad knew that when the Muslims were rulers of India, they ensured freedom of their subjects. Now they were slaves like other Indians, and as such time had come when they should drown or swim with the Hindus. The fortunes of the Muslims could not be separated from others. He was also clear that the idea of the Parliamentary form of the government would ultimately prevail in the subcontinent.

In the afternoon of his life Iqbal was convinced that the ideology of Indian Nationalism would prove disastrous for India as it had been so in the West. The circumstances in the Punjab were so depressing that he lost faith in the generosity of the Hindus as well as in parliamentary democracy. The struggle for the cause of Pan-Islamism had already ended by 1923 and then the recommendations of the Nehru Committee frustrated him still further. Finally the thinker of Islam in him surrendered to the petty politician of provincial frame. He had generally banked too much on the spiritual heritage of Islam and declared his faith as the powerful bond which would keep the Muslims of the world together.

As a politician he began to think how best the Muslims around him could capture more power to safeguard themselves against the Hindus and Sikhs. As a thinker he started trying to provide some sort of spiritual content to the ideology of separatism. He was advised by honest friends like Nehru that his ideas would not help the Muslims to consolidate their position in the subcontinent. They would rather be further divided.

Iqbal might have been hemletised on the issue of his partition plan for a while i.e. when Nehru discussed with him but he had no reason to believe that the Hindus would ever be kind to the Muslims.

He thus theorised on the issue. It was not a miraculous act of objective study that certain details of history be so arranged to demonstrate that Hinduism and Islam had been two distinct cultures and civilisations and as such these could never come closer. Perhaps a more factual case could also be built up to establish that the peoples of the subcontinent had very strong centuries old ties which could have been further strengthened provided genuine attempts had been made.

The aged Iqbal had not been much concerned with the Muslims of the subcontinent, since he was all seized with the problems of the Punjabi Muslims. For seeking the support of the whole community he tries to spiritualise its separatism. He argues that Indian people as ethnic conglomeration did not possess an indivisible heritage of the past. He lays over emphasis on the role of religion in weaving the cultural patterns. He was carefully watching the Non-Muslim Punjabis who had been though minorities yet were more educated, more enlightened, more assertive and economically more powerful than majority community of the Punjabi Muslims. A small duration of the Sikh rule in the nineteenth century had given them some confidence for which they could now deal with the vibrant Muslims from the position of equality.

The Muslims in the Punjab were sore for being denied the constitutional control of the province under the arrangement of the Lucknow Pact. In most of the Indian provinces the Muslims were helpless minority. The pact provided them some weightage in the Assemblies so that their interests could have properly been safeguarded. The few concessions were accordingly made available to the Non-Muslims of the Punjab and Bengal where Muslims were in delicate majority. This simple fact could not be expressed in unequivocal terms by the Punjabi Muslims.

The thinker in Iqbal worked out a laudable idea. He justifies the demand for "the creation of a Muslim India within India". He further added, "I would like to see the Punjab, North Western Frontier, Sindh, Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state". This idea did not appeal to the Indian Muslims in the beginning. How could it appeal to them who happened to live in those provinces where Hindus had been seventy or eighty per cent of the total population? Iqbal was conscious of the criticism of the idea he had thrown up, but had perhaps so rationalised in his mind that the benefits derived for the Muslims of the North Western part of India would be more than the possible deprivations of those Muslims who would be destined to live in "so called Hindu India".

He was correct that even after the creation of a Muslim State, India would remain a pluralistic society. Another advantage of the Muslim state of his imagination was that it had to be contiguous with the large Muslim world of the Middle East. The Indian Muslims soon took it up as a goal to strive for. A new focus was thus set for them. The matter had a dark side too. In the struggle to realise the objective it furthered the suspicions, fears, hatred, prejudices of the Muslims. They were now operating from the defensive position which gradually sapped their positive liberal yearnings. The habit of seeking undue privileges from the British Raj had already enervated their spirit of competition with the Non-Muslims and now the idea of separate state had further weakened their urge for self-reliance. Their feet were cooling. Now they had to depend more and more on the British Raj for seeking benefits.

Azad was vehemently opposed to the idea of the partition of the subcontinent. He was clear that it would not help Indian Muslims in any way, rather it would prove disastrous for them. He was shocked to learn when the Congress leadership agreed to the partition plan in 1947. We are very close to these important historic events. Our opinions may not perhaps be objective. It should be left to the generations to come to study them in details and draw their objective conclusions regarding this "Great Divide".

What appears to be correct in New Delhi may not be so believed at Islamabad. Maulana Azad was conscious that Islam had worked out perfect programme for the development of man. He was a Muslim. He knew how a true Muslim should operate. He had neither compromised with the British Raj nor with the Hindus for obtaining concessions for his community. He was clear that there could be danger to Islam from the omnipotent foreign rule but not from the Hindus who were also slaves like Muslims themselves.

Azad had never considered Mr. Jinnah a serious Muslim and did not like his community flocking under the banner of Muslim League. This should not mean that India today is not reconciled to the fact of partition, but it is committed to reject the idea of nation-state on religious basis. Had history moved according to the designs of Gandhi, and Azad the streams of Indian nationalism and of Pan-Islamism had met at Delhi, the freedom of the subcontinent would have earlier than the year 1947 and the strangulation of the Muslim world too would have ended sooner.

Iqbal would live in the history of Islam and literature for his poetic works. Azad's major work "Tarjuman-ul-Quran" would also remain as a mile stone in the history of world religions. It is very

important to state that we find Azad an eclectic here. He accepts and emphasises the truth of all great religions. He is against caste, creed, race, and country. We can locate the clear influences of Gandhi, Nehru and the struggles of Indian National movement on his mind.

We may like Iqbal more than Azad or vice versa but we can not doubt their greatness. Azad had led a long and arduous crusade against the foreign rule as well as against the separatist tendencies of his own community. He fought on both the fronts and fought valiently. His life is a saga of sacrifices. He was one of those towering personalities whose names had been immortalised in the Indian history. He was a scion of rich family of the Muslim saints from Calcutta. Coming events cast their shadow before. It was clear in the morning of this century that here was a man who would play a notable role in the history.

Iqbal always acknowledged Azad's extraordinary talents and theological learning and had always spoken high of him. Azad possessed extraordinary personality, great knowledge, robust common sense, huge powers of head and heart. He was a man of strong convictions who could live or die for a cause. He stuck to certain positions even in the teeth of all opposition from his own community. It is really stupendous task to remain steady and firm against the fanaticism of one's own community.

In his old age he was aggrieved that his own community did not listen to him for which it suffered enormously. He refused to bargain for cheap popularity and had suffered all along. The only difficulty with him was he did not mix with the masses much. This had been his only failing. As a political leader of this century he was expected to rub his shoulders with the poverty stricken people like other great leaders, Gandhi and Nehru. Iqbal did not bother to know the detailed intricacies of the political life and always believed himself to be a politician of no consequence. But being humble and soft spoken in private life he was loved by the people around him. Azad was respected for his outstanding scholarship. Comparing them intellectually we can safely say that Azad's evaluation of the historic tides was more correct. Religion was very important to him but he could sense the "accentuating contradictions, sharpening antagonisms and growing conflicts" which were shaking the slumberous Asia. He rightly felt that issues confronting his era were not religious rather social, economic and political.

Iqbal would live in the history as a poet and a philosopher and a prophet of Pakistan. Azad's name would find place in the history

of modern India as one of her builders along with Gandhi, Nehru and Patel. Both were the champions of Islam of the prophet. Both stood for truth, patience, determination, discipline and sacrifice.

While portraying his objectives of "Il-Hilal" we find Azad stating the same what Iqbal had poetised in his "Israre-Khudi". Since the purpose of Azad's magazine was political, his emphasis was more on wresting power and waging struggles for liberation. Azad was against the begging policy of the Moderates and the violence of the terrorists. He was clear to follow the path delineated in the Holy Quran. For him, Islam was an elaborate and perfect programme for the Individual.

Today Azad's theological studies and political writings and speeches would interest the specialists of the subject only. On the other hand, young Iqbal's poems would live for ever on the lips as well as in the hearts of the people. It would be more frequently quoted by the people. The politicians would use it from the platforms, children would sing it in the schools and the musicians would sing it through radio and television. As a result, common men and women would use them in their day to day discussions; debates and correspondence. Iqbal would more live on the minds of the people than Azad.

How many amongst us have time to go into the monumental articles of Azad and Persianised poetry of Iqbal which they once wrote for rousing the Muslims of India?

Iqbal and Radhakrishnan

Now let us briefly compare Iqbal with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. The former was a poet, and a thinker who wished that people should rise and push the history forward. The latter was an eminent professor of philosophy who explained the essence of the Hinduism to the world and tried hard to convey its relevance in our times. Both Iqbal and Radhakrishnan assign the same purpose to the philosophy. The latter says "My conception of a philosopher was in some ways similar to that of Marx, who proclaimed in his famous 'Thesis on Feuerback' that philosophy had hitherto been concerned with interpreting life, but the time had come for it to change life". Radhakrishnan was convinced that his religion included those elements of universalism which should become the guiding principles of the world spiritualisms and philosophy. Radhakrishnan was essentially a philosopher and his achievements as an educationist, diplomat and statesman are only additional feathers to his acknowledged position as a philosopher.

Iqbal was a prophet and a poet. He was determined to instil a new spirit of awakening amongst the Muslim of the world. Whereas he had studied the theological works of Islam in details, Radhakrishnan mastered the springs of Hindu thought with depth and perception. Iqbal had faith in certain solemn dogmas, but for Dr. Radhakrishnan, "Religion is not magic or witchcraft, quackery or superstition. It is not to be confused with outdated dogmas, incredible superstitions, which are hinderances and barriers, which spoil the simplicity of the spiritual life".

As children both were blessed with middle class parentage. Iqbal's parents have already been discussed in this book. Radhakrishnan's parents were simple and orthodox Hindus. As young boys both these great minds were educated in the Mission schools, Iqbal at Sialkot and Radhakrishnan at Tirutani. At their homes the atmosphere was deeply religious. Even if they had passed their Masters Degree examinations in Western Philosophy, their angles of lives continued more religious and less scientific,

Iqbal being a Muslim had more attachment with the political developments. He was passionately concerned with the problems of the Muslims, Radhakrishnan had no such political aspirations to begin with. At the same time he was not all confined to the books of logic, epistemology and Hindu thought. He was trying to see beyond their frontiers. Iqbal's interest in Islam and of Radhakrishnan's in Hinduism was quite natural. Just as we human beings cannot disown our physical parentage, almost the same reasons are there, we are unable to disown our cultural and religious heritage. Man is more or less conditioned by his circumstances before he is in a position to see things with difference.

Iqbal started as a lecturer in Government College, Lahore in 1899. Radhakrishnan also took up the similar post at Presidency College, Madras in 1909. Iqbal found a mentor, guide and friend in Prof. Arnold who helped him for prosecuting his higher studies in Europe. Radhakrishnan was discovered by Late Sir Asutosh Mukherjee who helped him in 1921 for securing the post of King George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Calcutta.

He lived in Calcutta for about two decades and during this period he rose to great eminence both in India and abroad. He was appointed as Splading Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford. The interest in Indian philosophy became the major purpose of his life whereas Iqbal was a poet and prophet and nation-builder. Philosophy was just a plinth on which he built up the edifice of his poetic greatness. Iqbal could have continued as a Professor in the University of the Punjab, but he resigned. Had he joined the Aligarh University immediately after his return from Europe in 1908, he would have perhaps continued in the teaching profession.

Radhakrishnan studies Upanishadas, Gita, Brahmsutras, their detailed interpretations of Shankara, Ramanuja and Madhwa. He mastered Jainism and Buddhism. Amongst the Western thinkers Plato, Plotinus, Kant, Bradley and Bergson had great appeal for him. He was well aware of Islam and its philosophy. Iqbal did not seem to have studied the works of Kapila, Kanada, Yajnavalkya, Buddha and others. He did not know even much of Shankara. For Radhakrishnan, Hinduism remained an important element of philosophy. He admitted that he was unable to confine philosophy to logic and epistemology. Great leaders of thought may be influenced from so many minds of the by gone ages as well of their own times but they are great minds themselves. The greatness of a thinker does not rest on the fact how much he has read, rather what is that enduring

contribution which he has made for which posterity should be obliged to him.

For Radhakrishnan, philosophy is produced more by our encounter with the reality than with the study of such encounters. In his writings he had tried "to communicate his insight into the meanings of life". He alone had done that quantum of work in his life time which perhaps a well equipped institution of scholars and philosophers would not have completed in decades. He had tried to make it clear to the West that all scientific, technological and other progress made in the recent history by it would not guarantee the real peace to the human spirit. It is imperative that efforts should be made to look into the sources of the Eastern philosophy for realising these objectives.

Iqbal's mind was influenced by great minds like those of Sir Syed, Jamaluddin Afghani and others. Radhakrishnan was under the spell of Tagore and Gandhi. He claims that his philosophy is based on "Logical reflection which is at once rational and spiritual". He advocates Neo-Vedanta.

It is however, interesting to note that Nehru was dearer to them both Iqbal and Radhakrishnan. In the evenings of their lives, Iqbal was closer to Jinnah and Radhakrishnan to Nehru. Of the medieval thinkers, both were admirers of Jamaluddin Roomi. Both do not lay stress on long prayers rather inspire for action. There is no element of scepticism. Iqbal was firmly rooted in the pristine Islam. Even if it is believed that Islam is very broad in its outlook, still it is a faith. It cannot rest on rationalism for its details.

Radhakrishnan had long stayed in Calcutta where the ideals drawn up by Renaissance leaders of Bengal had been flourishing for more than a century. They had freed Hindu thought from the time-old stagnation and its rusty strict jacket. It had by now acquired some degree of dynamism. Hinduism as a religion, is not something finally drawn up a complete faith which could not be further evolved. It is something eclectic and has therefore kept its door opened for enriching its scope in the light of new data and changing human needs. Its leaders could therefore easily include useful ideas and weed out the dead wood from its scheme as and when considered absolutely necessary.

So Hinduism as a religion, is always becoming. As a way of life, its codes have not been very strict. It has always laid more emphasis on the inner side of man for which it is more individualistic and nominally social in content. Radhakrishnan was a great admirer of ancient Hindu thought but he had never insisted that we

should become exact models of our ancestors. He knew his times and therefore emphasized the importance of broad humanistic view. In 1946 he stated in the Asian Relations Conference, "let us tell you that there is no such thing as a spirit working in vacuum and it is impossible for us to have any kind of spiritual life a development where our bodily health is so weak and when society is so unhealthy. Unless you built up a great social world, where all ordinary men and women irrespective of their status and economic position are given fundamental rights which are open to all human beings, it will be impossible for us to have any kind of spiritual development".

Both of them were conscious of Darwin's theory and its profound influence in the world of human thought. Whatever was stated by this great Scientist of nineteenth century England could not be brushed aside by the thinkers of the following generations, since he had unconsciously challenged the centuries old religious beliefs and faiths. Both Iqbal and Radhakrishnan had to do the hard thinking in view of the new data being made available by the biological studies. Its impact in the domains of philosophy and religion was accepted.

They however stuck to their conviction that new discoveries in the domain of science did not invalidate Eastern thought. They both looked towards Prof. Bergson who was trying to defend certain citadels of thought in the West in the light of the scientific discoveries. What is strikingly common in their thought is that they laid emphasis on the development of the individual and believed that it would result in the betterment of society.

It was not the "Descent" of Man rather "Ascent". For Radhakrishnan philosophy is a whole view, "a system of thought which is the logical development of an experience by which man finds within himself some point of hidden strength which enables him to comprehend life, to have vision of truth of life and put into proof and propagate it logically. This experience or vision is possible only when one achieves purity of soul". He develops his method further and suggests that one must have metaphysical frame of mind. Petty desires should not be permitted to ride over human mind. Inquiry into the nature of reality should be the end in itself. Efforts to achieve tranquility, self-restraint, renunciation, patience, peace of mind and pinning of faith on something great should be made. One has to strive for sustained and unprejudiced meditation. There should be burning desire for freedom from ignorance. Almost similar views had been highlighted by Iqbal through his prose and poetry.

Politically speaking, they were not great admirers of democracy.

Their support for socialism was also not very serious. Iqbal was clear that the regeneration of Islam would revolutionise the future of the down trodden peoples of Asia. If he loudly admires the efforts for Russian Revolution made by the working class, it is not for his support of Marxism or of dialectical materialism, it is rather his jubilation over the rise of the oppressed against the tyrants.

Radhakrishnan was convinced that the advocacy of Universalism inspired from the Hindu scriptures would strengthen the bonds of international relations. He did not see the salvation of mankind in the philosophy of socialism. Both were conscious of the aggressive approach of the Western civilisation. They had no love for Communism also.

Iqbal had passionately denounced the West and saw no hope of its future. His timely warnings were not heeded to by the custodians of the Western imperialism, otherwise some tragedies of recent human history could have perhaps been averted. Radhakrishnan was moderate in his condemnation of the West, but he had frequently hinted its hollowness. Iqbal tries to see the purification of Islam but Radhakrishnan asserts that religious traditions and philosophies should carry on evolving themselves. With the better means of communication the possibilities of cross fertilisation of the ideas have enormously increased. Iqbal explains the relevance of the Quran, Radhakrishnan goes to Upanishdas and the Gita and brings out their usefulness for our age. Iqbal passed away in 1938, but Radhakrishnan had witnessed the havoc wrought by the dehumanised patterns of Western thought in World War II. We can not forget his views expressed in his small book 'Kalki', a lecture delivered in 1926.

Materialism, wealth and other things of the kind had no particular appeal for such great minds of the East. They had no liking for the luxurious and comfortable living. They had rather impressed that breathless pursuits for material progress would lead to envy, rivalry, conflict, competition, aggressiveness and other evils. Once these forces had plagued the minds of the people the emergence of futile tensions amongst the people was inevitable.

In the process, peace of mind which is the most important blessing the human beings can crave for, is robbed and poor individuals are left high and dry. Radhakrishnan says, "we are at war with others because we are at war with ourselves". This does not mean that Iqbal and Radhakrishnan were against economic or industrial progress. They wished that the people of the subcontinent should learn scientific knowledge as quickly as possible and fight against their evils of poverty and penury. What

they exactly insisted is that the humanity should not become damned money-minded. According to them there were certain important areas of investigation beyond the frontiers of economy. Both of them were idealists. Their thoughts were born of spiritual experiences rather than deduced from logically ascertained principles. They sought to communicate the meanings of life through their works.

For them the understanding of philosophy was not the privilege of the elite only. It is the concern of every human life since it helps the individual to bring order and purpose in his life. It leaves ennobling effect and deepens the sense of perfection in Man. It would reveal to the individuals the vices, evils and imperfections and offer ways and means for correcting themselves. Men should have the courage to look forward. They are journeying in the future. They have to discover new vistas.

Both see beyond the hills of reason and rationality and strike identical note on the issue of intuitive thinking. According to Radhakrishnan intuition is something continuous with thought. It is the flowering of human effort. Protracted and sustained study and analysis result in intuition. As a phenomenon, it is higher than discursive reasoning from where it flows. Reflective knowledge is the state prior to its emergence. It is rather superlogical wisdom which results from the intimate fusion of mind and reality. Intuition sees the light when we break down the shells of private and egoistic experiences. It is self authenticating and indubitable. Both these great minds attach great importance to this phenomenon. For all intents and purposes they were competent men of thought who could rub their shoulders with the outstanding Western thinkers of their times.

They were capable to weave out the systems of philosophy like their Western counterparts, but as luck would have it, they had prophetic ambitions. They were convinced that the Eastern peoples were profoundly religious. Their spirituality would go too far in designing their destiny. They believed it more rewarding and thus applied their minds in this direction with missionary zeal. In the words of psychologist Jung "The influence of the Eastern mind on the West cannot as yet to be measured. Let us beware of understanding it . . . These manifestations make us think of tiny, scattered islands in the ocean of mankind in reality they are like the peaks of submarine mountain ranges of considerable size".

By doing so, they have rendered more enduring services to the cause of their religion as well as to their people. They did teach for years in colleges and universities but their principal objective was to change the course of lives of millions and millions. For them each

and every human being is an extremely precious material who is capable of achieving all what is best possible.

Dr. Radhakrishnan acquires the position of Vice-Presidentship of the Indian Republic and finally goes to the highest office of the State as the President of the State, actualisation of Plato's theory of philosopher who should be tipped as a ruler. Radhakrishnan held many distinguished positions with dignity. It is not he, rather the Indian people had thereby earned the prestige for honouring the philosophy and learning. After all, it is the land of Rama, Krishna, Buddha, Chisti, Nanak and others. Men like Dr. S. Radhakrishnan should have been accorded their due place in the society. Iqbal did not live long to see the creation of Pakistan, otherwise he too could have been elevated to any prestigious position in the new state of which he was the first great Muslim to dream.

These worldly distinctions did not much matter for these lonely pilgrims of thought. They understood the secrets of life. Iqbal was a poet. Radhakrishnan was not a poet but he had been a prose writer and orator of great consequence. The latter wrote many works of lucid thought. His important works, *Indian Philosophy Volumes I and II* were published in 1923 and 1927. *The Hindu View of Life* came in the market in 1926. Another work 'The Idealist View of Life' was presented to the public in 1932. The "Brahm Sutra" saw the light of the day in.....

We find all his books being kept on the shelves of libraries along with the great works of Russell, Whitehead and others. If Americans are proud of Dewey and Santayana, the Britishers are of Russell and others, so are we of Iqbal and Radhakrishnan. As back as in 1932 J.H. Muirhead had remarked somewhere that Radhakrishnan occupied the same position of thought in India as Bergson in France.

Iqbal's position regarding God has already been discussed in this booklet. Radhakrishnan appreciates the view of Theism and even of atheism but was convinced that the supreme position of the Almighty would remain unassilable. Times would come and go in which the position of God would be questioned but ultimately men would acknowledge His greatness with more wisdom and knowledge and experience. Regarding the essence of human life Radhakrishnan's views are identical with those of Iqbal. The similar thoughts vibrate in the mind of the Hindu philosopher, "God is not fate, nor an impersonal, abstract, determining power. We are not puppets moved hither and thither by the blind impersonal necessity of omnipotent matter or the sovereignty of divine providence. We can not say that

everything is finished before it starts and the last day of reckoning will read what the first day of creation wrote. In that case nothing new can happen and there is no room for contingency. The fortune has yet to be made." For Radhakrishnan religion is a changing phenomenon. It dialectically advances through tradition, logic and life. Whenever necessitated by perceptual experience and scientific knowledge tradition should be appropriately interpreted and revised if necessary.

No belief should be held simply because scriptures sanction it. Scriptural statement can not be held superior to sense of evidence and rational conclusion. In the same breathe he points out that philosophy should not merely rest on facts, or on logical investigation, it must accept the role of intuitive thinking in the scheme of its frame work. Findings of the mystics and saints are not to be brushed aside simply because they do not fit in the frame work of rationality drawn by certain lesser minds.

All said and done Iqbal being a poet would live long in the hearts of men. Children would recite his poems in the schools. That would leave an indelible impression on the fresh canvass of their minds. The people would hear his poetry frequently on Radio and TV but Radhakrishnan's works of philosophy would remain available for the study of those who would like to go deep in the ocean of Indian thought. Their reading can not be the privilege of those who are moderately educated.