

ESSAYS
OF
DR. JAVID IQBAL

STUDIES IN IQBAL'S THOUGHT
AND PHILOSOPHY

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Contents

Publisher's Note	i
Iqbal – The Person	
❖ Muhammad Iqbal	03
❖ Iqbal: My Father	20
❖ He was my father	29
❖ Working Paper for the Construction of Mazar-e-Iqbal	34
Iqbal – Comparative Study	
❖ Depicting the Dark Lord: A Comparative Study of Rumi's Mua'wiya and Iblis with Iqbal's Satan's Parliament	45
❖ Iqbal and Rumi – A Comparative Study	57
❖ Iqbal and Rumi	61
❖ Devil in the Triangle of Rumi, Goethe and Iqbal	67
❖ Iqbal and Nietzsche	78
Iqbal - Thought and Philosophy	
❖ The Image of Turkey and Turkish Democracy in Iqbal's Thought	89
❖ Iqbal in Egypt	102
❖ Iqbal on New Ulema for a New Muslim Society	111

❖ Iqbal & Qadianism	116
❖ Iqbal's Conception of Ijtihad	119
❖ Iqbal – A Theistic Socialist	129
❖ Iqbal's views on the Material and Spiritual Future of Humanity	161
❖ Philosophy of Iqbal	176
❖ Ethical Values in Iqbal's Metaphysics	184
❖ Foreword to Shikwa (Bengali Translation)	191
❖ Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal	194
❖ The Mosque of Cordoba from <i>Bal-e-Jibriel</i>	207
❖ The Universality of Iqbal	211
Iqbal – The Political Thinker	
❖ Conventional Islamic Rules of Governance and Allama Muhammad Iqbal's Concepts of Nationality and State in Islam	215
❖ Iqbal's Allahabad Address and the Lahore Resolution	223
❖ Satan's Parliament from <i>Armaghan-e-Hijaz</i>	231
❖ Iqbal's Contribution to 'Liberalism' in Modern Islam	237
❖ Iqbalian Idealism and its Impact on the Muslim World Today	242
❖ Modern Indian Muslims and Iqbal	252
❖ Iqbal and Turkey	276
❖ The Significance of Muslim Unity in the Political Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal	286
❖ Iqbal and the Dialogue of Civilizations	313

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Dr. Javid Iqbal is a multidimensional personality. Contemporary thought, Pakistan, religion, law, current issues and especially Iqbal Studies are the domains on which his writings are considered authentic. This anthology of his writings covers these topics and were delivered in the form of lectures in different cities of the world over a period of the past more than fifty years. The contents of these lectures demonstrate his keen insight, understanding and awareness of the nature of issues. His writings also provide new dimensions for pondering about and understanding of these matters. A close relationship with Allama Muhammad Iqbal and a comprehensive understanding of his thought give credence to his writings.

Dr. Javid Iqbal does not dwell on the theoretical aspects of Iqbal's thought only. Rather, he is in search of its practical application in our society to realize the ideals of the founders of this country. His writings on the legal, constitutional, educational and social issues provide a fresh thought and explore more possibilities to head towards a smooth solution.

This excellent anthology offers a wealth of thought-provoking material to readers, and will help in shaping the social attitude and mindset required for the reconstruction of our society.



IQBAL
THE PERSON



MUHAMMAD IQBAL

Iqbal is essentially a religious poet who expresses the religious aspirations of his age in such a way that it is difficult to enter into the spirit or grasp the significance of his great poems without some acquaintance with the theology and cultural history of Islam. The same is true also of T.S. Eliot who cannot be comprehended fully unless and until one is familiar with the religio-cultural tradition to which he belongs.

Iqbal is a poet gifted with the necessity of utterance. He carries, as it were, the prophet's burden. The message he is to deliver is pressed like lead upon his soul and although the process of telling is an agony, he must tell it. Each word of the message is like a flame which struggles to break forth into speech and will accept no suppression or denial. Such poet-prophets may belong to different religio-cultural traditions, nevertheless they exert fascination over others because it is laid upon them to deliver the message.

There is no denying the fact that poetry can be vigorous and strong while quite indifferent to religion. But poetry cannot long remain separated from religious consciousness if it is to achieve a higher level of expression. Therefore, the bond between religion and poetry is not superficial or accidental. Religion is a power as ancient as the world, and if philosophy - the parent of the sciences, has been universally acknowledged as the child of religion, there is no reason why poetry, which in its higher form, is more philosophical than

philosophy itself, should not be considered as the child of religion.

There has always existed a mysterious link between great problems and great poems. The conflict between the experience of men and the religious aspirations of the age has laid the foundations of the greatest poems of the ancient Greeks, Jews, Christians and Muslims. For instance, the structure of such great poems as "Iliad", "Divine Comedy", "Paradise Lost", "Faust" and the "Mathnavi" is entirely dependent upon certain, current religious conceptions or aspirations. In English literature poets like Langland, Edmund Spenser, Milton, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Tennyson and Browning among others are most effective when their poetic expression results directly from religious emotion.

In chronological order Iqbal comes after Hali and before a group of writers in modern Urdu literature known as the Progressive Writers. But in terms of the accuracy of his insights into the problems of contemporary Islam, Iqbal ought to be placed much later. Similarly his message must not be interpreted in isolation from the socio-political conditions under which he lived and against which he felt obliged to react.

Iqbal hailed from a Muslim middle class family which was known for its piety and abstinence. He received his early education in Sialkot under Syed Mir Hassan, a devout Muslim and an enthusiastic supporter of Syed Ahmed Khan. He came to study in Lahore in 1895 when he was twenty years old. As a sensitive young Muslim, he realized that the glory of Islam was fast becoming a matter of past history. The Ottoman Empire was in the process of breaking up. The Chinese and Central Asian Islam had already been absorbed in the Chinese Nationalist Empire and Tsarist Russia. The Muslims were gradually being driven out from Eastern Europe. Iran was collapsing. Egypt was controlled by the British. France was preparing to seize Morocco. The Muslims of the Indian sub-continent had given up all hope of regaining their lost freedom after the suppression of 1857 Mutiny. Under the

British rule, they had been reduced to a minority of one hundred million people. The Indian National Congress had been formed in 1885 and gradually the Hindu majority was acquiring more and more political power. Initiative had been snatched away from the hands of Islam which, like an old man, lived in the past and was perpetually on the defensive.

In this condition of utter despair the Indian Muslims turned their eyes towards the movement for Islamic solidarity. This movement (also called the Pan-Islamic movement) had been founded by Jamal al Din Afghani. Throughout his life, Afghani preached that the unity of purpose among the Muslims was the only weapon with which they could defeat European imperialism. Accordingly, he endeavoured for the establishment of a federation of Muslim countries under the constitutional leadership of the Ottoman Sultan - Caliph.

Iqbal was profoundly influenced by Afghani's vision of Islamic solidarity. However, in order to trace the development of his ideas, it is necessary to divide Iqbal's life into two periods - the Period of Seeking and the Period of Discovery.

The Period of Seeking extends roughly from 1895 to 1912. During this period Iqbal's attention was attracted by numerous subjects. In fact he wrote on whatever moved him. He was fascinated by nature, expressed himself on topics like love, solitude, loneliness etc., or wrote 'Ghazals' in the conventional style of Dagh. Between 1895 and 1905 he also wrote poems in support of Indian nationalism. Sometimes the subject-matter of his poems was universal, at other times it exclusively concerned the Muslim community. He experimented in writing satirical verse in the style of Akbar Allahabadi, or wrote poems for children which were Urdu adaptations from Emerson, William Cowper, Longfellow or Tennyson. But the most moving poems which belong to this period are those in which he bewailed the miserable plight of the Indian Muslims or lamented the sorrows of the Muslims

of the Middle East involved in their bitter struggle for Independence.

Technically this period terminates with the famous poem "Shikwa and Jawab-i-Shikwa" (The Complaint and The Answer) which was written in 1911-12. From the poems belonging to this period a careful selection was made and compiled by Iqbal along with some later ones. This collection appeared in 1924 under the title of "Bang-i-Dara" (The Call of the Road).

Although the message element is non-existent in the poems of this period, the lyricism of Iqbal is captivating. Furthermore, although no systematization is possible of his moods or dominant emotions, this period has certain prominent features.

There is an interesting admission by Iqbal about himself in his note-book entitled "Stray Reflections", he maintained this notebook in 1910. In one of the notes, while reflecting on the poets who had influenced him during this formative period, he remarks that he was saved by Wordsworth from atheism in his student days. An analysis of this remark is important for two reasons: First, it reveals the questioning and searching nature of Iqbal's mind, and second, it indicates that he was not confined to the generally accepted narrowness of his own tradition. Anyway, from this remark, which is more or less a key to the understanding of the early complexity of Iqbal's mind, it can be safely assumed that he drifted from a state of doubt to a pantheistic state. It was during this phase (1895-1905) that he founded his political ideas on a pantheistic philosophy and wrote poems in support of Indian nationalism and patriotism. But side by side with this trend proceeded the love for his own religio-cultural tradition which found expression in numerous exquisite poems, written in the same period, in which he spoke of the Muslims as "Tasvir-i-Dard" (the Portrait of Pain) or as "Nala-i-Yatim" (the Sighing of an Orphan).

It would, therefore, not be wrong to say that Iqbal went to Europe in 1905 as an ardent supporter of pantheism,

(nationalism) patriotism and at the same time, Islamic solidarity. He stayed there up till 1908 studying philosophy and law at the universities of Cambridge, London, Munich and Hiedelberg.

At that time Europe was in a state of intellectual turmoil. The spell of Hegelianism was holding every intellectual. The emphasis on rationalism and automatic progress through science had resulted in the development of materialistic and atheistic trends. Although there lingered the obscure voice of Soren Kierkegaard (the Danish thinker who died in 1855), no one took any notice of it. Kierkegaard had warned that Hegelianism would eventually lead to the establishment of some form of authoritarianism. He had also attacked European Christianity for its incapability to save Europe from forthcoming spiritual disaster. But Kierkegaard's works were not translated into English until 1930 and obviously Iqbal had never heard of him.

It is a tribute to the quality of Iqbal's mind that it remained unaffected by the materialistic and atheistic trends in the European thought of the early twentieth century. Actually it was during his stay in Europe that Iqbal became disgusted with pantheism, secular nationalism and territorial patriotism, and subsequently referred to his own pantheistic and nationalist period (1895-1909) as "my phase of ignorance and folly."

He had seen the forces of secular nationalism and territorial patriotism active in Europe, and arrived at the conclusion that the construction of human solidarity on the foundations of race, language, colour and territory, or fighting and dying for it was not only inhuman but contrary to the universally accepted spiritual values of equality and brotherhood of man.

A critical study of European culture had revealed to him that the development of materialistic and atheistic trends in Europe had trampled over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity; whereas the forces it had engendered (nationalism, patriotism, imperialism etc.)

resulted in the formation of mutually ill-adjusted states, dominated by interests, not human but national. These mutually ill-adjusted European states had been frequently dragged into internecine wars and were at present involved in a dangerous competition which would eventually lead to their destruction.

He felt that secular nationalism and territorial patriotism were idols with which European Christianity had made a compromise at the cost of itself receding into the background of private opinion. But Islam never compromised with idolatry. It destroyed this adversary altogether. Since Islam was complete in itself, it could never tolerate nationalism, patriotism or any ism sundered from it.

This disillusionment from European culture made Iqbal feel the need of seeking inspiration exclusively from his own religio-cultural tradition. A deeper study of Islamic history led him to the conclusion that it was pantheism, among other destructive forces, which had killed the will to act in the Muslim peoples and resulted in the decline of Islamic civilisation. Pantheism developed in Islam when decadence had already set in through the establishment of autocratic Sultanate and sterile Mullaism. It was a product of slavish mentality which extolled passive virtues like humility, submission and obedience. Accordingly the pantheistic God, the creation of such mentality, was very different from the vigorous personality of the original Quranic God.

A deeper study of Islam also made Iqbal arrive at the conclusion that the scientific and technological progress achieved in Europe had in fact been stimulated by and was an advancement on what had been handed over by Islamic culture to Europe through Spain and Italy before the Renaissance. Therefore, adopting the same in the world of Islam amounted to taking back what Islam had originally given to Europe. Of the rest of the European culture he became an adverse critic and remained so all his life. He saw disaster written on the face of Europe. The European civilisation appeared to him as "an empty scabbard chased

with flowery gilt", and he genuinely believed that it would eventually "commit suicide with its own dagger".

Regarding his attack on European culture Iqbal's sensitive conscience had led him to many conclusions comparable to those European writers who have used even stronger words than Iqbal in condemning the European civilization. For instance, Kierkegaard had believed that European Christianity had largely collapsed. He condemned the secular capitalistic-democratic order which gave birth to an irresponsible, undisciplined and unscrupulous 'crowd'. The 'crowd' was constantly fed with lies or was manipulated by the anonymous Press. It would not listen to those isolated few who believed that truth is subjectivity and that 'individual before God' is the only, final reality. He predicted that the development of materialistic and atheistic trends in Europe would result in the establishment of authoritarianism of Fascism and Communism, and thus the spiritual disaster would reach its completeness. On his death-bed Kierkegaard refused to accept the sacraments from the hands of the ministers of the established Church of Denmark because he believed that the 'official' Christianity of his people was merely a form without substance.

T.S. Eliot also follows Kierkegaard in attacking the 'mass man' of Europe. His great poems such as "The Hollow Men", "The Waste Land" and "Four Quartets", among others, present a compelling vision of the spiritual emptiness and desolation of modern Europe.

Iqbal returned from Europe in 1908 with an awareness that for the Muslims the realization of Islam was the only destiny. The poems written between 1908 and 1912 indicate the change that had taken place in him. He had ceased to bewail the miserable condition or lament the sorrows of the Muslim world. Instead he either erupted into violent protest to God ("Shikwa"-1911) holding Him responsible for the decadence of the Muslims; or broke into moving prayers ("Du'a" - 1912) urging God to guide him in finding a solution of the problems of the Muslim community.

The prayed, for guidance was immediately available and the

answer came spontaneously. There was a miraculous touch in the turning point, for, on the wondering Iqbal of the Period of Seeking was suddenly revealed the path which led to the destination; and as he proceeded along, his poetry became more and more vigorous and strong. This brings us to his Period of Discovery which commences from 1912 and terminates with his death in 1938.

There are a few basic points which are to be kept in mind before studying this period. First, since Iqbal felt called upon to deliver a message, his poetry attained a prophetic character. Second, as the message was to be delivered to the Muslims of the world, he changed the mode of communication from Urdu to Persian, the language of Islamic culture. Thus most of the works produced during this period are in Persian rather than Urdu. Third, although the forms and imagery employed by him were taken from the Islamic literary tradition, he used them as vehicles for the expression of absolutely new insights. And fourth, since he aimed to bring home his religio-philosophical ideas directly to the hearts of the Muslims, his poetry acquired an element of obscurity or vagueness instead of precision. This is probably the reason why the poetic language of Iqbal of this period strikes as lucid, simple and profound to the emotion, but appears complex, difficult and unintelligible to the mind.

The works of Iqbal belonging to the Period of Discovery appeared with the publication in 1915 of "Asrar-i-Khudi" (The Secrets of the Self). It was followed by "Rumuz-i-Bekhudi" (The Mysteries of Selflessness) in 1918. The two were complementary parts of the same poem. Through this long Persian poem, Iqbal delivered the substance of his message. He denounced pantheism as a negative philosophy and presented his views on the Individual and Collective Ego in the light of the teachings of Islam.

In 1922 appeared "Payam-i-Mashriq" (The Message of the East), another Persian work written in reply to Goethe's "West Ostlicher Divan". In the same year was written the famous Urdu poem "Khizar-i-Rah" (Khizar, the Guide). It was followed by another well-known Urdu poem "Talu-i-

Islam" (The Rise of Islam). Both these poems are included in his Urdu collection "Bang-i-Bara" which appeared in 1924.

In 1927, another Persian work "Zabur-i-Ajam" (The Persian Psalms) was published. In 1928-29 Iqbal toured South India delivering a series of lectures on Islam. These lectures are an exposition in the English language of his religio-philosophical ideas and were published in 1930 under the title of "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam".

Iqbal went to England in 1931 to attend the Round Table Conference and revisited Europe. On his return, in 1932 was published "Javid Nama" (The Book of Eternity). It is a long dramatic poem in Persian, describing a spiritual journey through different planetary spheres in the course of which the Poet is introduced to and discusses the problems of contemporary Islam with the souls of numerous eminent and great personalities.

In 1935 an Urdu collection of Iqbal's poems entitled "Bal-i-Jibriil" (Gabriel's Wing) appeared. It was followed by another Urdu collection in 1936 called "Zarbi-Kalim" (The Rod of Moses). In the same year appeared a collection of Persian poems entitled "Pas Che Bayad Kard Aye Aqwam-i-Sharq" (So What Should Be Done, O! Nations of the East?). Also in the same year was published "Musafir" (The Traveller), another Persian poem, recording the impressions of his journey to Afghanistan (in 1933) and containing a message for the Afghans. In 1938 appeared posthumously his last poetic work "Armughan-i-Hijaz" (The Gift of Hejaz). This work is partly in Persian and partly in Urdu.

Some collections of Iqbal's prose-writings—letters, notes, papers, articles, addresses, statements and speeches have already been published. His Urdu treatise "Ilm-ul-Iqtasad" (The Science of Economics) originally published in 1900 has been reprinted. His dissertation for the Ph.D. entitled "The Development of Metaphysics in Persia" is available, and even the collections of his discarded verses have been edited and published.

Some of Iqbal's major Persian works have been translated into European languages by eminent Orientalists like A. J. Arberry, A. Bausani, and Annemarie Schimmel. A selection of his Urdu poems has been rendered into English by V. G. Kiernan. An extensive range of literature has developed out of studies of Iqbal. However, for the English reading public Abdulla Anwar Beg's "The Poet of the East", S. A. Vahid's "Iqbal, his Art and Thought", and Annemarie Schimmel's "Gabriel's Wing" contain a wealth of useful material.

As for the religio-philosophical ideas on which the message of Iqbal is founded, an outline can be attempted. It may also be pointed out here that although the period under consideration has the elements of coherence and consistency, Iqbal as a poet becomes highly intellectual. Therefore, in order to appreciate his ideas properly a comprehensive knowledge of the development of modern philosophy in Europe is required in addition to an understanding of the Islamic religio-cultural tradition.

The metaphysical ideas of Iqbal can be briefly summarised as follows: The existence of God cannot be established by Reason but by Love. God is a personality, rigorously alive and constantly willing. He is the Ultimate Ego whose infinity is intensive and not extensive. He is continuously creative, goes on adding to His creation and is capable of changing His mind.

From God conceived as the Ultimate Ego only egos proceed. Therefore, the Universe, from the mechanical movement of the atom of matter to the free movement of thought in human ego, is the self-revelation of the "Great I am". It is one continuous act of God. There is no distinction between mind and matter except that of the degree of egohood.

Man is distinguishable from the Universe because in the process of creation, he, as an act of God, has become self-conscious. He, as a finite ego, is the representative of God on earth. He is essentially a creative activity and has the

capability of becoming a co-worker with God in the process of progressive change if he takes the initiative.

Man, as a personality, is unique, distinct from God and free. His desires and aspirations, pains and pleasures, hates and loves, judgements and resolutions are exclusively his, and even God cannot feel, judge or choose for him when more than one course of action are open to him.

Immortality cannot be claimed by man as of right. It is to be earned by him through the fortification of his ego or personality. Hell is not a pit of everlasting torture nor is Heaven a holiday. Man marches always onward to receive ever fresh illumination from the Ultimate Ego. Each and every act of man creates a new situation and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding.

Man and God are highly dynamic personalities, distinct from each other and yet together. The example of the submergence of the drops into the Ocean only applies to those egos which fail to fortify themselves and cannot stand the shock of death. But those personalities which can fortify themselves, live, more and have their being like pearls in the perpetual flow of the Divine Sea. Their existence is not obliterated but they are held by the All-Embracing Ultimate Ego within itself just as the flames of the candles retain their separate and distinct existence in the presence of the overpowering light of the sun.

Life, therefore, is a constant struggle for the candle to keep its flame continuously burning or for the drop to attain pearlhood, because the destination of man is not the emancipation from the limitation of individuality but more precise definition of it.

Thus, man is essentially a spiritual being realizing himself in space and time. He can be properly apprehended as a living force possessing rights and duties only in the social organism to which he belongs. Unique individuals must constitute a unique society — a society which possesses a well-defined creed and has a capability to enlarge its limits by example and persuasion. Such a society, according to Iqbal, was Islam.

Hence his ideas on the Individual and Collective Ego are based on the Quranic conceptions of a Perfect Muslim Individual and the Islamic society.

The creative activity of God may appear outwardly as a process of change in serial time. But in reality the change is a continuous act of God in durational time. Here Iqbal introduces his conception of what he terms "permanence-in-change". The relativity or objectivity of atomic time has been created deliberately by God as a device to test or measure the creative activity of man. Human acts, if performed by a fortified personality, are creative and live as permanent forces across serial time. All other human efforts ultimately perish by the remorseless rolling on of time.

The ethical values which can be derived from the metaphysics of Iqbal are such attributes as Love, Freedom, Courage and Dis-interestedness (or supreme Indifference towards the acquisition of material comforts). The cultivation of these attributes results in the fortification of man's personality. The acts of such a man are creative and everlasting for he is a co-worker with God. It may be noted that these attributes are by themselves strong, dynamic and individualistic forces. Even Love, the main key to the world view of Iqbal, is a power of genuine individuality. He defines it as "the desire to assimilate and to absorb. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realize them. Love individualizes the lovers as well as the beloved. The effort to realize the most unique individuality individualizes the seeker and implies the individuality of the sought, for nothing else would satisfy the nature of the seeker." Hence the agony of separation (from God) is transformed into man's joy of distinctness (from God) in Iqbal's conception of Love.

The factors which destroy man's personality arise from stagnation, the opposite of creative activity. Stagnation gives birth to fear, corruption, cowardice, begging or asking (not only for the means of livelihood but also for thoughts, habits etc. from the others), imitating and finally servitude. Servitude annihilates individuals and societies, and the blind and

cynically indifferent rolling on of time obliterates even their trace in history.

From this brief survey of Iqbal's religio-philosophical ideas, it can be gathered that he spoke of the ideal Muslim individual and the Islamic society of tomorrow. Since the reconstruction of Islamic society was not possible without a struggle for the political, cultural, social and economic emancipation of the Muslim peoples, he felt obliged also to present his views on these issues.

According to Iqbal, Islam constructed nationality out of a purely abstract idea, i.e. religion. The conception of nationality in Islam had no material basis because a sense of belonging to each other among the Muslim peoples really depended on a sort of mental agreement in a certain view of the world, and a desire to lay down their lives in defence of it. Hence, for a Muslim, Islam was itself nationalism as well as patriotism.

Consequently Iqbal became the exponent of Muslim nationalism in the Indian sub-continent from 1909 onwards, and in 1930, as the President of the Muslim League, suggested that the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent should demand territorial specification in the form of a separate state on the basis of a distinct cultural unit. He had, as early as 1910, said: "Nations are born in the hearts of poets; they prosper and die in the hands of politicians."

At any rate, he did not only dream of carving out a separate state for the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent. The realization of this goal was merely a means for achieving the unification of the entire Muslim world. This unification, according to him, was possible either through the establishment of a single Muslim state, or through a league of Muslim nations, or through a combination of several independent Muslim states tied to each other for purely economic and political considerations. He even suggested Teheran as the capital of the future Commonwealth of Muslim Nations.

The constitution of a Muslim state could not be secular but Islamic, and its form could be no other than democratic because the ideal Muslim individual as well as the Islamic society can only be brought up in a spirit of freedom.

Like T. S. Eliot, Iqbal believed that the past contained many treasures of wisdom and understanding of the human soul. But he was not a backward-looking romantic. A return to medievalism was neither possible nor desirable. Since the idea of progressive change had so much significance in his philosophic thought, he took it as normal that an age should end, and that new challenges must be faced with vision and courage. Therefore, he was of the opinion that Islamic law should be re-interpreted in the light of contemporary experience and the altered conditions of modern life. He insisted on a reform in the system of Islamic legal instruction and was in favour of transferring the power of interpreting the law of Islam from individual representatives of Schools to a Muslim legislative assembly. His ideas on the education of the younger generation of Muslims are also very important, and have been discussed in detail by K. G. Saiyidain, the eminent Indian Muslim educationist, in his book entitled "Iqbal's Educational Philosophy."

In the opinion of Iqbal, the fine arts which could transform man by assisting him in the fortification of his personality, were yet to be born in Islam. Islamic architecture, however, he regarded as the only exception. He stood for a virile, generous, expansive and strong art; the art which should burst forth as a powerful affirmation of the Muslims' faith in themselves and their future. The works of individuals who passionately believed in God and expressed their faith with unequalled power, vision and sensitivity, always fascinated him because such works instilled in men faith, power, hope and courage.

Iqbal shared the disgust of the Progressive Writers with the imperialism of the Western secular capitalist — democratic order. He was of the view that Asia was bound to rebel against the acquisitive economy which the West had

developed and imposed on the nations of the East. In his opinion, Asia could never comprehend modern Western capitalism with its undisciplined individualism. However, since Iqbal believed in a rebirth of passionate and creative faith in God, he could never accept the Progressive Writers' communist Utopia founded on atheistic socialism.

He believed that land and everything which existed over or under it was the property of God, and that the position of man was merely that of a trustee. Although Islam considered private ownership as a trust, it did not allow capital to accumulate so as to dominate the real produces of wealth. In his opinion, Islam recognised the worth of the Individual, but disciplined the 'haves' to surrender and give away as trustees to the service of the 'have-nots'. Islam could, he maintained: "Still create a new world where the social rank of man is not determined by his caste or colour, or the amount of dividend he earns, but by the kind of life he lives; where the poor tax the rich; where human society is founded, not on the equality of stomachs but on the equality of spirits." The socialistic revolution which Iqbal dreamed of could be achieved only through the promulgation of the Prophet's Law.

From the above it follows that Iqbal had rejected both the secular capitalist-democratic order of the power-elite developed in the West as well as the atheistic socialist-dictatorial order established in the communist countries. The revolution of which he was the prophet was to be realized only by establishing the Islamic socialist-democratic order.

In this respect Iqbal's ideas can be compared not only to those of Keirkegaard and T. S. Eliot, but also to such contemporary Christian socialist-democratic writers as George Orwell, Graham Green, Evelyn Waugh, Iganzio Silone, Betnanos, Bloy, Marcel, Peguy, Claudel, Mauriac and even Botis Paaternak.

Two famous poems of Iqbal, namely, "The Mosque of Cordoba" and "Satan's Parliament" can be analysed for assessing the value of his ideas.

"The Mosque of Cordoba" was written in Spain in 1931 after his visit to Cordova. It is included in his Urdu collection,

entitled "Bal-i-Jibril". The poem opens with a description of the destructive power of serial time in the face of which all human efforts ultimately perish. But this ambiguity, cynical indifference or remorselessness of time is a touch-stone by which man's works are measured. If the activity of man is inspired by the courageous power of Love, it cannot be destroyed by time, but lives for ever across time. The Mosque of Cordoba is an everlasting example of such activity. The experience of visiting this great mosque affected Iqbal so profoundly that he saw manifest in its stones the inmost self of the ideal Muslim. His vision convinced him that if the Muslim peoples were to realise their ego individually and collectively, they could reach the heights of perfect creativity again. There is of course no returning to the past, but the new challenges must be faced with courage and vigour. The countries of Europe have seen many a revolution in modern history, and nor the world of Islam - and here the poem assumes a prophetic character - is also on the verge of a revolution. Life which is untouched by revolution is death, for living nations must breathe the air of revolution. Such people are like a sharp sword in the Hand of God cutting, changing, moulding, shaping and casting history in accordance with their ideals.

The second poem "Satan's Parliament", pictures Satan and his councilors discussing contemporary history. The poem was written in 1936, two years before Iqbal's death and the commencement of the Second World War. It is the last of the series of Iqbal's great poems on Satan whose personality had attracted his attention as an active force which shatters the spell of paradisaical rest.

Satanology of Iqbal is a subject in itself which requires a detailed study. For an introduction to this field of studies of Iqbal, A. Bausani's "Satana nell'opera filosofico-poetica di Muhammad Iqbal" and Annemarie Schimmel's "Gabriel's Wing" can be studied.

Satan drew in Europe's mind the fantasy of imperialism based on a secular capitalist-democratic order of the power

elite and thus divided humanity into the groups of the exploiters and the exploited. As a natural consequence thereof atheistic socialism emerged and communism came to be established. In order to destroy communism, Satan revealed the dream of Fascist authoritarianism. Satan alone is capable of dragging the European nations into war because he can seduce them into destroying each other. He is himself the creator and protector of the secular capitalist-democratic order. Therefore, he is not afraid of the threat of the communist revolution of tomorrow. The only revolution of which he is scared is the possibility of the awakening of the Muslims and the establishment of the Islamic socialist-democratic order. Hence he commands his councilors to keep the Prophet's path hidden from the sight and mind of the Muslim peoples and to keep their eyes well-bandaged from the theatre of life and activity.

From what has been stated already, it can be safely concluded that the achievement of Pakistan is merely the realisation of a fraction of Iqbal's dream. His ideas on the establishment of the Islamic socialist-democratic order in the Muslim countries and the unification of the world of Islam are far from being realized. Therefore, the revolution he dreamed of is yet to come and consequently he continues to remain the poet of tomorrow.

IQBAL: MY FATHER

A year or so before I was born (1924), father visited the mausoleum of Sheikh Ahmad of Sirhind (also known as *Mujaddid-afli-thani*, a sixteenth century sufi-saint who denounced Ibn al-Arabi's conception of *Wahdat-i-Wujud*, criticised Emperor Akbar's religious policy, and can be regarded as one of the ancient founders of the 'Musalman nationality' in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent) and prayed for a child - a son, whom he could bring up in accordance with his own ideals of religion and morality. If God did grant him a son, he promised the saint, he would bring him to the mausoleum.

His prayer was heard; and later, in the summer of 1934, when I had attained an impressionable age, he took me to Sirhind. I can recollect our visit to the mausoleum of Sheikh Ahmad for it is impressed so vividly on my mind. Father took me inside the mausoleum, sat close to the grave of the saint and recited the Quran.

I felt scared of the darkness and was terrified by the grave; yet I had an awareness of a peculiar familiarity with my hushed and desolate surroundings. I watched father recite the Quran. His sad voice was vibrating through the dark dome of the mausoleum and tears were streaming down his cheeks.

After staying at Sirhind for a day or two we returned to Lahore; but I could never discover as to what was the purpose of visiting the mausoleum and (since it was the first time that I had seen father weep) why did tears stream down

his cheeks. I still remember that these questions used to bother me in my childhood.

Father rarely gave me an opportunity to judge as to how much affection and love he had for me. He lately held me close to himself or kissed me and from his expressions I had never really felt the warmth of fatherly affection. Apparently he gave the impression of being a man of few words and rather cold. If he saw me running about in the house, he would smile faintly, as if someone was forcing him to smile. But frequently I would notice him sitting alone in an easy chair with his eyes shut, and drowned in his own thoughts.

However, it would be wrong to conclude that he was incapable of loving or giving affection. Although his love for me was devoid of youthful vigour, it had a maturity and solitude of its own. I was, as it were, not only 'his son' but 'the younger generation of Islam personified' - the little cubs of his 'today' who were to be trained so that they could learn to involve themselves deeply with and provide a life-giving response to the deadness of the world in which he lived, so that they could grow up to be the lions of his 'tomorrow' and realise the new world of which he frequently dreamt, the fears and hopes which disturbed his sleep during the long wintry nights and made him appear as a stranger to his mornings.

Parents sometimes disagree as to how their children are to be brought up. Thus, I was a frequent cause of disagreement between father and mother. Mother thought that unless she fed me with her own hands, I would remain under-nourished. But father maintained that she was spoiling me. His standing instructions were that I should always eat myself. These instructions were, of course, carried out: but sometimes mother fed me stealthily and in case father happened to discover our little conspiracy, he would give a knowing smile.

While mother was very strict and would punish me if I was mischievous, father's firm rebuke always proved a better corrective. I do not recollect having been actually beaten by father except on a few occasions. The reasons usually were

being rude to the servants (which he resented most) or running about bare-footed in the summer sun.

We were not allowed to shout or to make noise in the house. Sometimes when I would be playing with other children in the lawn, he would order us to go and play elsewhere. But at other times, he would come and join us in our game. Perhaps kite-flying reminded him of his own childhood. So if I was flying a kite, he would show up on the roof and take the string from my hand.

I was keen on painting in my childhood, but father did not know about it. When he learnt that I was interested in painting and saw a few of my 'works of art', he encouraged me very much indeed and got large prints of French, Italian and Spanish masters for me.

I was also very fond of music, but we had neither a gramophone nor a radio in the house. Father himself was very fond of music and even used to play on a *sitar* before he went abroad for higher studies. His love for music never died. In the later phase of his life, Faqir Najm-ud-Din, one of his friends, used to come and play on a *sitar* for him. Also whenever a singer came to our house and sang some of his *ghazals* for him, he would send for me.

In 1931 when he went to England to attend the Round Table Conference, I was about seven years old. I wrote a letter to him asking him to bring a gramophone for me. The gramophone never arrived, but my letter moved him to write the following poem (entitled "To Javid on receiving his First Letter"):

Mother's constant worry was that father did not do any work. I too used to wonder as to what he really did, and if anyone asked me about the nature of his occupation, it used to embarrass me. Mother was also anxious that we should build a house of our own (in those days we used to live in a rented house on Mcleod Road). In May, 1935, however, mother's wish was fulfilled, and we moved to the new house. But on the third day of our arrival in the new house, mother died. I was about eleven and Munira, my sister, about five years old when mother died.

After mother's death Munira and I came closer to father. I still remember that the two of us wept bitterly on our mother's death and holding each others' hands went to the room of father. He was lying in bed as usual because he was not keeping good health in those days. He had lost his voice and could not speak clearly.

Munira and I stood at the door of his room not knowing what to do. He noticed us and asked us to come closer. When we came near him, he made the two of us sit on his right and left, then placing his hands affectionately on our shoulders, he said rather angrily to me: "You must not be weeping like this. Remember, you are a man - and men do not weep". Later, probably for the first time in his life, he kissed both of us on the fore-head.

In March, 1936 he took me to Bhopal with him. In Bhopal, most of my time was spent in father's company. He took keen interest in my upbringing, was extremely particular about table manners and correct use of knife and fork. Since I was temperamentally shy, he would repeatedly tell me that I should not remain silent or self-possessed in company but should talk to people.

On our way back in April 1936, we stayed in Delhi for a few days and he took me on a sight-seeing trip. We visited the Red Fort, the tomb of Nizam-ud-Din Aulia, and the Qutab Minar. When I asked him to take me up the Qutab Minar, father expressed his inability to climb. However, he allowed me to go up, saying: "Only do not look down from that height, otherwise you will feel frightened".

During the hot summer father slept in the courtyard at night. My bed used to be close to his bed. It was during the night that he had attacks of pain. Sometimes I would wake up in the dead of night and see him sitting up in bed with his head resting on his knees. Whenever inspiration came to him, the colour of his face changed and he gave the impression of passing through great physical discomfort.

Frequently at late hours of the night, he would call Ali Bakhsh, his servant, by clapping his hands, and tell him to

bring his pen and note-book. As he wrote verses on his notebook, his face would relax as if he had been relieved of great pain. Soon after, he would be fast asleep, as if nothing had happened to him.

He had the habit of sleeping on his right side with his arm placed under the pillow. Some-times while lying in that position, he would shake one of his feet, denoting thereby that he was not asleep but was thinking. However, when he was sound asleep, he would snore loudly.

On numerous occasions I have seen father smiling by himself or weeping without any cause. Alone he would recite his verses to himself - raising his hand in the air and then letting it fall.

He rarely missed the morning prayers. His prayer-mat would be spread on a wooden divan lying in the courtyard. Extremely simple of habits, father would wear a *tabband* and a vest, and cover his head with a towel when offering his prayers. His room was packed with books which were scattered all around him. He hated going out, but loved to sit on his sofa or to recline on his bed reading or taking notes all the time. Sometimes he would be so absorbed in reading that he would forget whether he had eaten his meals or not. On having finished the book, he would raise his head and ask Ali Bakhsh innocently: "Well, have I had my meals?"

In the evening he would walk up and down the courtyard of the house. Besides this he had no other physical activity and his life appeared static.

After mother's death, father had given up dyeing his hair, one day I pointed out to him that his hair needed dyeing. He smiled and said: "I am an old man now". "But", I replied, "we want to see you young, father!" He re-started tinting his hair, but after a few months, gave it up and I never found another opportunity of asking him to start it again.

Father would look terribly disturbed if he learnt that Munira and I had quarrelled. He could not bear to see us fighting with each other. If I was ever harsh to her, he would be very upset and say to me: "You really are a stone-hearted

fellow. Have you no sensitivity? Don't you realise that she is the only friend you have in this world? Your mother is already dead, and so shall I die when my time comes. What would you be left with then except her? If you quarrelled with her you would be the loneliest of men - and I tell you that it is not very pleasant to be lonely in this world".

Father wanted me to become a great orator. He also wished that I should learn wrestling, and for this purpose had an *arena* dug for me at the back of the house. On *Eid-ul-Azha* he would insist that I should be present at the time of the animal sacrifice, although he himself could not stand the sight of blood.

One of his friends was a Saudi Arab who used to visit him and occasionally recite the Quran for him. The Arab had a lovely voice. Whenever he was to recite the Quran, father would send for me and make me sit close to him. Once the Arab recited *Sura Al-Muzammil* and father was extremely moved. When the Arab had finished, father raised his head and said to me; "This is how I would like you to recite.

On another occasion, he asked me to recite from *Mussadas-i-Hali*. Some one sitting in the room pointed out that I should recite the verses about the Prophet Muhammad, which ran thus: "The One called Mercy among the Prophets" but before the second verse could be uttered, father was moved to tears.

Father was not very fond of European clothes. He always advised me to wear our national dress. Similarly he disapproved of expensive material for clothes, and rebuked me if I spent money unnecessarily. However, if he was told that I had slept on the floor instead of sleeping on the bed, he felt very pleased and proud of me.

Father used to narrate stories from Islamic history to me. He frequently talked about the Caliph Umar and Khalid bin Walid. He told me that the ancestors of Napoleon originally hailed from Arabia, and that the Arabs had shown to Vasco de Gama the route to India.

Sometime in 1937 Quaid-i-Azam had come to see father, and I entered the sitting room to take his autograph. Quaid-i-Azam signed his name in my autograph-book, and then asked me if I also wrote poetry. I said that I did not. He again asked: "Then what do you intend to do when you grow up?" I did not know what to say and, therefore, stood mute. He turned to father and said smilingly: "He does not answer". "He would not", replied father, "because he is waiting for the day when you would tell him what to do".

In his later years father's eye-sight had grown very weak; therefore, every day I used to read out the newspapers to him. Similarly, every night I would recite his own poems (or those of Hali's) to him. If I ever mispronounced a word, he would be angry. Also the slightest error in recitation would irritate him. "Is it poetry or prose that you are reciting?" he would snap at me.

However, Munira was his favourite. She, with her German governess whom we used to call 'Apajan', would spend hours in his room. Father spoke German fluently, and usually talked in German to 'Apajan'. He would also tell Munira to learn German. "German women are very brave", he would tell her.

Friends and admirers used to call on father usually in the evening. Chairs would be placed around his bed, and he loved to chat with his friends while smoking his hookah. He was not in the habit of taking evening meals, but only took one or two cups of Kashmiri tea.

I had strict instructions to be present when father had company, although listening to the grown-ups was an ordeal for me. I would, therefore, sneak out of his room if I found an opportunity. This usually hurt him very much, and he would complain to his friends: "I do not know why this boy shuns my company". During this phase of his life, he was also haunted by a peculiar sense of loneliness. He would frequently say: "I spend the whole of my day lying here as if I were a traveller. No one ever comes and sits with me".

On his last night (20th - 21st April, 1938), he laid on a bed in the sitting room, surrounded by his friends and admirers. It was about 9 p.m. when I entered the room.

"Who is it?" he asked as he could not recognize me. "I am Javid", I replied. He broke into a smile and said: "I would only believe it when you really become Javid". (*Javid* means Eternity). Then he turned to one of his friends, Chaudhari Muhammad Hussain, and said: "Chaudhari Sahib, please see to it that he learns the prayer (entitled '*Addressed to Javid*') which comes in the end of my *Javidnama*."

That night there were anxious whisperings everywhere in the house for the doctors had warned that father had only a few hours to live. He was spitting blood and his condition had suddenly taken a very dangerous turn. Although the doctors' opinion had been concealed from him, father knew that his end was at hand. However, he was cheerful and full of humour - much more than, he normally used to be.

I, too, was not told about the seriousness of father's illness. So I retired to my room and went to sleep.

At dawn, however, I was pulled out of bed by Ali Bakhsh who shouted: "Come. Get up. See what has happened to your father".

I did not really believe that he was dead. I only got out of the bed so that I could see what had happened to him. While proceeding to his room, I passed through the adjoining room and noticed Munira sitting alone on a divan. She had covered her face with her hands and was crying bitterly.

As soon as she saw me going in the direction of father's room, she leapt towards me and clung to my arm. The poor child could not even walk for her feet were staggering.

We stood at the door of father's room and peeped inside. There was no one in his room. The windows were open and he was lying straight on his bed. A white sheet was covering him up to his neck. His eyes were shut and face was turned towards the west. The hair of his moustache had turned completely gray. The edges of the hair on his head, however,

still retained the fading blackness of the dye he had used months ago for the last time at my request.

Munira's legs were shaking out of fear. She was still clutching my arm, and I could hear her sobbing and crying. But in spite of my best efforts, I could not weep. I was afraid that if I wept, he would rise suddenly, ask us to come closer, and when we had come near him, he would make the two of us sit on his right and left, then placing his hands affectionately on our shoulders, he would say rather angrily to me: "You must not be weeping like this. Remember, you are a man – and men do not weep".

The passing of one's father is a dreadful loss. But at the age of fourteen I was too young to realise as to what had been lost.

At any rate, under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent had already started moving in the direction of carving out a separate Muslim homeland in the subcontinent. This meant that the time for the realization of the dream of father was fast approaching. In March, 1940 the Pakistan resolution was adopted by the Muslim League and within a period of seven years Pakistan actually came to be established.

I came to know and love father as I grew up like many others of my generation. He infused a new spirit in the Muslim youth by constantly goading them to passionate action instead of scholastic quibbling. Today he is a living force in the minds of sensitive Pakistanis - inspiring, directing and sustaining us in our struggle to reconstruct our cultural, social, economic and political life.

HE WAS MY FATHER

The elders in our family tell me that a few years before my birth, my father went to the mausoleum of Hazrat Mujaddid and prayed for a son. Later, as a small boy, I went with him to Sirhind to visit the tomb. I sat beside Father, while he read from the Quran. My memory of that visit is vivid. We were the only two persons in the mausoleum, and Father's loud voice, chanting the Quran, created a hallowed atmosphere as it vibrated through the hall. I sat meekly in a corner, terrified, watching the tears streaming down Father's cheeks.

As in most homes, my father and mother differed on the method of bringing up children, and I was the frequent cause of their disagreement. Mother, like a fond parent, thought that unless she fed me with her own hands, I would be undernourished. Father maintained that she was spoiling me. Often, mother would feed me stealthily, but our little conspiracy was not hidden from father who caught us several times and gave a knowing smile. While my mother would not tolerate naughtiness, and often beat me for it, Father's firm rebuke always proved to be a better corrective. I remember having been beaten by father only once when, having exhausted my pocket allowance, I gave away brassware from the house to a vendor in exchange for sweets. Unfortunately, for me, the chauffeur saw me making the transaction, and promptly reported to father who came out and gave me a severe beating.

My mother's constant worry was that father did not go anywhere to work; indeed, I too was puzzled at his staying at home, and felt embarrassed whenever anyone asked me what Father did. Mother was also keen that we should live in a house of our own -- in those days we were living in McLeod Road. After a few years, Mother's wish was fulfilled. But no sooner had we moved to our house on Mayo Road than, actually on the third day, mother died.

My sister Munira was five years old when Mother died; I was 11. We were terrified at our loss, and clasped each other when we realized our loneliness. When Munira and I went to Father, weeping, he called us affectionately to himself and, placing his hands upon my shoulders and looking me in the eyes, said "You are a man. Remember men do not weep."

Then, for the first time in his life, father kissed us lavishly on the forehead. Mother's death made Father more tender towards us, and now he would kiss us daily when we set off to school and when we returned. But I always had the feeling that he kissed us, not as much out of tenderness, as to impress upon us that we possessed the affection of our father. All the same, those kisses were the most precious for us in the world.

After Mother's death, I found myself closer to father, and he took an especial interest in my upbringing. He was extremely particular about perfect use of the fork and knife. I was shy-natured, and he would repeatedly impress upon me that in company one should talk, not remain silent.

Shortly after Mother's death, I went to Bhopal with father. On our way back, we stayed in Delhi for a day during which we visited the Red Fort, Nizamuddin Aulia, the Qutub-Minar. When I wished that we should go up the Minar, father expressed his inability to climb but asked me to go up. "Only do not look below from that altitude, or you will feel frightened," he said.

During the hot weather, father used to sleep in the courtyard, my bed beside his. Sometimes, waking late in the night, I used to see him sitting up in bed with his head resting

on his knees. He gave that impression of feeling great physical discomfort whenever inspiration came to him, and the colour of his face would change as line after line, couplet after couplet, came.

Often, entering his room, I found father engaged in animated conversation with himself. Alone, he used to recite his verses to himself.

Father was always keen that Munira and I should not quarrel, and whenever we quarreled he would feel sad and complain to his friends about it. He could not bear to see us unfriendly, and would call me stone-hearted and impress upon me that I had no other friend in the world besides Munira.

Extremely simple of habits, Father would wear a tahband and a vest and cover his head with a towel when he offered his prayers. He was always content to sit on his bed smoking his hookah, talking to his friends.

Ali Bakhsh, father's personal servant, was devoted to him. It was he who would tiptoe to father's bed at night and cover him with a shawl and persuade him to eat when he was busy working. Often, Ali Bakhsh would press father's legs while he smoked the hookah and conversed with friends.

Father was lazy, and changing clothes for going out always seemed to annoy him. Although he seldom missed the Fajr (dawn) prayer, he was disinclined to wash and bathe, and his room was as untidy as his clothes.

After mother's death, father gave up dying his hair and when I asked him to colour his hair, he said that he had grown old. "But we want to see you young," I said, and after that he began tainting his hair again.

It was father's great desire to see me deliver speeches; he also wished that I should learn wrestling, and had an arena dug in the courtyard. During Id-uz-Zuha, he insisted that I should be present when the animal was being sacrificed. Yet he himself could not stand the sight of blood.

Often, father used to ask me to recite to him. Once, someone suggested that I should read out from Altaf Husain

Hali's Mussadas, and father wept as I recited the verse about the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). Although he did not weep when mother died, whom he loved deeply. Father would be visibly moved when listening to the Quran, when reciting his own verses or when the Prophet Mohammad's name was mentioned.

Father disliked Western clothes, and used to advise me to wear Shalwar and Sherwani. If Munira wore her hair in double plaits, he would frown and say that only Jewesses dressed their hair in that fashion. If I ever bought expensive material for my clothes, he would rebuke me and say "Do you consider yourself to be the son of lord? If you do not mend your ways, I shall make you wear khaddar." It was a crime for me to buy material worth more than 12 annas for my shirt, or shoes costing more than Rs. 8. If, by chance, I ever slept on the floor instead of bed, Father would feel pleased.

In his life, Father permitted me only once to go to a cinema. The film was actually about Napoleon's love life, but someone had told Father that it was a historical film. Father held the warriors of history in great esteem and used to refer to Khalid and Farooque. Once, he told me that the ancestors of Napoleon hailed from Arabia and that the Arabs had shown to Vasco de Gama the route to India, having discovered India before Vasco de Gama himself.

In his later years, Father became feeble-sighted, and used to ask me to read out the newspapers. If I ever mispronounced a word, he would be angry. At night, when I recited his verses, the slightest error in recitation would irritate him. "Is it prose or poetry that you are reading," he would snap at me.

I, being afraid of Father, it was Munira who was his favourite child. She, with her German governess, would spend hours in his room, father would speak fluently in German to the governess, and wished that Munira should also learn the language. "German women are very brave," he would tell Munira.

I had strict instructions to be present always when Father had company, although listening to the grown-up was an ordeal for me. My disinterestedness in their talk would sadden father who would tell his friends. "This boy shuns my company." During this period, he was haunted by a strange sense of loneliness. "The whole day I lie here on my bed like a traveller, and there is no one to sit beside me," he would say.

Can I ever forget the night that father died? He lay on a bed in the sitting room, surrounded by his disciples and admirers. When I entered, about nine o'clock, he could not recognize me.

"I am Javid," I cried out frantically, overcome with emotion, when he asked me who I was. He laughed and said "Prove it. Prove that you are Javid."

Then, turning to Chaudhri Mohammad Hasan, one of his greatest friends, he said "Please see to it that this boy learns the prayer, 'Address to Javid', which comes in the end of my Javidnama."

Doctors had warned us that Father might not pull through the night. All over the house, there were people anxiously whispering. Although the doctors' opinion had not been communicated to Father, he knew. Yet, that night, he was full of humour, even more than otherwise.

To spare me anxiety, I too was not informed of the seriousness of Father's illness, and was asleep in my room when, just before daybreak, I was pulled out of bed by Ali Bakhsh who shouted "Come and see what has happened to your Father."

Shaking with grief, Munira and I entered Father's room. The windows were open, and there lay Father covered with a white sheet. I felt my heart bursting, but there was something which stopped my weeping. Suddenly, I imagined that now Father would rise from his bed and place his hands upon my shoulders and say "You are a man. Remember, men do not weep."

WORKING PAPER FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF MAZAR-E-IQBAL

History of Construction of the Present Mazar:

1. Shortly after the burial of Allama Iqbal at the present site a Mazar Committee was constituted by his friends under the Chairmanship of Ch. Muhammad Hussain in 1938. No public appeal was made for the collection of funds for the construction of the Mazar but these were donated by numerous admirers of Allama Iqbal who forbade the disclosure of their names. The Government of India or subsequently of Pakistan did neither subscribe any funds for the construction nor take any interest in the same. One eminent business man is stated to have proposed to the Mazar Committee that he was prepared to foot the entire bill of the construction provided that a *katba* of his name was inlaid somewhere on the Mazar to the effect that it was constructed by him. But this proposal was rejected.

2. The Mazar Committee contacted architects who worked as advisers to the Archaeological Departments of different Muslim States within British India as well as the government of Afghanistan in order to prepare a plan for the construction of the Mazar. In response the Mazar Committee received numerous plans from different architects which were considered by it. The restriction imposed by the Archaeological Department of the Punjab from the very beginning was that the construction of the Mazar should not

be raised beyond a specific height because it would impair the panorama and grandeur of the Badshahi Mosque. The plan for the Mazar received from the Italian Architect and adviser to the Government of Afghanistan was modelled on the tomb of some Italian poet and it had an effigy made in stone of Allama Iqbal lying above the grave with folded hands. This plan was obviously rejected. Another plan sent by Nawab Zain Yar Jang of Hyderabad Deccan which was full of flower engravings, ornamentations and decorations was considered by the Mazar Committee as very effeminate, fragile, ostentatious and unsuited to the personality of Allama Iqbal. Nawab Zain Yar Jang was requested by the Mazar Committee to pay a visit to Lahore and to inspect the site before making an appropriate plan for the Mazar. He came to Lahore and Ch. Muhammad Hussain took him to the spot. It was pointed out to him that on one side of the site was the gate of Lahore Fort, symbol of Muslim political power, and on the other side was the entrance of Badshahi Mosque, symbol of Muslim spiritual power. He was also told that on the third side was the pinnacled *Samadh* of Ranjit Singh with its canopy, symbolising all that negates and is hostile to Islam. He was further told that according to the teachings of Allama Iqbal religion and state were one in Islam that the political strength of Muslims was founded on their spiritual power and that it was with the might of this conviction that Muslims had always managed to overcome the forces of evil. In short it was pointed out to him that Allama Iqbal was not a poet, philosopher or sufi in the generally accepted sense of the term but something much more than that, and that, therefore, his Mazar must attempt to highlight or reflect the characteristics of his personality as it emerges from his writings respecting Islamic renaissance i.e. strength, solidarity and simplicity. Nawab Zain Yar Jang returned to Hyderabad and eventually despatched another plan to the Mazar Committee prepared in the light of what he had been told. This plan was approved and it was on the basis of the same that the Mazar Committee commenced the construction of

the Mazar.

3. The construction of the Mazar had been considerably delayed firstly because of difficulty in the selection of an appropriate plan, and secondly for procuring the instalments of red stone from India particularly after the establishment of Pakistan. The Mazar was eventually completed in 1950 i.e. 12 years after the death of the poet. The *Tawiz* and *Loah* inside the Mazar were sent by the Government of Afghanistan as a gift, in order to pay homage to the greatness of the poet of Islam. The selection of verses and Quranic Ayaat engraved on the ceiling and inside walls of the Mazar and outside in the Northern perspective was made by Ch. Muhammad Hussain. The engravings were designed by Parwin-ul-Raqgam (the most eminent calligrapher of his times in Pakistan). When the Shah of Iran visited Pakistan for the first time and also paid a visit to the Mazar he was fascinated by the verse engravings and is stated to have spontaneously remarked that the calligraphy was exquisite. The Government of Afghanistan had also sent two post-lanterns carved out of transparent stone to be installed on the north side of the *Tawiz*, but when the packages were opened, these were found broken in transit. Consequently they could not be installed and no request was made to the Government of Afghanistan for the replacement of the same.

Quality of the present architecture

4. The space within which the Mazar is constructed is extremely limited. On the north side of the Mazar is the high entrance gate of Badshahi Mosque and the narrow strip between the tomb and steps of the mosque. On the south are located the high *minar* of the mosque and a row of *hujras* extending far from the south to the east, which is also a high building and is at present occupied by the Ulema Academy. On the west of the Mazar are *hujras* and the high wall of the mosque. In such a restricted space, it was only the talent of Nawab Zain Yar Jang as an architect that he was able to design a tomb which not only accommodated itself in the

architectural and archaeological environs of this historic area but it also did not impair in any way the view and archaeological aspects of the Badshahi Mosque. The Mazar is constructed in red stone and it blends with the mosque perfectly. The present tomb has been adjudged as a piece of sculpture rather than architecture. It was designed and built with careful and detailed consideration of the monuments adjacent to the area. Its base reminds one of the temples in Deccan but from that point onwards the construction rises like a pyramid without a cone. It gives the impression of having been constructed out of a single rock and, therefore, strikes one as a solid, strong and yet simple structure. The building has been considered as an architectural gem with an originality of its own.

Major constraints in planning or implementing the reconstruction of the Mazar on the model of tombs of Saadi and Hafiz of Shiraz

Technical problems:

5. The tomb is located in the south-west corner of Hazuri Bagh in the shadow of 176 feet high south-east Minar of the Badshahi Mosque and the grand high entrance gate of the same. The space within which it is constructed is very limited. In fact the measurements of the tomb as designed by the architect were dictated by the space and environs of the site. The Archaeological Department had imposed the restriction from the very beginning that the height of the tomb should not exceed the height of the basement *hujras* of the mosque because the archaeological aspects of the Badshahi Mosque would be impaired. It is, therefore, clear that owing to high structures on all sides of the Mazar, if a high or imposing building is raised at the present site, it would certainly impair the grand look of the mosque and its environs. Ranjit Singh who died in 1839 was cremated on the spot where later his *Samadb* was constructed and completed

in about 1850. This building is an eye sore to every student of architecture as it disturbs the harmony of the Mosque-Fort complex. If larger or higher Mazar is constructed in place of the present one, it would further damage this harmony and may amount to repeating the same mistake which was made in 1850 by constructing the *Samadh* of Ranjit Singh in this area. It is, therefore, evident that it is not possible to reconstruct the Mazar on the model of tombs of Saadi and Hafiz of Shiraz at this site.

Ideological problems:

6. Allama Iqbal was buried at this site under the popular demand of Muslims. In the course of time the Mazar in its present shape has come to be associated with the poet in the mind of the people who visit the same. The idea of demolishing the present Mazar and constructing a new one in its place would, therefore, not appeal to the public.

7. The present Mazar was constructed with funds donated by the devotees of Allama Iqbal who preferred to remain anonymous. Keeping in view the value and costs at those times, a couple of lacs of rupees must have been spent on the construction. The sentiments of those who donated funds should be respected.

8. Iqbal's poetry and thought is of a totally different nature to that of Hafiz and Saadi. It is, therefore, not advisable to reconstruct the Mazar on the model of tombs of those poets.

9. It has already been mentioned that the *Tawiz* and *Loah* inside the Mazar are gifts from the Government of Afghanistan. If these are removed or replaced, it could mean that we spurn the homage paid by Afghanistan to the greatness of Muslim Poet.

10. Any attempt to reconstruct the Mazar on the lines suggested may lead to a public controversy or resentment and distress in some circles. If the intention is to pay homage to the personality of Allama Iqbal and to propagate his ideals, then all such moves which are likely to become controversial

should be specifically avoided.

11. Since the consensus is that the Mazar in its present form should not be touched, the other items such as indicating alternative ways in which the work of reconstruction of the Mazar may be carried out or suggesting the membership of the sub-committee that may be established by the National Committee to guide and supervise the reconstruction programme, need not be gone into at all.

Suggested improvements to the present structure

Exterior.

12. The exterior of the tomb which is in red stone and blends with the structure of Badshahi Mosque if changed would cause disharmony. It should, therefore, be left as it is.

Interior.

13. The interior is all in white marble which is not of the best quality. The quality of marble can be improved. The couplets and Quranic Ayaat inscribed on the ceiling and walls can be improved by inlay of black marble, a bit in relief. Tile mosaic work can also be done in some of the panels to improve the look of the interior. It has already been stated that in transit two post-lanterns carved out of stone which were to be erected on the north ends of the cenotaph were broken and could not be installed. Such lanterns would be an appropriate addition and may be got prepared in Pakistan with identical stone. The Turkish Government very recently donated the dust from the tomb of Roomi from Qonia. Special type of relic casket could be made in identical stone for dust and may be suitably laced in the interior. The interior can also be improved by spreading beautiful carpets in traditional design.

Hazuri Bagh and the lawns surrounding the Mazar

14. These could be improved by seasonal flowers, proper

looking after and maintenance of the lawns around the tomb and Hazuri Bagh etc. Tape-recording of the recitation of the verses of Allama Iqbal by eminent male vocalists of Pakistan may be played at fixed intervals (i.e. which do not clash with Azan and prayer times) through carefully installed and concealed loud-speakers within the vicinity of the tomb so that any one who happens to be present there could hear the same. The tomb may be guarded by two smartly uniformed members of the armed forces. The electric poles in the area should be removed and replaced by under-ground cables. The light arrangements in the entire vicinity should be designed, that it is in harmony with the environs. During the rainy days the lane of the east in front of the Alamgiri gate is entirely covered by muddy water. Therefore, the drainage of the area should also be improved. Although it is an archaeological area admission wherein should be controlled, at present it is a thorough traffic route from the city side through the Hazuri Bagh to the Circular Road. In the Hazuri Bagh anti-social elements gather and sit day and night. Incidents of pick-pocketing, gambling, assaults etc. are not an unusual feature over there. Some kind of control, therefore, is necessary to improve conditions for the visitors to the Mazar as well as the historic area.


Proposal:

Instead of planning the reconstruction of the Mazar of Allama Iqbal on the model of tombs of Saadi and Hafiz it is proposed that the Federal Government may consider the construction of a suitable memorial. There is vacant land measuring about ten *kanals* situated at Shahra-e-Quaid-e-Azam between the Freemason's Hall and Lahore Zoo. It faces the WAPDA building. A multi-storied building including a modern auditorium, the largest in the city, could be constructed as a memorial to Allama Iqbal. The plan of the building could be designed by some eminent architect or architects to highlight the characteristic features of the


personality of Allama Iqbal. The foundation stone laying ceremony of this building could be performed by the Prime Minister. The auditorium, called the Iqbal Memorial Hall, could be used for lectures, meetings etc. The other floors of the building could be put to a suitable use. The front of the building could be made of slabs of stone obtained from different Muslim countries and provinces constituting Pakistan. The different kinds of stone could be laid in such a pattern or design as to present a picture of harmony. The design could contain verses of Allama Iqbal inscribed on the stone. The construction may depict the aspirations of modern Islam as reflected in the writings of Allama Iqbal respecting Islamic renaissance. It is the same square (Charging Cross) where it is proposed to build a monument dedicated to the Islamic Summit. Freemason's Hall could be made part and parcel of this project.

Javid Iqbal

21-9-74



IQBAL
COMPARATIVE STUDY



DEPICTING THE DARK LORD: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RUMI'S "MUA'WIYA AND IBLIS" WITH IQBAL'S "SATAN'S PARLIAMENT"

There is a close spiritual affinity between Maulana Rumi & Iqbal, the Muslim poet of South Asia, as is evident from one of the verses of Iqbal:

بہ دورِ قتنہٴ عصرِ کهن او بہ دورِ قتنہٴ عصرِ رواں من

He fought against the mischief of the past,
I fight against the mischief of the present.

What was the mischief of the past which Rumi fought against? Rumi was born in 1207 and died in 1273. These were difficult times for the Muslims of the Near East. They faced two enemies. On the one hand, due to the commencement of Crusades, European armies were killing Muslims in Palestine and the surrounding areas. On the other hand, the cruel Mongols were subduing and massacring Muslims while they conquered the Eastern territories of Islam. It was during these times of fear and anxiety that Rumi gave his message of hope to mankind.

Iqbal was born in 1877 and died in 1938. These were likewise difficult times for the Muslims of South Asia. The Mughal Empire collapsed in 1858 and the British took over. The Muslims failed to regain their independence. In 1924 the

Caliphate was abolished and Turkey was declared a secular republic. These events severely jolted the Muslims of South Asia. They were isolated from the rest of the Muslim world which broke up into nation-states on territorial basis. As a consequence, in the absence of national identity, they were passing through a period of despondency and uncertainty about their future. It was in this state of utter hopelessness that Iqbal, like Rumi, gave them a message of courage and hope.

Both Rumi and Iqbal had a very strong faith in God. However, the visualization of Satan in their poetry makes a very interesting study. Rumi's poem on Iblis is regarded by Nicholson as one of the best diabolical apologies in world literature. Iqbal's Satan, according to the Italian orientalist Bausani, is five dimensional.

In Rumi's "Mua'wiya and Iblis"¹ the poem opens: Mua'wiya is asleep in his chamber when he is suddenly awakened by someone looking like a man. He searches his chamber and finds a person hiding behind the drapes. "Hey", he cries, "Who are you? And what is your name?" The man replies calmly, "I am Iblis, the damned".

گفت می تو کیستی نام تو چیست گفت نام فاش ابلیس شقیقت

Mua'wiya: Why did you wake me up? Tell me the truth and not the reverse of it.

گفت بیدارم چرا کر دے بجد راست گوی بامن بگو برکس و ضد

Iblis: The time for prayers has almost come to an end. Rush quickly to the mosque.

گفت بنگام نماز آخر رسید سوائے مسجد زود می باید دوید

Mua'wiya: Nay, Nay! It is not thy purpose to be my guide unto any good.

گفت نی نی این غرض نبود ترا که بخیرے ره نما باشی مرا

Iblis: I had the confidence of them who follow the path of devotion. I was one of them that dwell by the

throne of God. How can one forget his first love? I had been predestined from birth to love Him. He raised me from non-existence. I drank His milk. I received kindness from Him. Compassion and forgiveness are the real substance of His coin. Wrath is only a speck of alloy on it. If separation from Him is the result of His wrath, it is only for the sake of knowing the worth of union with Him. I do not look at the cause of His wrath which is only temporary. I depend on His eternal mercy. If I declined to bow before Adam it was from envy and envy arises from love of God. All envy arises from love and for fear lest another becomes the companion of beloved. He asked me to make a move and I played the move which was predestined for me and cast myself into woe.

اصل نقدش داد لطف و بخشش است قهر بردی چون غباری از غش است
فرقت از قهرش اگر آبتن است بهر قدر وصل او دانستن است
لطف سابق را نظاره می کنم هر چه آن حادث دو پاره می کنم
ترک سجده از حسد گیرم که بود آن حسد از عشق خیزد نه از جمود
هر حسد از دوستی خیزد یقین که شود با دوست غیر هم نشین
آن یکی بازی که بدمن باختم خوشستن را در بلا انداختم

Mua'wiya: What you say may be true but your share in it is wanting. You have waylaid hundreds of thousands like me by your deceit. You have spoken with God and heard Him speak face to face. What am I before your deceit, O enemy! You are like a fowler's whistle. You whistle to ensnare the birds, who on hearing your whistle, fancy that a friend has come. You are the sea of cunning, and all the creatures are but a drop. You are like a mountain

and we the simple-ones are but a mote. Who shall escape from your cunning, O adversary!

بنداشتی شنیدی رو برو من چه باشم پیش مکرمت ای عدو
بجز مکر تو خلاق قطره تو چو کوبی وین سلیمان ذره
کی رهاز مکر تو ای محتصم فرق طوقانیم الا من عصم

Iblis:

You do not understand. I am the touchstone for the counterfeit coin and the true. God appointed me to test between a lion and a cur. To the good I act as guide, the dry branches I rip off. Remember that wrath and mercy are wedded to each other and it is from them that the world of good and evil is born. Although these two -- good and evil are opponents, yet both are engaged in the same task. How can I make the good man bad? I am not God. I am only a prompter. I am not their Creator. How can I make the fair foul? I am not the Lord. I am only a mirror that reflects the faces of the foul and the fair. Whenever I see a fruitful sapling I foster it like a careful nurse. Whenever I see a sour and dry tree I cut it down. I separate the musk from the dung.

گرچه این دو مختلف خیر و شرند لیک این هر دو بیک کار اندرند
هر کجا بینم نهال میوه دار تربیت های کسم من داریه دار
هر کجا بینم درخت تلخ و خش می برم تاوارب از پشت مشک

Mua'wiya: (to Satan) O brigand! Do not argue. Do not prowl about my property. I wonder what this Envier has in his bag! (to God) O God! Help me against this enemy. Take my hand or else my raiment is blackened by his smoke. I cannot prevail in argument with Iblis for he leads everyone noble and base into temptation. (To Iblis) O Iblis! You

tempt the people to their ruin. For what purpose did you wake me up?

گفت امیرای راه زن حجت مگو مر ترا ره نیست در من راه مگو
تا چه دارد این حسود اندر کدو ای خدا فریاد ما را زین عدو
این حدیثش بچود و دست ای اله دست گیر ارنه کلیم شد سیاه
ای بلیس خلق شوز، فتنه جو برج بم بیدار کردی راست مگو

Iblis:

My answer to you is silence. To talk with a fool is madness. Why do you complain to God of me, O simpleton? Complain of the wickedness of the vile fleshly soul of yours. You curse Iblis although he is guiltless. How can you not see that the deception proceeds from yourself? Your black fleshly soul is the culprit. Do not put the guilt on me. I hate evil, greed and enmity. I did an evil deed once and I am still repenting. I am waiting that my night may turn into day.

پس جواب او سکوت و سکون هست با ابله سخن گفتن جنون
تو ز من باحق چه نالی ای سلیم تو بنال از شر آن نفس لئیم
من بدی کردم پیشانم هنوز انتظارم تا شبنم آید بروز

Mua'wiya: Nothing but the truth will save you. Tell the truth so that you may be delivered from my hand.

گفت غیر راستی نرحمانت داد سوعے راستی می خواندت

Iblis:

How can you tell the difference between falsehood and truth?

گفت چون دانی دروغ و راست را اے خیال اندیش پر اندیش حا

Mua'wiya: Falsehood always pains heart. Truth leads to a joyous tranquility. A troubled heart is not comforted by lying words. It is only in truthful speech that there is comfort for the heart. I again

ask you why did you wake me up? You are the enemy of wakefulness. I have caught you by your neck. Tell the truth. I cannot imagine that Satan would awaken me with good intention.

دل نیار آمد بگفتار دروغ آب و روغن بچ نفروزد فروغ
در حدیث راست آرام دست راستیها دانه دام دست
تو چرا بیدار کردی مرا دشمن بیدار بی توای دعا
من ز شیطان این نجومیم کوست غیر که مرا بیدار گرداند بخیر

Iblis: (Spoke many words of deceit and treachery but Mua'wiya kept on putting pressure on his neck. At length, with utmost reluctance) All right, O such and such! I awakened you for the purpose that you might join the congregational prayers of Muslims, for if the tune of prayers had passed, this world would have become dark to you and from disappointment and grief tears would have flown from your eyes. That disappointment and grief would have been like a hundred prayers. What is the worth of a ritual prayer in comparison with the spiritual glow of humble supplication out of remorse? O Amir! I lay my deceit before you. I awakened you in fear lest you gain a greater reward in your remorse for having missed the prayers. I am envious. From envy I acted thus. I am lover of God. I am your adversary. I am full of malice and deceit but it is all for love.

از بن دندان بگفتش بهر آن کردمت بیدار میدان ای فلان
کز نماز از وقت رفتی مرا این جهان تاریک عشقی بی ضیا
من ترا بیدار کردم از نهیب تانسوزاند چنان آبی حجاب
من حسودم از حسد کردم چنین من عدوم کار من مکرمت و کین

Mua'wiya: Now you have spoken the truth. Deceit comes naturally to you. You awakened me but it was really slumber. You showed me a ship of hope but it was really a whirlpool of destruction. You were calling me to good but in order to deprive me from realizing greater good.

تو مرا بیدار کردی خواب بود تو نمودی کشتی آن گرداب بود

From this great poem of Rumi it is easy to conclude that his concept of Satan is a Sufi's concept. Satan as a lover in sufferance, a ruined splendour, acting alone or by himself to take revenge from his adversary - man. A figure of self pity and despair, and despite his deceit and treachery, he is essentially a moral being who loves and fears God and constantly hopes that one day he would be forgiven. One goes through this dramatic poem and feels sorry for the fate of Satan. He wins one's sympathy and establishes his credentials on the basis of logic and reason, as himself being good and God being bad. In other words, Rumi being a Sufi through this poem shows that logic and reasoning are from the Devil and dominance of love in the spiritual life of man is from God. He believes that Truth is that which not only convinces the mind and sense-perception but also appeals to the heart. According to Rumi, heart is the seat of love. God is love.

Another very important aspect of this poem is that to a Sufi, the universe created by God consists only of greater good and lesser good and does not contain evil. This contention is based on the fact that God's compassion, mercy and forgiveness is vaster than His wrath. It also means that according to Rumi, detention in hell shall be temporary and that no one shall stay permanently therein. It is in this background of God's compassion and mercy that even Rumi's Satan expects to be eventually forgiven and redeemed from his objectionable act of disobedience.

As for Iqbal's poem "Satan's Parliament"² it was written in 1936, before the beginning of Second World War. But it was

posthumously published after the death of Iqbal in 1938. This is also a dramatic poem like Rumi's. Satan is not alone but in a Parliament with his Counsellors discussing the affairs of contemporary world.

Satan: I it was who drew in Europe's brain the fantasy of empire. It was I who broke the spell of mosque, of church, of temple. It was I who taught the homeless and poor that all is ruled by fate. It was I who filled the guardians of the poor with capitalism's hot frenzy.

میں نے دکھلایا فرنگی کو ملوکیت کا خواب
میں نے توڑا مسجد و دیر و کلیسا کا فسوس
میں نے ناداروں کو سکھلایا سبق تقدیر کا
میں نے منعم کو دیا سرمایہ داری کا جنوں

First

Counsellor: Firm is the sovereignty of Hell. It is through this sovereignty that subject nations have grown rotten-ripe in slavishness. These wretched beings whose destiny is from age to age to kneel. Whose nature craves a prostrate worship, no prayer uttered erect. In whom no high desire can come to birth, or if born must perish. Priesthood and Sainthood are servile props for alien dominion. Such opium was medicinable to Asia. If the zeal of pilgrim still shouts for Mecca and Ka'aba, blunt has grown the sheathless scimitar of Islam.

اس میں کیا شنگ ہے کہ محکم ہے یہ ابلیسی نظام
پختہ اس سے ہوئے خوئے غلامی میں عوام
ہے ازل سے ان غریبوں کے مقدر میں سجود
ان کی فطرت کا تقاضا ہے نماز بے قیام
آرزو اول تو پیدا ہو نہیں سکتی کہیں
ہو کہیں پیدا تو مر جاتی ہے یا رہتی ہے خام
ہے طواف و حج کا ہنگامہ اگر باقی تو کیا
تند ہو کر رہ گئی مومن کی تیغ بے نیام

Second

Counsellor: You are right but you have not learned what new-hatched mischiefs are about the earth.

خیر ہے سلطانی جمہور کا غوغا کہ شر
تو جہاں کے تازہ قتلوں سے نہیں ہے باخبر

First

Counsellor: I am aware. But my scrutiny of the world assures me of no danger. It is because of us who dressed autocracy in democratic robes. Whether Parliaments of nations meet, or Majesty holds court, whoever casts his eye on another's field is a tyrant. Have you not seen in the West those democratic governments with rosy cheeks to show but their hearts within blacker than Ghangiz's soul.

تو نے کیا دیکھا نہیں مغرب کا جمہوری نظام
چہرہ روشن اندرون چنگیز سے تاریک تر

Third

Counsellor While domination of colonial tyranny suits us, what is the answer to that accursed creature, that vile Jew with his book Das Kapital. He has opened the eyes of poor of the world heralding to the nations, East and West, their day of reckoning. What worse can happen than this that the slaves have cut the ropes that held their lords' pavilions.

کیا بتاؤں کیا ہے کانفر کی نگاہ پردہ سوز
مشرق و مغرب کی قوموں کے لیے روزِ حساب
اس سے بڑھ کر اور کیا ہو گا طبیعت کا فساد
توڑ دی بندوں نے آقاؤں کے خیموں کی طناب

Fourth

Counsellor Behold the antidote in the form of Fascism in Europe.

تو اس کارومتہ اکبری کے ایوانوں میں دیکھ
آلِ یزر کو دکھایا ہم نے پھر یزر کا خواب

Third

Counsellor: I do not trust the man who has stripped Europe's statecraft all too naked.

میں تو اس کی عاقبت بینی کا کچھ قائل نہیں
جس نے فرنگی سیاست کو کیا یوں بے حجاب

Fifth

Counsellor (to Satan) O you whose fiery breath fills up the sails of the world! It is in your furnace that dust and water became a planet panting with hot life. That because of the rebel Jew, not long and every mantle will be rent to shreds and tatters by his fury. The crows aspire to become hawks and eagles. Dizzily the face of the world goes altering, and we see trembling, so deep sticks the terror of tomorrow's revolution. O master! On the brink of chaos lies this earth.

میرے آقا! وہ جہاں زور ہونے کو ہے جس جہاں کا لفظ تیری سیادت پر مدار

Satan: Earth, sun and moon all realms of matter lie in the hollow of my palm. Let me once fever the blood of Europe's races and everyone will see a drama played out. When nature's hand has rent the seam no needle-working logic of communism will put the stitches back. I be afraid of Socialists? Street-bawlers, ragged things, tortured brains, tormented souls. No, I shall overpower them. If there is any monster in my path it lurks within Muslims in whose ashes still glow the embers of an infinite hope. Everyone knows well our enemy of tomorrow is not communism but it is Islam. I know the Muslim runs with the rest and make capitalism his creed. I am aware that in this dark night of the East there is no shining hand that Moses raised to the Pharaoh. Yet the hours conceal one peril. That somewhere the Prophet's faded path be rediscovered. That path which knows neither emperor nor roadside beggar; that cleanses wealth of every foulness, making the rich no more than stewards of their wealth. What mightier revolution could there be in thought or deed that it proclaims: "The soil of earth belongs to no monarch but only to God." It is better that

such enactments lie buried out of sight and mind. It is good that the believing Muslim himself has lost all faith. May daybreak never invade the obscure night of that God-meditating people whose creed might burst the spells of the finite world. Keep the Muslim stranger to the realm of action that on the chessboard of existence all his pieces forfeit. It is good if he lies down in slavery till the day of doom, relinquishing to the others what he calls a transient globe. Keep his eyes well-bandaged from the theatre of life. Yet with every breath I dread the Muslim's awakening whose religion's true behest is to hold watch and reckoning over all the universe. Keep his wits bemused only with thought and prayer and tighten around his soul the monkish bonds.

جاننا ہوں میں کہ مشرق کی اندھیری رات میں ہے یہ بیضا حیرانِ حرم کی آستیں
تم اسے بیگانہ رکھو عالمِ کردار سے تاباں زندگی میں اس کے سب مہرے ہوں مات
خیر اسی میں ہے قیامت تک رہے مومن غلام چھوڑ کر اوروں کی خاطر ی جہاں بے ثبات
مست رکھو ذکر و فکر صبح گاہی میں اسے پختہ تر کر دو مزاجِ خانقاہی میں اسے

One can see that Iqbal's Satan is not a Sufi's Satan. He is Western, cruel, cold blooded and cunning; protector of imperial, capitalist democratic order. He does not operate alone but accomplishes his task through a parliament of advisors. According to Bausani, Iqbal's Satan is five dimensional: First, he is cunning like Prometheus of the Greek mythology, who stole fire from heaven and was punished. Second, he is adversary of God reflecting Magian dualism of ancient Iran. Third, he is lover of God's Unity (following Rumi's version). Fourth, he is jealous of man (again following Rumi's version). And fifth, he assumes the form of a contemporary Western politician depending outwardly on diplomatic strategy but inwardly on deceit and

falsehood. (Iqbal's own contribution).

Iqbal's poem is interesting because it shows that Satan as the protector of the Western capitalist democratic powers. It predicts many events such as: the coming of the Second World War, eventual collapse of the Soviet Union at the hands of the West, the clash of civilizations, and fear of the Great Satan, of the emergence of Islam as the next enemy after communism. Finally the advice of Satan to his Counsellors in the world of Islam to keep the Muslim masses bemused with thought and prayer, to keep them stranger to the realm of action, to keep them lying down in slavery till the day of doom, to keep them contemplating of the comforts in the hereafter and in brief, to keep their eyes well-bandaged from the theatre of life in this world.

An additional interesting dimension of Iqbal's satanology not highlighted by analysts of his poetry and thought is that he extends his hand of friendship and invites Satan to cooperate with man. This unusual quatrain is engraved on his mausoleum facing the southern gate of the Royal Mosque at Lahore:

یا، تازو را شاهانه بازیم جهان چار سو را در گدازیم
با فسوں ہنر از برگ کاہش بہشت این سونے گردوں بسازیم

Come! Let us cooperate like comrades,
And lead a life of harmony;
Our mutual skills can transform,
This wretched planet,
Into a paradise under the skies;
If we together,
Disseminate justice, love and healing,
And banish jealousy, hatred, misery and war.

Notes and References

- ¹ The Mathnawi of Jalauddin Rumi translated by Reynold A. Nicholson, Vol. 11, pp. 356-366, Oxford University Press, 1926.
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IQBAL AND RUMI – A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Muhammad Iqbal and Maulana Rumi, as religious poets, have portrayed the spiritual aspirations of their respective ages through their poetry. Both fascinate their readers because the freshness of their message is unaffected by the passage of time. Both lived in eras of extraordinary turmoil, yet provided hope and comfort to the bewildered humanity.

The era of Rumi, the thirteenth century A.D., witnessed the collapse of the grand structure of civilization raised by Islam. This was an era of spiritual and cultural decay. The theologians had become ritualistic and had reduced the Quran to merely a treatise of dogmas. The Sufis had abandoned the Shariah, and under the influence of Buddhism and Vedantic philosophy, had adapted quietism, annihilation of the self and renunciation of the world. The jurists wasted their time in hair-splitting debates on mundane affairs and had relegated Islam to merely a legal system. The Ulema concerned themselves only with rational sciences and went all out for pedantic scholasticism. Heresies had broken out and many of the eminent Muslims had been struck down by the fraternity of the Assassins.

During this era Islam also confronted two of its most deadly enemies—the Crusader from the West, and the Mongol from the East. There was death and destruction everywhere.

Men of learning fled in panic from place to place seeking personal safety and security, but this turmoil did not reach Konya, which remained, an island of peace in a sea of turbulence.

The era of Iqbal, the last decade of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century, was likewise a turbulent era. The Ottoman Turkish empire was disintegrating. The Balkan war deprived Turkey of her European provinces. Muslims were being driven out from Eastern Europe. Egypt was under the heel of the British. France had seized Morocco. The Chinese and Central Asian Muslims had been absorbed into the Chinese Nationalist Empire and Tsarist Russia. Iran was collapsing. Afghanistan was controlled by the British. The Muslims of India had given up all hope of regaining their lost freedom. Under the British Raj they had been reduced to a 'large minority'. Italy had attacked Tripoli. The Russians had bombarded Meshad. Iraq was invaded and occupied by the British. Even Constantinople fell into the hands of the British. Syria was taken over by France and under the Treaty of Sevres attempts were made to partition Turkey.

On the other hand intellectual stagnation had made the Ulema backward-looking and they had ceased to be original and creative in their thinking. Decadent Sufism had killed the will to act, and the jurists had closed the gates of Ijtihad. Thus in the era of Iqbal initiative had been taken away from the hands of the Muslims who, generally speaking, lived in the past and were perpetually on the defensive.

There is a gap of eleven hundred years between Rumi and Iqbal, yet comparing the era of Maulana and that of his own, Iqbal has correctly pointed out that Rumi suppressed mischief in the past whereas he is suppressing mischief in the contemporary times.

Therefore, it can be said that what Rumi accomplished in the thirteenth century, Iqbal seeking inspiration from him, managed to achieve in the nineteenth/twentieth century.

Iqbal was familiar with Rumi's works since his student days. But initially he had accepted the traditional pantheistic

(Wajudi) interpretation of Rumi's thought. However, later on, with a deeper study, he realised that Rumi was not an exponent of an all-embracing pantheism, but an ardent advocate of passionate love between man and a highly personal God. It was at this stage that Rumi became, for Iqbal, the Leader of the Caravan of Lovers and he selected him as his Master and Guide.

In the realm of thought there are many similarities between them. Both lived in turbulent periods of Islamic history and reacted against their decadent environments in an iconoclastic manner. The concept of Ego, the central theme of Iqbal, can be traced back to the simple teachings of Rumi respecting the dignity of man and transcendence of God. Rumi attacked such Wajudi concepts as absorption and annihilation. Iqbal following him, went a step further and developed an elaborate system of fortification of human ego for the survival of human personality.

Rumi using the iron and fire anecdote, explains that only a momentary union of attributes can possibly take place between man and God, but never a real fusion, in the form of absorption. Therefore man always remains distinct from God. Iqbal contemplates the assimilation of God's attributes in man through the medium of love, like the transformation of a drop of water into a pearl in the lap of the sea, or the elevation of man to the status of a co-worker and co-creator with God for the construction of a better universe and a more perfect world order. Furthermore if Rumi believes in evolution, Iqbal too is an exponent of the philosophy of change and considers that the universe is in a constant state of becoming, being a continuous act of God. Thus according to him there is no end to the creative activity of man.

According to Rumi, reason emanates from Satan and Love from Adam. So he regards intellect as subservient to love. Iqbal is of the view that intuition (or Love) is a higher form of reason, and like his mentor, not only writes extensively in praise of love, but transforms it into a creative and dynamic force. Iqbal's concept of Satan as an assertive, dynamic and

active force in the evolution of man and universe is also an extension of the ideas of Rumi who is aware of the significance of evil in the intellectual, moral and spiritual progress of man.

Rumi and Iqbal are both free-willists and believe in the freedom of man. Both urge man to participate in the struggle of life by making innovative contributions through love to the realms of intellect, morality and the spirit of an evolving universe. Their message is relevant to the modern man because it is not concerned with the obsolete past or antiquated traditions. It is forward-looking and prepares man to be versatile, innovative and creative.

The dust collected from Iqbal's graves lies buried in the courtyard of the mausoleum of Maulana in the form of a symbolic grave of the disciple. Iqbal, the dreamer of a separate Muslim state in the subcontinent, and the spiritual father of Pakistan was admittedly inspired of Rumi. Therefore, even though Pakistan is geographically situated in South Asia, its roots lie in Konya.

IQBAL AND RUMI

Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) and Jalaluddin Rumi (1207-1273) were both religious poets who communicated the spiritual aspirations of their respective ages through the vehicle of poetry. It is, therefore, difficult to comprehend fully the significance of their great poems without knowing the cultural history of Islam.

Both were not poets in the generally accepted sense of the term, but since they carried a prophetic burden, they were gifted with the necessity of utterance. The message they were called upon to deliver was pressed like lead upon their souls, and although the process of telling was an agony, they were inwardly compelled to tell it. Such poets-prophets may belong to a more remote or a more recent period of history, nevertheless they exert perpetual fascination over others because the freshness of their message is unaffected by serial time.

There is poetry and higher poetry. Poetry as a mode of emotional expression, may be vigorous or strong while being quite indifferent to religion. But poetry cannot remain sundered from religious consciousness if it is to achieve a higher level of expression. Consequently the bond between poetry and religion is not accidental. Religion is a power as ancient as human consciousness, and if philosophy, which has been universally acknowledged as the parent of the sciences, is regarded as the child of religion, there is no reason why poetry, which in its higher form, is more

philosophical than philosophy itself, should not be considered as the child of religion.”

There has always existed a mysterious link between great problems and great poems. The conflict between the real and the ideal, or between the experiences of men and the spiritual aspirations of an age, has laid the foundations of the greatest poems in world literature. Poets as sensitive personalities usually react against their environments and make others emotionally conscious of human problems whereas a poet-prophet not only reacts, but through the motivating spiritual force within him, provides solutions of the problems. Hence his message is always full of hope and gives solace to ailing humanity at all times.

Rumi is acknowledged as the poet-prophet of the thirteenth century of the Christian era when the grand structure raised by Islam was tottering. Islam produced a civilization at once refined and forward-looking at a time when Europe was sunk in darkness. But “by the thirteenth century, the successors of the pioneers proved unequal to the task of preserving the great legacy. The theologians ceased to consider the Quran as a complete code of life and had reduced it to merely a treatise on dogmas by laying emphasis on formalism and ritualistic aspect of Islam. The Sufis, under the spell of Neo-Platonism, Hindu Vedantic philosophy, Buddhism as well as Manichaeism, had abandoned observance of *Sunnah* or *Shariah*, and stood for renunciation of the world, quietism and annihilation of the self. The Jurists in order to resolve the worldly matters were involved in hairsplitting debates and had relegated Islam to a mere system of laws. The *Ulema*, not realizing the limitations of human intellect, concerned themselves exclusively with rational sciences and went all out for pedantic scholasticism. Heresies had “broken out and some of the eminent Muslim leaders were struck down by the deadly fraternity of the Assassins. Islam had ceased to be meaningful for the bewildered Muslim masses and the Muslim society represented a decadent social order devoid of dynamism as well as incapable of growth or effective resistance against the forces of disintegration.

This was also the era when Islam confronted two of its most dangerous enemies, — the Crusader from the West and the Mongol from the East. The Crusades had started in the eleventh century and continued until the end of the thirteenth. The object of these wars was to snatch away Palestine from the hands of Muslims, but they were waged everywhere except in Palestine. If the Christian West was determined to wipe out Islam from the face of the earth, the Mongol was a far more formidable foe in causing destruction and havoc in the Muslim territories. The great cities of Balkh, Bukhara, Samarkand, Nishapur, Herat and Merv were razed to the ground by the Mongol hordes. The sack of Baghdad in 1258 had struck a fateful blow at the semblance of politico-cultural unity which had hitherto subsisted among Muslim peoples. Men of learning fled from place to place seeking personal safety and social security in a period of consistent political stress. In short, the era of Rumi was an era of extraordinary turmoil, although fortunately this turmoil had not succeeded in reaching Konya which remained an island of peace in a vast sea of turbulence.

The last decade of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, the era of Iqbal was also a turbulent era. The glory of Islam was fast becoming a matter of past history. The Ottoman Turkish empire was in the process of breaking up. Muslims were being driven out from Eastern Europe. Egypt was controlled by the British. France had seized Morocco. The Chinese and Central Asian Islam had already been absorbed into the Chinese Nationalist empire and Tsarist Russia. Iran was collapsing. The foreign affairs of Afghanistan were managed by the British. The Muslims of the Indian subcontinent had given up all hope of regaining their lost freedom since 1857. Under the British rule they had been reduced to a minority. Italy attacked Tripoli. The Balkan war deprived Turkey of her European provinces. Russia bombarded Meshad. Iraq was invaded and occupied by the British and their troops entered Jerusalem. The British managed to capture Constantinople, Syria was taken over by

France and under the Treaty of Sevres attempts were made to partition Turkey. The reverses which Islam had faced during this period were not only military or political, but the infiltration of Western ideas and concepts, like a subtle poison, was eating deep into the Sinews of Muslim polity and weakening the fabric of Islam. Intellectual stagnation had made the *Ulema* backward-looking, and they had ceased to be original. Decadent Sufism had killed the will to act among Muslims and the jurists had closed the gates of *Ijtihad*. Thus, in the era of Iqbal initiative had been taken away from the hands of Islam, which like an old man, lived in the past and was perpetually on the defensive.

Comparing the era of Rumi with that of his own, Iqbal has correctly pointed out that Rumi suppressed mischief in the past whereas he is suppressing it in contemporary times.

بہ دورِ قنتہِ عمرِ کس او بہ دورِ قنتہِ عمرِ رواں من

The mischief to which Iqbal refers was essentially intellectual, moral and spiritual and had resulted from the growth of a perverse type of materialism. It can, therefore, be said that what Rumi accomplished in the thirteenth century, Iqbal seeking inspiration from him, managed to achieve in the nineteenth/ twentieth century.

Iqbal was well acquainted with the modes of Eastern and Western thought. In the course of development of his own ideas, he had examined, tested, accepted or rejected numerous viewpoints. The question arises: While passing through a maze of philosophical traditions, why did he select Rumi as his master and guide? Iqbal was familiar with Rumi since his student days, but it appears that initially he accepted the traditional pantheistic interpretation of the thought of Rumi. However, after his return from Europe, Iqbal realized that pantheism was only one aspect of Rumi's thought, and he started to reveal him, no longer as an exponent of all-embracing pantheism, but an ardent advocate of passionate love between man and a highly personal God. Thus, Rumi became for Iqbal, the leader of the caravan of Love.

In the realm of thought there is much that they shared in common. Therefore, the similarities between them are many. Both of them lived in turbulent periods of Islamic history and had reacted against their environments in an iconoclastic manner. The concept of 'Ego', the central theme of Iqbal, which assumes a highly developed form in his thought, can be traced back to the teachings of Rumi respecting the dignity of man and transcendence of God. Rumi disapproved of such Sufi conceptions as renunciation and absorption, by illustrating his viewpoint in his characteristic style, through the use of iron and fire anecdote. When iron is thrown into fire, its colour takes the colour of fire and iron cries: 'I am fire. You can touch me and feel that I am really fire.' But that only means a union of attributes and not a real fusion, because iron remains materially and factually iron, although it has temporarily taken the heat and colour of fire. Following Rumi, Iqbal developed an elaborate concept of fortification and survival of human personality, not by absorption of man into God or a drop into the sea, but by passing the qualities or attributes of God into the loving embrace of man and thereby evolving a drop of water into a pearl and thus making man a co-worker and co-creator with God for the construction of a better universe and a more perfect world order. Further, Rumi was an exponent of the philosophy of change and evolution in the history of Islamic culture. Iqbal likewise regarded the universe in a constant state of becoming as it was a continuous act of God and he preached that there is no end to the creative and inventive activity of man as he always marches onward to receive ever fresh illumination from God.

Rumi considered intellect as subservient to love, and love was the only reliable mode of acquiring knowledge. His poetic dictum is that Reason is from Satan and Love from Adam. Iqbal regards intuition as a higher form of reason, and like his master, not only wrote extensively in praise of Love, but transformed it into a creative and dynamic force. Rumi was aware of the positive value of evil in the intellectual,

moral and spiritual progress of man. Iqbal's concept of Satan as an assertive, dynamic and constantly active power in the evolution of life as well as universe, is a prolongation of the ideas of Rumi. Rumi was a freewillist and believed in the freedom of man. He ridiculed the determinists in his characteristic manner by pointing out that even a dog had resolved the problem. When a person throws a stone at a dog, although the hurt is caused by the stone, the dog, instead of biting the stone, about whom he is aware that its action is determined, he runs for biting the thrower of the stone, because the dog knows that he is free. Iqbal too, like Rumi, is a freewillist and regards man as free. According to Iqbal the desires and aspirations of man, his pains and pleasures, hates and loves, judgments and resolutions are exclusively his and even God cannot feel, judge or choose for him when more than one courses of action are open to him.

To sum up, Rumi and Iqbal both give a message of hope to humanity, and urge man to participate in the struggle of life by making original contribution through love to the spheres of intellect, morality and spirit of an evolving universe, which is constantly in a state of unfolding itself. Their message has a great significance for the modern man, because it is not concerned with the static past or the discarded old, but it is forward-looking and prepares man to confront and cope with the absolutely new.

DEVIL IN THE TRIANGLE OF RUMI, GOETHE AND IQBAL

The problem of evil has baffled many thinkers. Evil is not mere darkness that vanishes when light arrives. In other words, evil does not have a negative existence. This darkness has as positive an existence as light. The problem is how to account for evil in a world created by an all-good God? Rumi's answer is that the existence of evil is necessary for the fulfilment of the divine plan. Goethe thinks that evil is the reverse of good. Without evil, it would not be possible to identify good. Iqbal is of the view that the running parallel lines of good and evil meet in infinity. He points out in one of his quatrains:

*How way I describe good & evil?
The problem is complex, the tongue falters.
Upon the bough you see flowers and thorns.
Inside it there is neither flower nor thorn.*

(Payam i Mashriq)

Rumi's long poem titled "Mu'awiyah & Iblis", Goethe's Faust and Iqbal's verses dedicated to Satan can be considered as great diabolical apologies in the world literature. The three poets blend the "classical" with the "romantic", and despite the gaps in the times of their lives, their ideas on the role of evil in the spiritual and material development of man are similar.

In Iqbal's poetic vision, Rumi and Goethe meet in paradise. Goethe reads out to him the tale of the pact between the Doctor and the Devil, and Rumi pays tribute to him in these words:

O portrayer of the inmost soul
Of poetry, whose efforts goal
Is to trap an angel in his net
And to hunt even God.

You from sharp observations know,
How in their shell pearls form & grow,
All this you know, but there is more.
Not all can learn love's secret lore,

Not all can enter its high shrine,
One only knows by grace divine,
That reason is from the Devil,
While love is from Adam.

(“Jalal and Goethe”—*Payam i Mashriq*)

When Goethe became acquainted with Rumi's *Mathnavi* through German translations, he found it too complicated and confusing as he initially failed to fathom the depths of Rumi's thought. Iqbal had an identical experience of lack of comprehension and in his early stage of life mistakenly believed that Rumi was a pantheistic Sufi.

In the revealed scriptures, evil is connected with the story of the creation of Adam or, in Rumi's words, when man in the process of evolution had passed through the stages of plant & animal life and arrived at the stage from where he was to develop into superior forms of life.

When God informed the angels that he was about to place Adam on Earth in His stead, and that Adam would be granted freedom of choice, they expressed apprehensions that Adam would do ill therein. But God admonished them that they knew not what He knew. Since disobedience of Adam by partaking the forbidden fruit was his first act in exercise of freedom of choice, he had to choose between good and that which is reverse of it. Therefore it was necessary to introduce

evil by deputing a “tempter” to mislead Adam before he was to exercise the freedom. It is probably in this background that Iqbal is prompted in one of his verses to blame God for conspiring with Satan against man. He wonders suspiciously:

*How could he (Satan) have the courage to
refuse on the day of creation?
Who knows whether he is your confidant or mine?*

(*Bal i Jibri!*)

Goethe's view of evil is Pelagian when he claims that evil is merely the reverse of good. The forces, good and evil, apparently working in opposite directions, in fact work in cooperation in order to carry out the divine plan. The action and reaction of good and evil or the succumbing before temptation and the resulting remorse in the course of conflict between the Devil and man, according to Goethe, brings out the best in man.

Iqbal supplements Goethe when he affirms “evil has an educative value of its own. Virtuous people are usually very stupid”. (*Stray Reflections*)

He says:

I asked a sage: “What is life”?

He replied: “It is wine whose bitterness is the best.”

I said: “They have put evil in its raw nature.”

He answered: “Its good is in this very evil.”

(*Payam i Mashriq*)

While the positive existence of evil is acknowledged by Rumi, Goethe and Iqbal, the nature of evil can only be poetically illustrated through a reference to the Devil. Therefore, *Iblis* in Rumi, Mephisto in Goethe and *Shaytan* in Iqbal represent different aspects of the same “cobweb” personality.

Rumi's *Iblis* wakes up Mu'awiyah at dawn reminding him to offer the morning prayers before the time runs out. A dialogue ensues, in the course of which *Iblis* tries to convince Mu'awiyah that he adores God. It was the hand of God's bounty that sowed his seed and brought him into being from nothingness. God procured milk during his infancy. God

rocked his cradle. Therefore God's wrath is only temporary like a mother's anger. The doors of His grace are not permanently shut on anyone.

"My refusal to bow before Adam", Iblis argues, "did not amount to disobedience of God's command. On the contrary, it resulted from my extreme love of God. Has he not himself commanded 'do not bow before any other except Me'?" This forehead which has always bowed only before God cannot bow before anyone else even at His bidding."

Iblis contends, "This was a game between lover and beloved. He commanded me to play and I played the predetermined hand of lover. Thus I did what I was destined to do and was made to accept His wrath. But I still remain His companion, friend and comrade."

Iblis advances the argument that although virtue and vice are opposed to each other, their operation is complementary. He asks: "How can I be held responsible for transforming good into evil. I am not the Creator. The Creator makes man good or bad. I am only expected to hold a mirror through which virtuous and vicious can see their faces and identify themselves." According to Iblis's reasoning evil circulates in every drop of human blood and yet man blames Iblis for his own frailties.

Rumi's Iblis is equipped only with reason, like a snake who attacks with his head. None can controvert his arguments, and no one can get out of his snare except through divine grace. However Mu'awiyah is not persuaded by Iblis' articulate apology. He finds it deceitful and consisting of a pack of lies. When Iblis sarcastically claims that man is incapable of distinguishing between truth & falsehood, Rumi steps in and points out that falsehood always agitates the heart whereas truth provides solace and satisfaction.

Eventually Mu'awiyah overpowers Iblis who confesses that he woke up Mu'awiyah because had he missed the morning prayers his remorse would have earned him more grace. Iblis remains a liar until the end when he defends his

act as based on envy, i.e. as a lover of God he is envious of man.

Rumi's portrayal of Iblis depicts him as a lover of God. But a heartless being is incapable of loving, and here lies his deceit. Therefore when Iblis claims that all envy arises from love, for fear lest another becomes the chosen of the beloved, he is lying. In fact Rumi's Iblis is nothing but reason (*'aql*), the reverse of love (*'ishq*). According to him, Adam lapsed because of his stomach and sexual passion whereas Iblis was accursed because of pride and ambition engendered in him by reason. Rumi also shows to us that Iblis not only instigates man to commit sin, he sometimes persuades man to perform a virtuous act in order to deprive him from earning a higher reward.

In Goethe's Faust the role of Mephisto is not that which is usually attributed to the Devil. He represents a spirit of nihilism, negation and contradictions, which is inimical to all life and higher forms of existence. Goethe first takes up the conflict of good and evil on a subjective plane and thereafter at the cosmic level. It is only when Faust rejects all pretensions of knowledge that Mephisto appears at Faust's own craving. The events that follow take the reader through the problems of human innocence, suffering, love, hate, desire, appetite and sin. It is the unique quality of Goethe's genius that he picked up an ordinary legend and filled it with the experiences of the entire human race. According to Goethe, evil is a stepping-stone to virtue in a mysterious way, and this is conveyed through the words of Mephisto in Faust:

Part of that power, not understood.

Which always wills the Bad,

And always promotes the Good.

The pact that Mephisto made with Faust was to dissuade him from striving in life. He offered Faust all forbidden worldly pleasures that Faust readily accepted but his nature did not change. He was only temporarily lulled to sleep. According to Goethe it is in the nature of man to move from lower to ever higher plane and from there to still higher planes, and it is only by constant striving that man can carve

out his destiny. Faust went on striving. Without regard to good and evil as, in the eyes of Goethe, to strive is an act of willing and an act of willing does not fall in the realm of freedom, but to that of nature. Mephisto used all his devices to lure Faust into accepting conditions which were not conducive to the fulfilment of the divine plan. It was not only striving for a virtuous life that ultimately won Faust the divine grace. But it were fear and hope which elevated him to forgiveness. He was delivered in the end and God's faith in man was vindicated. Mephisto did not succeed in dragging Faust down to nihilistic depths of hell.

Thus restless activity in the nature of Faust did not hinder him in any manner even to wager his soul to the Devil:

*To bear the woe of earth & all its joys,
To tussle, struggle, scuffle with its storms.
And not fearful in the crash of shipwreck.*

In Goethe's words, God himself has provided an explanation for the creation of the Devil. In the "Prologue in Heaven" He declares:

*Of all the spirits that deny,
The Rogue (Devil) is to me least burdensome,
Man's activity too easily run slack,
He loves to sink into unlimited repose
And so I am glad to give him,
A companion like the Devil, who excites.
And works and goads him on to create.*

On the other hand, when the Devil confronts God in the "Prologue in Heaven", he complains that Adam is not his match, but is only a "long-legged grasshopper." Mephisto sarcastically affirms:

*My Lord! I find things there (on earth).
Still bad as they can be,
Man's misery even to pity moves my nature,
I've scarce the heart to plague the wretched creature.*

.....

*When a corpse approaches, close my house.
It goes with me as with the cat the mouse.*

It is interesting to note that Goethe refrained from describing the nature of God. Faust only explains that He is All-embracing and All-preserving and therefore cannot be named. Faust says:

*Call it Bliss! Heart! Love! God!,
I have no name thereof, feeling is everything,
The name is sound & smoke, only to obscure celestial fire*

When Eckermann asked Goethe about the nature of relationship of the Divine with the Demonic and the incompatibly of one with the other, he answered:

"Dear boy! What do we know of the idea of the Divine, and what can our narrow conceptions presume to tell of the Supreme Being? If I call him by a hundred names, like a Turk (Muslim), I should yet fall short & have said nothing in comparison to the boundlessness of his attributes."

Iqbal was profoundly influenced by Rumi who is his spiritual guide. On the other hand he was also a great admirer of Goethe. Yet Goethe's spirit, like the Urdu poet Ghalib's, is that of a poet, whereas Iqbal's spirit, following in the footsteps of Rumi, is more of a prophetic nature.

Iqbal is acknowledged as the poet of "Khudi" (Self/Ego). "Khudi" has many dimensions and forms. Therefore, Iqbal's Satan is one of the forms of "Khudi". Since Iqbal believed in the greatness of human ego and was a poet of action, he could not resist being attracted by the dynamic personality of the Devil.

Iqbalian Satan is a gigantic five dimensional figure. His *first dimension* is that no one can surpass his deceit, cunning, remarkable planning and constant striving for the realization of his objective. He is not evil incarnate. His self-confidence, determination, pride and ambition are the qualities that make him a model of self-hood (Khudi).

Like Rumi and Goethe, Iqbal believes in restless & feverish activity for attaining the goal. The goal itself has no significance to Iqbal. It is the striving for the goal, the energy for tireless effort, and the strength to always continue to remain a wayfarer that matters. Life is a chase after a goal, which must go on changing. Iqbal says:

*In a spark I crave a star.
And in a star a sun.
My journey has no bourn,
Noplace of halting, it is death forme to linger.*

In the same strain there is another verse:

*When my eye comes to rest on the loveliness of a beauty.
My heart at that moment yearns for a beauty lovelier still.*

Iqbal, like Rumi and Goethe, believes that evil is necessary for the development of man. Had there been no evil, there would have been no conflict, no struggle and no striving. Therefore, Iqbal emphasizes:

*Waste not your life in a world devoid of taste,
Which contains God but not the Devil.*

(*Payam i Mashriq*)

Iqbal does not want man to get involved in the controversy of virtue & vice or good and evil, but must only concentrate on striving for better destinations. Life which leads to paradise is a life of passivity, inactivity and of eternal death.

The *second dimension* of Iqbal's Devil is his cheeky confrontation with God. Addressing God, he claims that he is no less than Him:

*You bring stars into being,
I make them revolve,
The motion in your immobile
Universe is as I breathe my spirit into it.
You only put soul in the body
But the warmth of tumultuous activity
In life is from me.
You show the way to eternal rest,
I direct towards feverish activity and constant striving.
Man who is short-sighted, clueless and ignorant,
Takes birth in your lap
Attains maturity only in my care.*

The *third dimension* of Iqbal's Devil is that he is the first lover (of God's Unity). He unhesitatingly accepted God's wrath and separation by his disobedience. But even in the state of negation he fulfilled the inner will of God. While introducing Iqbal to Satan in

Javid Namah, the crucified Sufi Mansur Hallaj says:

*Since Satan is the first lover,
Preceding all others,
Adam is not familiar with his secrets.
Tear off the garb of imitation,
So that you may learn the lesson
Of "Tawid" (God's Unity) from him.*

The *fourth dimension* of Satan that fascinated Iqbal is his pride and rivalry with his adversary, man. Here Iqbal follows Rumi by affirming that satanic reason is the basis of the Devil's entire activity. Therefore, Iqbal says:

*If reason remains under the command of heart, it is Godly.
If it releases itself, it is Satanic.*

Iqbal's Satan mocks at Gabriel's cloistered piety and declares proudly:

*In man's pinch of dust my daring spirit
Has breathed ambition.
The Warp and Woof of mind and reason.
Are woven of my sedition.
The deeps of good & evil you only see from land's verge,
Which of us it is, you or I, that dares tempest's scourge?
Ask this of God, when next you stand alone within his sight,
Whose blood is it has painted Man's long history so bright?
In the heart of Almighty like a pricking thorn I live
You only cry forever God, Oh God, Oh God, most high!*

Iqbal's Devil like Goethe's shows his disgust for the weakness of his rival. His Satan's complaint to God in *Javid Namah* sounds very much like that of Mephisto:

*O Lord of good & bad! Man's company
And commerce has degraded me. Not once
My bidding dares he to deny; his "self"
He realizes not. And never feels
His dust the thrill of disobedience.
His nature is effeminate
And feeble his resolve, he lacks the strength
To stand a single stroke of mine.
A riper rival I deserve. Reclaim
From me this game of chaff and dust.
For pranks and impish play*

Suit not an aged one.

Confront me with a single real man

May I perchance gain bliss in my defeat!

The *fifth dimension* of Iqbalian Devil is political i.e., how he, on national and international planes, carves out earthly devils in the form of political leaders who through their strategies lead to war, disease, misery and destruction of mankind. In his poem, "Satan's Parliament" (*Armaghan i Hijaz*) Iqbal's Devil prophesises that since he himself is the founder and protector of capitalism, he is not afraid of the communist revolution of tomorrow.

But Iqbal's Devil is as miserable as man in this world full of complexities. In one of his quatrains Iqbal says:

From me convey the message to Iblis,

How long he intends to flutter,

Twist and scuffle under its net?

I have never been happy with this world.

Its morning is nothing but a prelude of the evening.

On another occasion Iqbal entreats the Devil for cooperation. If divine help is not forthcoming, why not ask the Devil:

Come! Let us cooperate and lead the life of harmony.

Our mutual skills can transform

This wretched planet into a paradise

Under the skies, if we together

Disseminate love and healing,

And banish jealousy, hatred, disease & misery.

To sum up, good without evil amounts to the passivity of paradisaal rest. Therefore it is disapproved by the three poets as against the divine plan. Man's destiny lies in constant creative activity. Iqbal is categorical when he asserts:

When act performed is creative,

It's virtuous, even if sinful.

The crux of the message of the three poets is that the creation of Adam is not a wasteful effort. It must be clearly understood that under the divine plan man is still in the state of becoming. Rumi says man has taken millions and millions of centuries to evolve, from insect to plant, from plant to

animal, and from animal to man. The evolution continues and through man's ceaseless efforts he is bound to cross higher stages of life and presumably go beyond angels. Goethe also lays emphasis on the achievement of higher forms of life by man. Iqbal through the constant strengthening of "ego" expects man to become a co-worker or rather a counsellor of the Divine Being in creating a more perfect universe. He hints that man would perhaps eventually democratize the arbitrary divine system, so much so that if a destiny is to be changed, action would be taken by God in consultation with and according to the will of man.

However, this indeed would be the man of distant tomorrow, the aspiration of the triangular poets, who, with the assistance of the Devil, could go beyond good and evil. But he justifiably cannot be found today, as Rumi in his famous quatrain asserts:

An old man carrying a lamp,

Was seen wandering in the streets.

When asked: "What are you looking for?"

Replied: "I am sick and tired of the beasts,

And look for a real man."

I said: "You can't find him

Our search was in vain."

"This is what I look for" he said,

"That which can't be found."

IQBAL AND NIETZSCHE

Iqbal's name has more than once been closed in brackets with that of Nietzsche for the superficial resemblance in their moral philosophies. Iqbal's conception of Perfect Man has often been confounded with the German thinker's superman, and his stress on 'conflict' as a necessity in life has been wrongly identified with Nietzsche's 'acquisition of Power.'

There is no denying of the fact that Iqbal was influenced by Nietzsche but he, in no way, was a counterpart of the Hermit of Silsmarne. 'Conflict' as a necessity in life, for Iqbal, had an ethical significance. It had nothing to do with Nietzsche's doctrine of 'acquisition of Power.' As he himself write defending his point of view: "According to my belief Reality is a collection of individualities tending to become a harmonious whole through conflict which must inevitably lead to neutral adjustment. This conflict is a necessity in the interest of the evolution of higher forms of life, and of personal Immortality."

Nietzsche had no belief in Personal Immortality. His 'conflict', therefore, is a mere biological necessity and involves, not ethical, but racial or political interests.

For Iqbal there is a gradually rising note of egohood in the entire universe, to which Mind and Matter contribute collectively. What is the essence of Matter? Modern Physics denies Matter as inert. The definition of Matter, therefore, cannot be considered in terms of 'things' – on the contrary,

the atom of material-energy has taken thousands of years of evolution to achieve its present forms and still it continues to remain unstable and can be made to vanish. Hence there is no vital difference in Mind and Matter, except that Matter, as Iqbal holds, is a combination of sub-egos through which Mind emerges. "Reality" says Iqbal, "is one infinite life. It is a self-directing, self-conscious energy, continuously active. Energy act of it is itself life which in its turn is a self-directing energy. Looked at from outside these acts are spatial things and events. Some of the acts in the course of development have been self-conscious. These are I and You."

That what is true of the atom of material-energy is also true of the atom of mind-energy, because human personality has taken ions of incessant effort and conflict to achieve its present form. This chemical struggle between the electro-positive, and electro-negative components is still active, and the instability of the atom of mind-energy is clear from the diverse phenomena of mental pathology. "If it has to continue intact" says Iqbal, "it cannot ignore the lessons learnt from its past career, and will require the same or similar forces to maintain its stability which it has availed of before. I am afraid" he continues, "mankind will not, for a very long time to come, learn the lesson that the great European war has taught them. Thus it is clear that my purpose is recognizing the need of conflict is mainly ethical."

Nietzsche's 'ruthless optimism' was the result of Schopenhauer's doctrine of renunciation and the omnipotence of Will – quite similar to the environment in which Iqbal found himself when the decadent mysticism had completely deteriorated the inner life of the average man around him. Nietzsche felt that Christianity hindered in the achievement of his moral ideal, because it taught submission to the Will of God, neglecting the significance of a universe external to man. Iqbal, on the other hand, was intensely religious, for Islam, he maintained, recognizes "the contact of the ideal with the real, says 'yes' to the world of matter and

point the way to master it with a view to discover a basis for a realistic regulation of life.”

The moral qualities that Nietzsche admires only become an aristocratic, highly intellectual and tyrannized minority. The ordinary human beings – ‘the bungled and the botched’, as he calls them, ought only to be loyal and sincere, having no claim for individual happiness or well being and seeing no harm in their suffering if it is required for the extraction of a great man.

It is wrong, according to Nietzsche, to aim at the victory of Good and the annihilation of Evil. The true virtue is only in an isolated possession of the higher man who should be the master over the lesser men. Higher man is the incarnate will to power. Lesser man ought only to be sincere and look up to him, for their sincerity depends on loyalty to the test they can perceive above themselves.

By ‘Will’ Nietzsche means an infinite capacity to endure as well as to inflict immense pain for vital ends. “I test” he says, “the power of a will according to the amount of pain and torture it can endure and know him to turn to its own advantage.”

His purpose is to obtain that enormous amount of power if greatness which can model the future man by means of rigid discipline and annihilation of millions of the bungled and the botched. For him the misery of a whole nation is of less importance as compared to suffering of a single great individual. “The misfortunes” he says, “of these small folk do not together constitute a sum-total, except in the feelings of mighty man.”

Nietzsche’s superman is biologically superior, for the process of evolution, according to him, tends to elevate man from barbarism to aristocracy. But his conception of aristocracy can only be interpreted in terms of a higher form of barbarism, as his super man is expected to have more strength of will, more courage, more ambition for power and less gentleness, less fear.

Justice, in Nietzsche’s contest, is all that strengthens the power in man. It is, in other words, the power of the ruler over ‘the bungled and the botched.’ It was to achieve this ideal of justice that Nietzsche found it necessary to attack Christian morality, which, he maintained, lays stress on virtues having no survival value. These virtues like submission, humility and kindness have stolen, as he held, initiative from man. The entire spirit of Christian ethics implies fear from one’s neighbour. Thus Christianity has retarded man’s progress for centuries. The man’s true function is to achieve power, therefore all that conduces to power is good and all that is rotten and hollower; the rolling, rumbling, primitive demolisher of whitened sepulchers, the flashing interrogative sign besides premature answers.

Darwin has believed that in the evolution of species the strongest survives. Nietzsche took the materialistic theory of Darwin as a ‘Geometric given’, but as he was primarily a philosopher, he added his moralization to the statement, that the strongest ought to survive, when he is to achieve, enhance and to retain power by all possible means. Thus followed the necessity of war, in Nietzsche’s ethical scheme, as an alchemy of life. It is through the process of war, or rather through series of war that the super-man would emerge from ‘the bungled and the botched.’ “What is the ape to man?” says Nietzsche, “A laughing stock and a thing of shame.” So shall be the man to the superman.

Life, for Iqbal too is essential, original, spontaneous, vital and constantly in the state of ‘becoming.’ There is therefore, no end to action. His man also is required to possess strength, courage and will to fulfil the felicitous function of the ‘necessary dynamic’ in him. But his end is not merely acquisition of Power. It is to achieve egoism and thereby immortality. Further, Iqbal’s Perfect Man is not a callous fiend deriving sadistic pleasure through cruelty and emerging out of a slaughter of generations. He is the average man who fortifies his ego by a self-imposed physical and spiritual discipline, and thereby rises above his present state creating a

new world infinitely rich in meanings and possibilities. "The ultimate aim of the ego" says Iqbal, "is not to see something but to be something that he discovers his final opportunity to sharpen his activity and require a more fundamental 'I am'—"

Iqbal's ethical criterion, therefore, is self. Self, as he conceives it, is not a corridor through which isolated psychic states pass, neither it is the multiplicity of the point of their contact, nor an exploration of the intervals between the arrival and departure of such states. It is, in fact, an underlying permanent unity, cementing the changing states as a whole. Hence it is active, cognitive and constantly desiring. It is, according to Iqbal, free, creative and immortal. Everything that helps its participation is good and everything that weakens it is bad.

Universe, as Iqbal finds it, is not a block universe, immobile or incapable of change. It is an ever growing universe – new and fresh, for God as Ultimate Ego keeps on adding more and still more into it. Thus in the process of progressive change God and Man, according to Iqbal, become co-workers. Man with all his failings is superior to nature because he has personality and the capability to fortify it. He, as a creative activity, in his ceaseless quest, after new scopes of self expression, outgrows time, space and causality, and in his onward march, goes on ascending from the state of being to another, unhampered by series of incidental death, till he achieves his goal of immortality in the all-embracing ego. This by no means implied submergence. Iqbal's Man and God are highly dynamic personalities, distinct from each other and yet together. "My feelings, hates and loves, judgement and resolutions" says Iqbal, "are exclusively mine. God himself cannot feel, judge and choose for me when more than one course of action are open to me." Thus there is no possibility of submergence of the finite self into the Infinite Self. On the contrary, God holds the finite egos in His own Self without obliterating their existence. The 'infiniteness' of Ultimate Ego, Iqbal maintains, does not lie extensity but in intensity. Therefore, it is possible for a candle

to retain its separate existence in presence of the sun, so can finitude retain its distinctness in presence of the Infinite. "The end of ego's quest" says Iqbal, "is not the emancipation from the limitation of individuality, but a more precise definition of it."

Nietzsche had no conception of Immortality because he accepted Time as objective and never cared to ponder on its subjective implications. To those who desire Immortality he ruthlessly says: "Do you wish to be a perpetual burden on the shoulders of Time?" He believes in the cyclic movement of Universe in which things recur eternally – when completion is achieved the process begins anew. "Everything" says Nietzsche, "has returned; Sirius and the Spider, and thy thoughts at this moment, and this last thought of thine that everything will return. Fellow man, your whole life, like a sand-glass, will always be renewed and will ever run out again." In an endless circular process of Time, according to Nietzsche, the evolution of Man will achieve its completion in the superman, and when one cycle has been completed, everything would be repeated all over again.

Nietzsche himself explains his doctrine – of infinite series of events recurring over and over again in the circular movement of Time grasped as 'periodic' – not as a doctrine of Immortality but rather as a view of life that would make Immortality endurable. "Such a doctrine" says Iqbal, "is far from keeping up human organism for the fight of life, tends to destroy its active tendencies and relaxes the tension of ego."

The inevitable bond of biological necessity and repetition of events ultimately dragged Nietzsche into a lamentable contradiction. The moralist in him craved for freedom but the materialist in him felt entangled in an – eternally recurring mechanism. He saw with his own eyes, his mighty superman – that incarnate will to power, trapped in a wheel of ever revolving incident. "This eternal repetition", says Iqbal, "is not eternal becoming, it is the same old idea of 'being' masquerading as 'becoming'."

Time, Iqbal maintains, when objectively considered, is relative to various grade of beings. But for the inner self it does not have an atomic character. It is durational succession one and whole, and there is no liability of repetition of events. Iqbal's Perfect Man is, thus, free and aspires only for what is new, whereas the absolutely new is utterly unthinkable in Nietzsche's view.

Iqbal's Perfect Man unlike Nietzsche's superman, as it is apparent, is not a master over lesser man. He is, in essence, a spiritual being realizing himself in Space and Time, and can be apprehended as a living force, possessing rights and duties in the Social organism to which he belongs. Here Iqbal supplements with Individual Ego his doctrine of Collective Ego, conceiving thereby a community of individuals as a tangible whole embracing parts. The whole, according to him, is represented in each individual, as the community in order to be a whole must have individuals as parts. This doctrine had a profound influence on the development of his political ideology. He applied his universal ethics, as it has often been remarked, to a particular and exclusive society – a society which should have a well defined creed and a capacity to enlarge its limits by example and persuasion. "Such a society" he said, "according to my belief is Islam. This society has so far proved itself a more successful opponent of the race-idea which is probably the hardest barred in the way of the humanitarian ideal."

Thus from Individual Ego he passed on to Collective Ego and from Collective Ego to hierarchies of Collective Ego realizing themselves separately within All-embracing Ultimate Ego. Hence he conceived of what may be termed as Ethical Nationalism. This Ethical Nationalism, as he held, is necessary nationalism, whereas geographical nationalism is contingent to it. Now he turned exclusively to the Muslim India, and aimed at knitting together the stray outbursts of the national feelings within his community by flunging his ideal of ethical nationalism into what was previously but a welter of Indian constitutional utopias. He condemned

democracy because it failed to work among peoples who were not ethically and therefore neither culturally nor psychologically homogeneous. "Is it possible for you" he addressed the muslimans, "to achieve the organic wholeness of a unified will? Yes, it is... Rise above sectional interests and private ambitions, and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective actions, however, directed on material ends, in the light of the ideal which you are supposed to represent."


He gave its community a new hope, a new aspiration – till that collective consciousness came to them. There emerged a new state and an independent states of a people's collective ego was thus secured.

Nietzsche's political philosophy, as it is clear from his individualist ethics presented a notion of biological or racial superiority. His super-heroic stuff culminated finally into the neurosis of fascism. His principles such as 'never spare the neighbour' and 'the strongest ought to survive' goaded the upholders of his views to a career of aggression, and with a transitory glitter of conquest, everything faded away into a miserable nothingness.


To sum up, the fact cannot be denied that Iqbal and Nietzsche both pointed towards one of the stations of spiritual progress, that is of 'self-realization'. But Nietzsche remained far from being successful because the influence of Darwin's materialism completely blinded him to the real significance of his vision. "His mental history is not without a parallel in the history of Eastern Sufism," says Iqbal while speaking of Nietzsche, "That a really 'imperative' vision of the Divine in man did come to him, cannot be denied. I call the vision 'imperative' because it appears to have given him a kind of prophetic mentality which, by some kind of technique, aims at turning its visions into permanent life forces."

Yet Nietzsche failed and thus failed a genius whose vision was exclusively determined by his internal, spiritually famine-stricken forces and remained least productive for want of

external guidance. Nietzsche himself was aware of his tremendous spiritual need. "I confront alone" he confesses helplessly, "an immense problem; it is as if I am lost in a forest, a primeval one. I need help. I need disciples. I need a master. It would be so sweet to obey." Or "Why do I not find among the living men who see higher than I do and have to look down on me. Is it only that I have made a poor search. And I have so great a longing for such."



IQBAL
THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY



THE IMAGE OF TURKEY AND TURKISH DEMOCRACY IN IQBAL'S THOUGHT AND HIS CONCEPT OF A MODERN ISLAMIC STATE

When the Indian Sub-Continent was being transformed from Muslim-India into British-India, the interests of Muslims grew in Turkey as the Turkish Caliphate had awakened among the Muslims a new sense of solidarity. The predecessor of Iqbal, Shibli, poet and scholar, had visited Turkey in 1892. Shibli was the first Muslim poet who wrote on the misfortunes of Turkey and thus through his writings brought Turkey closer to Muslim-India.

In 1911 Italy attacked Tripoli and the Balkan war which deprived Turkey of her European territories followed in 1912. These events for the first time turned Iqbal's eyes towards Turkey. Following Shibli he wrote three of his famous poems on Turkey which stirred Muslim-India. One of his famous poems, namely, *Jawab-i-Shikwa* was recited in the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore in 1912 in order to raise funds in aid of the Turks wounded in the Balkan war.

In 1920-21 the Khilafat Movement for the preservation of Turkish Caliphate and against the dismemberment of Turkey swept over the Sub-Continent. During this Movement almost the same number of Muslims lost their lives or were uprooted as subsequently in 1946-47 when the struggle for the

establishment of Pakistan was on. The total number of immigrants from Muslim-India to Afghanistan in those days was estimated between 500,000 and 2,000,000. Sentiment in favour of Turkey was expressed violently by the Moplahs (Muslims of mixed Arab and Indian Descent) of Malabar whose uprising followed in 1921. They were a peasant community numbering about one million but the end in store for them was far worse than that of the immigrants. Irrespective of its disastrous after-effects, this magnificent sacrificial Movement clearly indicates the deep rooted love of Muslims of the Sub-Continent for their Turkish brethren. There is no parallel in contemporary history of sacrifice of a people on such a large scale for another people.

From 1912 onwards Iqbal's interest in Turkey grew many-fold and he was deeply involved with the Turkish cause also for the reason that through this association Muslims of the Sub-Continent could re-discover their own national identity and consolidate themselves politically. But he did not agree with the Khilafat leaders on the preservation of Turkish Caliphate. The subsequent events proved the soundness of Iqbal's reasoning. Therefore on the abolition of Caliphate Iqbal alone raised his voice in favour of the new legal order in Turkey. He welcomed the growth of a republican spirit in Turkey as a return to the original purity of Islam. He was likewise pleased with the growth of nationalism in Turkey although he attacked nationalism in the Western sense as he was of the view that the Muslims' attitude towards the West should be critical and not that of blind imitation. He even justified the initial isolation of Turkey by maintaining that for the time being each and every Muslim nation must concentrate on herself only until all were strong enough to form a living family of republics by adjusting their mutual rivalries through the unifying bond of Islam. It is in this context that he proclaimed that Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a commonwealth of nations.

In the late thirties Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru wrote a series of articles in order to persuade Muslims to adopt a secular

attitude and join the Indian Nationalist Movement. He cited the example of Turkish secularism maintaining that Turkey had ceased to be Muslim by adopting nationalism, developing a pragmatic outlook, changing to Latin script and European dress, abolishing polygamy, curtailing religious privileges by licentiating Ulema, separating the department of religion from other departments of the state and replacing Muslim Personal Law by European codes of civil law.

Even on his death bed, Iqbal reasoned that each and every reform promulgated in modern Turkey was not repugnant to Islam. He wrote that so long as the Turks believe in Tauhid and the finality of Prophethood, they do not step out of the fold of Islam, whatever may be their interpretation of the Law. The development of pragmatic outlook was in perfect harmony with Islam. Similarly change to European dress or Latin script did not imply renunciation of Islam because Islam as a religion had no territorial attachment and as a culture had neither any specific mode of dress nor any particular script nor language. The reforms such as abolition of polygamy were not anti-Islamic, for according to Islamic law, the Head of a Muslim State could suspend a legal "sanction" if the social conditions so demanded. As for the licentiate Ulema, according to Iqbal, only the Head of a Muslim State or those whom he appointed had the right to preach or give a Fatwa (an opinion on law). Again the distribution of departments into religious and civil in a Muslim State should not be confused with the European conception of the separation of the Church from the State. The former was only a division of departments whereas the latter was founded on a fundamental duality on spirit and matter. The separation of the department of religion, therefore, did not mean the exclusion of Islam from the life of modern Turkey. As for the adoption of European civil codes, Iqbal argued that this arose out of the youthful zeal for reform excusable in a people furiously desiring to go ahead. In his view such situation was bound to arise in other Muslim countries also and hence he raised the question of the

revision of old Muslim institutions in the light of modern experience. It was in this background that he insisted on the opening of the gates of Ijtihad and the study of Islamic law in the light of modern jurisprudence so that it can be reinterpreted to suit the needs and the requirements of each and every Muslim generation.

It is, therefore, evident that Iqbal was deeply influenced by the developments in modern Turkey. He evolved the concepts of Islam as a nation building force for Muslim minorities, the carving out of viable independent States in their homelands, giving the power of Ijtihad to an elected legislative assembly and finally the assimilation of Muslim national States as a powerful family of republics, through receiving inspiration from the experiences of the modern Turkish nation.

According to Iqbal the following led to the political and cultural decay of Muslims:

- a) Autocratic Sultanate,
- b) Conservatism of the Ulema,
- c) Preachings of the other-worldliness and inactivity of the Sufis.

In the Indian Sub-Continent Iqbal had opened his eyes in the period of Islamic renaissance and thus was a successor of the intellectual movement started by Syed Ahamd Khan and Jamaluddin Afghani. As a path-finder his convictions were:

- a) Islam was not only a Religion, but also a Culture.

Laying emphasis on the factor of change, he launched an attack on the static elements of Islam e.g. traditional as well as populist approaches towards Islam, and advocated the cause of reformist Islam. According to him under the Quranic teachings Muslims turned their attention towards acquisition of knowledge through sense-perception and discarded the speculative method of the Greeks. Thus Muslims were founders of modern sciences. In this background, in the field of culture, Iqbal wanted to re-join the severed connection between the ancient Islamic sciences with modern sciences, in order to rekindle the spirit of curiosity, inquiry, research,

innovation, invention and creativity among Muslims. He was of the firm view that Islamic theological thought needed reconstruction as the traditional theological interpretations were based on ancient notions of the Greek speculative sciences which were now outmoded. He, therefore, felt the need of evolving modern Islamic theology on the basis of new discoveries in the fields of psychology, mathematics, physics, chemistry and astronomy, etc. He believed that Christians learnt from Muslims how to reconcile revelation with reason and sense-perception, and in this process they had gone far ahead than Muslims. It was, therefore, necessary and in accordance with the needs of modern times that scholastics should reconstruct religious thought of Islam in the light of discoveries of modern sciences and this was the only way through which they could strengthen the Faith in the hearts of modern generation of Muslims.

He also emphasised the re-interpretation of Shariah Law in the light of modern experience and changed conditions of modern life. In this connection he approved of a philosophical approach which he termed as "Permanence-in-Change".

According to him religious obligations of Islam (Ibadaat) were permanent for all times to come but worldly matters involving life (Mua'mallaat) were subject to the law of change. Thus when he felt the need of re-interpretation of the Foundational Principles of Shariah Law it was in the sphere of worldly matters.

- b) Islam was a Nation Building Force.

Iqbal advanced the concept of Muslim nationhood as opposed to territorial nationalism. A Nation was created by the development of a sense among people of belonging to one another. This may be created through a common face, colour, language and territory. Thus on the basis of Muslim nationalism he dreamt of creating a new Muslim society and a new Muslim Commonwealth of the Culture.

- c) Islam cannot be apprehended without Power.

Politically and economically subjugated Muslims,

according to Iqbal, could not claim themselves to be Muslims. Muslims, therefore, in order to realise authentic Islam must always aspire for Power. Islam must always be free and freedom must always be bracketed with power.

d) Establishment of a State as Manifestation of Muslim Power.

Iqbal had provided all philosophical and moral justification to the Muslims of the Sub-Continent to struggle for the creation of Pakistan.

Fundamentalist Ulema had always opposed the ideas of Iqbal. Remarks of Maulana Najmuddin Islahi may be noted. (*Muktubat-e-Sheikhul Islam*, Vol. III, Page 141):

"We regard as a Shar'i crime to give a higher status to Iqbal than that of a mere poet and a philosopher. We have carefully examined his works. There is no denying the fact that there are hundreds and thousands of his verses which may be considered as useful; nevertheless among them there are numerous such verses which openly hit Islam and Islamic way of thinking

.....In Pakistan the principle of law making can be adopted in the light of Iqbal's thought because the Islam on which Pakistan has been founded is another name of the philosophy of Iqbal."

The remarks of Maulana Abul Hassan Ali Nadvi may also be perused (Naqoosh-i-Iqbal pages 39-40):

"One finds such interpretations of Islamic beliefs and philosophy in Iqbal with which it is impossible to agree. Unlike some enthusiastic young Muslims of today I do not subscribe to the view that no one has understood Islam better than Iqbal or that except him no one could reach the depths of Islamic sciences

.....In his Madras lectures there lie scattered many ideas which are in direct conflict with the collective principles of Sunni Islam. It would have been better if these lectures were not published."

Now we come to the question as to what is Iqbal's concept of a modern Islamic State. The important features are:

Sovereignty of Allah. According to him the idea of

personal authority is contrary to the spirit of Islam. He says:

"The Prophet of Arabia succeeded in commanding the absolute submission of an entire people; yet no man has depreciated his own authority more than he. "I am," he says, "a man like you; like you my forgiveness also depends on the mercy of God". Once in a moment of spiritual exaltation, he is reported to have said to one of his companions, "Go and tell the people - he who says - there is only one God - will enter the paradise," studiously omitting the second half of the Muslim creed - "And Muhammad is his Prophet." The ethical importance of this attitude is great. The whole system of Islamic ethics is based on the idea of individuality; anything which tends to repress the healthy development of individuality is quite inconsistent with the spirit of Islamic law and ethics. A Muslim is free to do any thing he likes, provided he does not violate the law. The general principles of this law are believed to have been revealed; the details, in order to cover the relatively secular cases, are left to the interpretation of professional lawyers. It is, therefore, true to say that the entire fabric of Islamic law, actually administered, is really judge-made law, so that the lawyer performs the legislative function in the Muslim constitution. If, however, an absolutely new case arises which is not provided for in the law of Islam, the will of the whole Muslim community becomes a further source of law."

The inference which can be drawn from this view of Iqbal is that Allah being sovereign, His Sovereignty is to be delegated to the representatives of the peoples. He, therefore, advances the view that "Election" is the method approved in the Quran on which the Islamic State could be founded. It may be pointed out at this stage that there is no direct Verse of the Quran in respect of "Election" or approval of the establishment of a democratic or republican order. However Iqbal's argument on this point is based on Sura 42 Verse 38, in which Muslims have been described as those who conduct their affairs by mutual consultation. Some important questions arise here and these are: firstly, all the members of the Muslim community cannot conduct their affairs by mutual consultation and, therefore, such mutual consultation is only possible through their elected representatives; and

secondly, when this elective body is brought into being as an assembly, would it be a consultative assembly or an advisory assembly? In Iqbal's view in modern times it is to operate as a consultative assembly, and for the purposes of law making, it must assume the role of Ijma (Consensus of the Community). The formation of these elected legislative assemblies in modern Muslim States, according to him, amounts to a return to the original purity of Islam. As shall be pointed out later, he gives power of Ijtihad (Interpretation of Islamic law and Promulgation) to these assemblies. He has no hesitation in approving the establishment of a multi-party system or political groupings in modern Islamic Democracies, for, in his opinion, this was in accordance with the practice of early republican phase in Islam.

In Iqbal's view modern Islamic State is founded on three principles, and these are:

- a) Human Solidarity,
- b) Equality, and
- c) Freedom.

According to him, the essence of Tauhid (Unity of God) as a working idea is to realise the ideals of human solidarity, equality and freedom. Therefore the State from the Islamic standpoint is an endeavour to transform these ideal principles into space-time forces, an aspiration to realise them in a definite human organisation. He advances a novel argument to the effect that since no further revelation is binding on man, the Muslims should regard themselves as spiritually the most emancipated peoples on earth. He observes:

"In view of the basic idea of Islam that there could be no further revelation binding on man, we ought to be spiritually one of the most emancipated peoples on earth. Early Muslims emerging out of the spiritual slavery of pre-Islamic Asia were not in a position to realise the true significance of this basic idea. Let the Muslim of today appreciate his position, reconstruct his social life in the light of ultimate principles, and evolve out of the hitherto partially revealed purpose of Islam, that is spiritual democracy, which is the ultimate aim of Islam."

Now each of the three foundational principles of modern

Islamic State may be considered separately:

a) *Human Solidarity*: It is interesting to note that the first principle on which his modern Islamic State is to be founded is Human Solidarity instead of Muslim Solidarity. Why this is so? Because in this State the basis of Muslim nationhood would be common spiritual aspiration, whereas their solidarity with the non-Muslim minorities would be based on common territory, for, it is only through this two-fold dispensation that the ideal of human solidarity in a modern Islamic State could be realised. In his famous Allahabad Address of 1930, in which he, for the first time, proposed the establishment of an independent Muslim State, he explained his views on religious tolerance in this way:

"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 teachings of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship, if need be".

While making this statement, the Quranic teachings to which he has referred are contained in Sura 22 Verse 40. Therein it is stated:

"Had Allah not created a Community (Muslim Community) to ward off the others from aggression then churches, synagogues, oratories and mosques where Allah is worshiped most would have been destroyed".

According to the early jurists, these Quranic teachings made it obligatory on the Islamic State to protect Jewish and Christian communities who were regarded as "People of the Book", but after the conquest of Iran, some Muslim jurists expanded this Quranic injunction so as to cover the followers of Zoroastrian faith by designating them as "Like the People of the Book". Similarly during the Mughal rule over India some Muslim jurists gave the status of "Like the People of the Book" to the Hindus, and in this way they went on expanding the interpretation of this Quranic injunction in order to suit the needs and requirements of times. Even otherwise according to the Quranic teachings, there is no

compulsion in religion. Therefore if Iqbal's idea of religious tolerance in a modern Islamic State is realised then it certainly contains the qualities to which an ideal secular State may aspire.

b) *Equality*: Under this head, Iqbal discusses his concept of modern Islamic social democracy. In the field of economics he was as against socialist or communist economic order as he was against capitalist economic order. In his view the Quran provided the best remedy for the economic ailments of humanity. If one were to make an overall picture of his social democracy, it would appear that he contemplated it as a welfare State of the middle class based on mixed economy. In this field also he felt the need of re-interpretation of Shariah law in order to suit the economic requirements of the community. His views are worth quoting:

"The peoples of Asia are bound to rise against the acquisitive economy which the West has developed and imposed on the nations of the East. Asia cannot comprehend modern Western capitalism with its undisciplined individualism. The faith which you represent recognises the worth of the individual, and disciplines him to give away his all to the service of God and man. Its possibilities are not yet exhausted. It can still create a new world where the social rank of man is not determined by his caste or colour, or the amount of dividend he earns, but by the kind of life he lives; where the poor tax the rich, where human society is founded not on the equality of stomachs but on the equality of spirits, where an Untouchable can marry the daughter of a King, where private ownership is a trust and where capital cannot be allowed to accumulate so as to dominate the real producer of wealth. This superb idealism of your faith, however, needs emancipation from the medieval fancies of theologians and legists. Spiritually we are living in a prison house of thoughts and emotions which during the course of centuries we have woven round ourselves. And be it further said to the shame of us - men of older generation - that we have failed to equip the younger generation for the economic, political and even religious crises that the present age is likely to bring. The whole community needs a complete overhauling of

its present mentality in order that it may again become capable of feeling the urge of fresh desires and ideals."

c) *Freedom*: It has already been pointed out that according to Iqbal, the establishment of democratically elected legislative assemblies in some Muslim countries amounted to a return to the original purity of Islam. But the important point to note here is that while formulating his ideas on a new democratic order in Islam how much he was influenced by modern Turkish democracy. He was in favour of giving the power of Ijtihad to the law-making assembly and in this respect the example cited by him was of the Turkish experiment. His argument is as follows:

"Let us now see how the Grand National Assembly has exercised this power of Ijtihad in regard to the institution of Khilafat. According to Sunni law, the appointment of an Imam or Khalifah is absolutely indispensable. The first question that arises in this connexion is this - Should the Caliphate be vested in a single person? Turkey's Ijtihad is that according to the spirit of Islam the Caliphate or Imamate can be vested in a body of persons, or an elected Assembly.....
..... Personally, I believe the Turkish view is perfectly sound. It is hardly necessary to argue this point. The republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam.....In order to understand the Turkish view let us seek the guidance of Ibn Khildun - the first philosophical historian of Islam. Ibn Khildun, in his famous 'Prolegomena', mentions three distinct views of the idea of Universal Caliphate in Islam. (1) That Universal Imamate is a Divine institution, and is consequently indispensable. (2) That it is merely a matter of expediency. (3) That there is no need of such an institution. The last view was taken by the Khawarij. It seems that modern Turkey has shifted from the first to the second view, i.e. to the view of the Mu'tazillah who regarded Universal Imamate as a matter of expediency only. The Turks argue that in our political thinking we must be guided by our past political experience which points unmistakably to the fact that the idea of Universal Imamate has failed in practice. It was

a workable idea when the Empire of Islam was intact. Since the break-up of this Empire independent political units have arisen. The idea has ceased to be operative and cannot work as a living factor in the organisation of modern Islam
 Such is the attitude of the modern Turk, inspired as he is by the reality of experience, and not by the scholastic reasoning of jurists who lived and thought under different conditions of life."

According to him the transfer of the power of Ijtihad from individual representatives of schools to a Muslim legislative assembly was necessary in modern times because in this way contributions could be made to legal discussions from laymen or experts in other fields of knowledge who happened to possess a keen insight into affairs and that in this way alone the dormant concept of life in the legal system of Islam could be stirred into activity and given an evolutionary outlook. This was a very radical view which had been inspired by the Turkish experiment with democracy. However Iqbal raised the question as to how the possibility of erroneous interpretation of Islamic law could be avoided" when a modern Muslim assembly may consist mostly of men possessing no knowledge of the subtleties of Islamic law. He suggested that a Board of ulema could be formed as a part of the Muslim legislative assembly for helping and guiding free discussion on questions relating to law. But he also warned that this arrangement was not free from danger and that it may be tried if at all only as a temporary measure. In his opinion the only effective remedy of the possibilities of erroneous interpretation was to reform the present system of legal education in Muslim countries, to extend its sphere, and to combine it with an intelligent study of modern jurisprudence. In his view the lot of most of the Muslim countries today was that they were mechanically repeating old values, but he made the Turks an exception, who according to him, were on the way to creating new values. The Turk, he said:

"has passed through great experiences which have revealed his deeper self to him. In him life has begun to move, change, and

amplify, giving birth to new desires, bringing new difficulties and suggesting new interpretations. The question which confronts him today, and which is likely to confront other Muslim countries in the near future is whether the law of Islam is capable of evolution - a question which will require great intellectual effort, and is sure to be answered in the affirmative, provided the world of Islam approaches it in the spirit of Umar - the first critical and independent mind in Islam."

IQBAL IN EGYPT

From some of the verses of Iqbal one gathers the impression that in his view his deep understanding of philosophy was due to his Brahmanic descent. But Iqbal had found philosophy an unreliable guide and, therefore, discarded it. In his experience it was only through love of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) that he had been able to resolve his intellectual problems. Consequently, in the poem titled "عرض حال مصنف بحضور رحمۃ للعالمین" at the end of "Asrar-o-Rumuz" (and this is the work which ushered in the magnificent dawn of his poetry) he declares that the foundation of all his thoughts is laid on the teachings of the Quran and if there happens to be anything repugnant or contrary to it, then, he pleads to the Holy Prophet:

پر دہ ناموس فکرم چاک کن ایں خیاباں راز خاتم پاک کن
روزِ محشر خوار در سوا کن مرا بے نصیب از بوسہ پا کن مرا

(Tear off the veil of the sanctity of my thought.
Remove a thorn like myself from the garden of the Umma.
Disgrace me on the Day of Judgment, and
Deprive me of the honour of kissing your holy foot.)

It appears that the flame of love of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) had leapt in his heart ever since his young days. In 1905, when he proceeded to Europe for higher studies, his ship passed by the coast of Arabia and he could not resist recording the following impressions:

"O sacred land of Arabia you were nothing but a stone which had been rejected by the architects of the world. But God knows what magic had been cast on you by an orphan child that the foundations of culture and civilization of the modern world

were laid on you O holy land your deserts had borne the footprints of thousands of sacred-beings and the shade of your date-palm trees had given protection to thousands of Saints and Solomans from the grueling heat of the sun. I wish that the dust of my luckless body could mingle with the particles of sand and wonder aimlessly in your wildernesses and may be this very vagrancy of mine becomes a retribution of the dark days of my life. I wish I could be lost in your deserts and releasing myself from all material comforts - sizzling under your hot sunshine, and not caring about the blisters on my feet, I should reach that part of the holy land in the streets of which the love-stricken voice of Bilal's prayer call used to resound."

It was in the course of this sea voyage that Iqbal, for the first time in his life, sets his foot on the Egyptian soil and came in contact with the Muslims of Egypt. His recorded impressions are as follows:

"When the ship anchored at Suez, a large number of Muslim vendors turned up and set up a bazar on board. From one of the young Egyptian vendors I wanted to purchase some cigarettes and while talking to him I informed him that I was a Muslim. But since my headgear was European, he hesitated to believe me and asked me in turn as to why I was wearing a hat? I said to him why should he think that by wearing a hat Islam would disappear? His reply was that if a Muslim was clean-shaven, then he must wear a headgear like Turkish cap or Tarboosh, otherwise what would be the indication of his being a Muslim. Eventually, he was convinced of my being a Muslim and as he was a Hafiz-e-Quran, when I recited a few Ayas from the Quran, he was extremely pleased and started kissing my hands. Thereafter, he called all the other vendors and introduced me to them. They surrounded me in a circle uttering 'Masha Allah' 'Masha Allah' and when I told them as to what was the object of my voyage, they started praying for me. In other words, for a few moments they elevated themselves from the lowness of trade to the heights of Islamic fraternity. Shortly thereafter, a group of extremely handsome young Egyptians came on board. I looked at them and found their faces so familiar that for a second I thought that this was a delegation of students from Aligarh

College. They stood in a corner and were chatting when I also joined them. We talked for a long time. One of the youngmen spoke such beautiful Arabic as if he was reading a paragraph from Hareeri. When the ship arrived at Port Saeed, the Muslim tradesmen again appeared and started displaying their wares on board. I shared the boat with a fellow traveller and went to see the harbour We visited a Madrissa, numerous mosques as well as the house of the Muslim Governor and saw the statue of the architect of Suez Canal. Thereafter bidding farewell to our Muslim guide, who spoke so many languages, I returned to the ship."

He briefly visited Egypt for the second time in 1931 while proceeding to England in order to participate in the Second Round-Table Conference. He states:

"On 20th September at about 3-00 p.m. we touched Port Saeed. I was most impressed by its development. In fact I was asleep in my cabin but was woken up by an Egyptian doctor called Sulaiman. While we were talking to each other some Egyptian youngmen, who happened to be members of Shaban-ul-Muslemin, came to see me. I was very pleased to meet them Lutfi Bay, who is a famous Barrister of Cairo, had sent a message of greetings through Dr. Sulaiman and had extended invitation to me to visit Cairo on my way back. you would be surprised to learn that, generally speaking, Muslims of Egypt think that the Indian Muslims were placing hindrances in the struggle for India's freedom. This propaganda had been made also in numerous other countries. At Port Saeed every Muslim young man whom I chanced to meet had put this question to me. But now it appears that gradually veil is being lifted from their eyes. I gave them a long lecture in order to explain as to how the political problem of India affects the Indian Muslims. After hearing me I had the impression that a heavy load had been removed from their backs. They also took notes of some parts of my speech The ship left Port Saeed at about 6-30 on the next morning and the Egyptian youngmen kept sitting in my cabin until early hours of the morning. When they disembarked they sent two tins of Egyptian cigarettes as a present for me."

During his stay for some hours at Port Saeed, he was also contacted by Hakeem Muhammad Siddique, a correspondent of Reuter, and in the presence of Egyptian youngmen Iqbal informed him:

"Hindus are worried that the Indian Muslims with the help of Afghan, Baluch and Pathan tribes would capture India. But could it be possible that Egyptians, after securing independence of Egypt, would hand-over their country to the Turks, because the Turks are Muslims? It may be known further that the Congress follows the policy of non-violence only when it confronts the British bayonets. Otherwise, as is evident from the riots in Mirzapur, Cawnpore, Sirinagar etc. as against Muslims, the course of violence is adopted."

He likewise gave a statement for the Egyptian Press in which he said:

"The Egyptians are under the impression that Indian Muslims are a thorn in the way of securing independence of India. There is no truth in it at all. If Egyptian friends have formed this view, then they have not taken the trouble of understanding Indian politics. I, therefore, suggest that the correspondents of Egyptian newspapers should visit India to study the situation themselves. I may also tell you that propaganda is likewise made in India against them to the effect that the Egyptian Muslims have forsaken the Quran, Allah and Islam, although this is a deliberate mischief."

Iqbal was temporarily impressed by the Turkish and Iranian revolutions. But he was eventually disappointed as is apparent from the following verse:

ند مصطفیٰ نہ رضا شاہ میں نمود اس کی
کہ روح شرق بدن کی تلاش میں ہے ابھی

"The spirit of the East is still in search of a body as it has neither been able to manifest itself in the person of Mustafa nor of that of Raza Shah."

He visited Egypt for the third time on 1st December, 1931 when his ship touched Alexandria at 9-00 a.m. At the harbour he was received by representatives of Prince Umar Tausoon, some members of the Jamiat-ul-Shaban-ul-Muslemin, Siddique Muhammad, Maulana Shaukat Ali and others. The members of Shabanul Muslemin were carrying flags. They raised slogans in his honour and the representatives of the

Press took his and his companions' photographs. He was taken to the Palace where he signed on the visitors book of King Faud. Thereafter, he returned to the residence of Prince Umar Tausoon where he was staying and after some rest went around to see Alexandria. He visited the office of Shabanul Muslemin, met some eminent literary figures there and gave an interview to the Press. Then, in the afternoon, he took the train for Cairo and arrived there at 6-00 p.m. on the same day. At the Cairo railway station he was received by the members of Shabanul Muslemin, a few members of Parliament, editors of news-papers and Journals, Indian-Muslim residents of Cairo and some Indian-Muslim students of Jamia Al-Azhar. In Cairo Iqbal stayed in Metropolitan Hotel. But he went to have his dinner with Dr. Abdul Hameed Saeed Bay, member of Parliament, where he met Sheikhu Azhar, the Mufti of Al Azhar, Muhammad Ali Pasha, ex-Minister of Auqaf, and other eminent men. The Press representatives asked him to give a message for the Egyptian youth. He replied: "I desire that the Egyptian youth should remain loyal to the Prophet of Islam." He returned to his hotel at 11-00 p.m.

During his stay in Egypt he felt that there was a general impression prevailing there that the Muslims were placing hindrances in the struggle for freedom of India. He tried to remove this misunderstanding during his stay and informed the Egyptian journalists about the separate political entity of the Indian Muslims and their political standpoint. Otherwise, the eminent scholarly personalities of Egypt were anxiously waiting to meet and to exchange ideas with Iqbal. Among them was the famous Advocate and author of numerous books on philosophy, Lutfi Bay Jumma, who spent most of his time in Iqbal's company during his stay in Cairo.

In the morning of 2nd December 1931 Iqbal was taken in a car to see the historical sites. He saw the Ahraams at a distance of 10 miles from Cairo - Harame Akbar, Harame Ausat and Harame Asghar. Then at some distance from there he saw Abulhaul, walked around the beautiful gardens on the

bank of the Nile. He noticed that many new buildings were being raised there. On his way back he visited Qasarul Aaini, the magnificent hospital named after Allama Badruddin Aaini. He also wondered in the bazars of this locality. The lunch was arranged in the house of a Syrian trader Mohayyuddin ul Haddi where he met the Syrian Mujahid, Dr. Abdur Rahman Shah Bandar, who had fought against French Imperialism in Syria for a number of years. Iqbal discussed the position of Indian Muslims with Dr. Shah Bandar and they also talked about the problems of the Arab world as well as the future of the Arab nations. He returned to his hotel at about 3-30 p.m. where many people were already waiting for him. While he talked to them one of the most respected Egyptian Soofi, Syed Muhammad Maddi Abul Azaaim came to meet him along with his two sons. Iqbal was extremely perturbed to see him like that in a hotel and said with utmost respect:

"Sir you should have not taken the trouble of coming here. I would have myself visited you to pay my respects."

But he replied:

"The Holy Prophet (PBUH) has commanded that if you go to meet anyone who works for the cause of religion, it would give him pleasure. I have come to see you in compliance with that command so that my master is pleased with me."

Iqbal was emotionally upset at this reply and was struck by a silence. Syed Abul Azaaim sat with him for a long time giving good advice and Iqbal silently listened to him. When he left Iqbal could not control himself. He broke down and with tears in his eyes said:

"Has such a time arrived that people should come to pay respects to a sinful person like myself thinking that I work for the cause of religion and in compliance with the command of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) so that he is pleased with them."

Shortly thereafter Professor Ali Bay Abdur Razzaq came to see him. Professor Abdur Raazaq had written a book on the separation of Church and State on which the Ulema of Al-Azhar had issued a Fatwa against him. Iqbal presented his own view-point to the Professor on the issue and also

explained to him as to what were the disadvantages of such a separation. In the meantime Mustafa Nehas Pasha, the leader of Hizbul Wafad, phoned that he was waiting to receive Iqbal. Consequently, Iqbal left the hotel for Baitul Umma where Mustafa Nehas Pasha received him and introduced him to some Ministers of his Cabinet as well as other members of the Wafad party. The talk centered around Egyptian and Indian politics. Afterwards Iqbal went to the house of Ahmed Zaki Pasha, Sheikhul Urooba, which was on the bank of the Nile and had his dinner with him. They talked about the problem of Palestine and as to how the Motamir-ul-Islami Conference should be made successful.

On 3rd December, 1931 Iqbal had his lunch with an Iranian by the name of Mirza Mehdi Bay. Maulana Shukat Ali, Maulana Shafi Daoodi, Sheikhul Azhar and other eminent people had also been invited by the host. At 4-00 p.m. he went to the house of Ahmed Zaki Pasha and participated in a tea-party. At 5-00 p.m. he paid a visit to Abdur Hazzaq, where he met Mahmood Pasha, leader of Hizbul Ahraar, Muhammad Ali Pasha, Dr. Muhammad Hussain Haikal, Editor of *As-Siyasat*, and other literary men. While Iqbal was talking to them the sons of Syed Abul Azaaim came in their car and informed him that their father wanted to meet him. On this Iqbal left for the house of Syed Abul Azaaim. A large number of Mureeds of Syed Abul Azaaim were present there. Syed Abul Azaaim in his soft manner introduced Iqbal to his Mureeds and said that when the number of Muslims was only a few thousands, then the great powers of the world kissed their feet, but today they are hundreds of millions and yet the unbelievers are dominating them everywhere. The reason is that the Muslims have given up Islam and have forsaken its spirit. But then he turned towards Iqbal and pointing at his heart said:

“In this heart I see love for Islam and a special favour of the Holy Prophet.”

Then one of the Mureeds of Syed Abul Azaaim recited *Sura Fatah* in beautiful Egyptian accent and when Iqbal left,

the Mureeds of Syed Abul Azaaim bade farewell to him raising slogans “Hazrat Iqbal Zinda Bad”.

On 4th December, 1931 Iqbal paid a visit to the Museum of Cairo. He saw the relics of the period of Pharaohs. In those days, because of the objection of the Copts, the mummy of that Pharaoh, who had been drowned in the Red Sea in the times of Prophet Moses, was not being exhibited. Then he visited the Museum containing relics of the Arab period and he was most interested to see relics like the pen and ink-pot of Imam Ghazali and the swords of Ottoman Sultan Muhammad, the conqueror, Sulaiman, the magnificent, and Saleem Yildirm. On his return from the Museum he joined a tea-party arranged by Jamiat-ul-Rabta-ul-Hindiya. On this occasion Siddique Muhammad and Mahmood Ahmad Urfani presented welcome addresses to him and the meeting was addressed by Lutfi Bay Jumma and Munirul Haddi. Iqbal, in his speech, thanked the members of the Jamiat and emphasized the need for the development of stronger relations between Egypt and Muslim India. At 7-00 p.m. Iqbal went to the office of Shabanul Muslemin to address a meeting organized by its members. The hall was full of literary people. Iqbal delivered his address in English. He went to have dinner with Muhammad Ali Pasha and the talk ranged on numerous subjects like the problem of interest, Muslim conquests in the early centuries, causes of the decline of the Muslims in modern times and Indian politics.

On 5th December, 1931, Iqbal visited Fustaat and Jamia Amar Ibn Al-Aas. Thereafter he went to the Mazar of Imam Shafai and sitting near the grave recited the Quran for a long time. Then after visiting some historical mosques he arrived Jamia Al-Azhar where the Administrator, Muhammad Khalid Hasnain Bay, was waiting for him. Iqbal sat with the students for some time attending the classes of Tafseer, Hadees and Mantaq. Thereafter, he paid a visit to the new part of the Jamia where the students were taught modern sciences like Physics and Chemistry. One of the teachers of the Jamia had

written a qaseeda for Iqbal which was recited and presented to him. Thereupon the students raised slogans of

دكتور اقبال - زنده باد
شاعر الهند - زنده باد

Then Iqbal called on Sheikh Al-Azhar, Sheikh Mustafa Al-Miraghi, in his office. While giving his impressions about the Jamia, Iqbal said to him:

"The route is the same, although the caravan has changed. Consequently, if you do not take care of the needs of the present caravan in accordance with the dictates and needs of present times, then you will never be successful in achieving the objective."

From Jamia Al-Azhar he came to the house of Muhammad Ramzan and had his meals there. Then he went to the house of Syed Abul Azaaim and again spent some time with him. Thereafter he came to the hotel and sent his luggage to the railway station but himself went to the house of Dr. Shah Bandar to participate in a tea-party. There he met numerous Syrian fighters who fought for freedom of their country. Besides those Ahmad Zaki Pasha, Ali Bay Abdur Razzaq, Lutfi Bay Jumma, Dr. Mansoor Fehmi, Munirul Hadi, Ahmad Jamal Pasha Al-uzzi were present there. After attending the tea-party he went straight to the railway station where many Egyptian, and Indian friends had come to bid farewell to him. At 6-00 p.m. the train left for Bait-ul-Maqdas (بيت المقدس) and along with it left Iqbal taking a deep impression in his heart of the love and affection of the Egyptians.

IQBAL ON NEW ULEMA FOR A NEW MUSLIM SOCIETY

When the European Colonial Powers penetrated the Muslim world, the Ulema in different Muslim countries resisted them. But their resistance could not stop the advance as the Ulema were totally unaware of the advancement made by human knowledge as well as science and technology in Europe. They fought against the long-range of the imperialists with timeworn rifles and swords. Subsequently when the reformers like Syed Jamal-uddin Afghani, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan etc. preached that in order to know the secret of Western power one had to acquire the new knowledge, they opposed them as Westernized Muslims. It was in this background that in the conflict between the "conservatives" and the "liberals", the liberal Muslim reformers regarded the conservative Ulema as a hinderance in the material progress of the Muslim nations.

The problem of "conservatism" was handled in two ways in Turkey and Muslim India. In Turkey Kemal Ataturk eliminated the Ulema completely from the religious life of the Turks. But in Muslim India, Iqbal tried his best during his life time to educate and train the Ulema so as to create among them a group of new Ulema to provide a new motivation for Islam to the new Muslim society which he thought of bringing into being.

Iqbal found the Muslim society suffering from numerous ailments. He has drawn a portrait of it in one of his Urdu articles titled "Qaumi Zindagi" (National Life) which appeared in the journal *Makhsan* in 1904. He observes:

"This unfortunate community has been deprived of political, industrial as well as commercial power. Now unconcerned with the demands of times and smitten by stark poverty, it is trying to survive with the help of the useless stuff of contentment. Leaving aside other matters, it has so far not been able to settle its religious disputes. Every other day a new sect is brought into being which considering itself exclusively as the heirs of paradise declares the rest of mankind as fuel for hell. This form of sectarianism has scattered the Muslims in such a manner that there is no hope for unifying them as a single community. The condition of our Maulvis is such that if two of them happen to be present in one city, they send messages to each other for holding a discussion on some controversial religious issues, and in case the discussion starts, which usually does, then it ends up in a deplorable brawl. The width of knowledge and comprehension, which was a characteristic of the early Ulema of Islam, does not exist any more. But there exists a list of "Muslim infidels" in which additions are being made daily by their own hand. The social scene of the Muslims is equally distressing. Their girls are illiterate, their boys are ignorant and jobless. They are scared to try their luck by working as industrial labourers, they consider taking up vocational jobs as below their dignity. The number of dissolution of marriage cases in their families is rising. Similarly the crime among them is on the increase. The situation is quite serious, and there is no solution of the problem except that the entire community should direct its mind and soul completely towards reforming itself. God does not change the condition of a community unless it changes itself."

According to Iqbal one of the most important factors for the establishment of a new Muslim society was the reform of Islamic culture, and it was in this connection that he felt the need for educating and training the Ulema. He argues:

"The question of cultural reform among the Muslims is in fact a religious question, because there is no aspect of our cultural life

which can be separated from religion. However, because of the occurrence of a magnificent revolution in the conditions of modern living, certain new cultural needs have emerged. It has therefore become necessary that the decisions made by the old jurists, the collection of which is generally known as the Islamic *Shari'ah*, require a review. The decisions delivered by the former jurists from time to time on the basis of the broad principle of the Quran and the Tradition, were indeed appropriate and practical for those specific times, but these are not completely applicable to the needs and requirements of the present times. If one reflects deeply on the conditions of modern life, one is forced to arrive at the conclusion that just as we need the elaboration of a new *Ilm-i-Kalam* for providing a fresh religious motivation, we likewise need the services of a jurist who could by the width of his vision stretch the principle so widely as to cover all the possible situations of the present cultural needs. As far as I am aware, the Muslim world has not yet produced any such great Jurist, and if one were to consider the magnitude of this enterprise, it would appear that perhaps it is a job for more than one mind to accomplish, and it may require at least a century to complete the work."

Iqbal wanted to establish an Islamic university for the education of the new Ulema. This was necessary for the realization of many objectives, and one of them, as explained by Iqbal was:

"Who does not know that the moral training of the Muslim masses is in the hands of such Ulema and preachers who are not really competent to perform this duty. Their knowledge of Islamic history and Islamic sciences is extremely limited. In order to persuade the people to adopt in their lives the moral and religious values of Islam, it is necessary for a preacher of today to be not only familiar with subjects like history, economics and sociology, but must also have complete knowledge of the literature and modes of thinking of the community."

The Islamic University was not created. However, in the thirties the Aligarh Muslim University thought of introducing a new faculty of Islamic studies, and accordingly Aftab Ahmed Khan, Chancellor of the university wrote to Iqbal

seeking his advice. Iqbal wrote a long letter to him which is a very important document. Some of the extracts of the same are given below:

“Our first and foremost object should be to create Ulema of proper qualities who could fulfil the spiritual needs of the community. Please note that alongwith the change in the outlook of the people their spiritual requirements also undergo a change. The change in the status of the individual, his freedom of thought and expression, and the unimaginable advancement made by the physical sciences, have completely revolutionized modern life. As a result, the kind *Ilm-i-Kalam* and the theological understanding which was considered sufficient to satisfy the heart of a Muslim of the Middle Ages, does not satisfy him any more. This is not being stated with the intention to injure the spirit of religion but in order to re-discover the depths of creative and original thinking (Ijtihad), and to emphasize that it is essential to reconstruct our religious thought. Like many other matters, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan’s far sightedness made him also look into this problem. As you may know he laid the foundations of his rationalism on the philosophical doctrines of an ancient and bygone age for the resolution of this problem. I am afraid, I do not agree with your proposed curriculum of Islamic studies. In my view the revival of the faculty of Islamic studies on the old lines is totally useless. As far its spiritual significance one can say that it is based on stereotype ideas, and as far its educational significance it is irrelevant in the face of the emerging new problems or the new presentation of the old problems. What is needed today is to apply ones’ mind in a new direction and to exert for the construction of a new theology and a new *Ilm-i-Kalam*. It is evident that this job can be accomplished by those who are competent to do it. But how to create such Ulema? My suggestion is that if you desire to keep the conservative element of our society satisfied, then you may start with the school of Islamic studies on the old lines. But your ultimate objective should be to gradually bring forward a group of such Ulema who are themselves capable of independent and creative thinking (Ijtihad-i-Fikr) in accordance with my proposed scheme In my view the dissemination of modern religious ideas is necessary for the modern Muslim nations. A struggle

has already commenced in the Islamic world between the old and new methods of education as well as between the upholders of spiritual freedom and those monopolizing religious power. This movement of independence of human thought is even influencing a conservative country like Afghanistan. You may have read the speech of the Amir of Afghanistan in which he has attempted to control the powers of the Ulema. The emergence of numerous such movements in the other parts of the Muslim world makes one arrive at the same conclusion. Therefore in your capacity as the Head of a Muslim university, it is your duty to step forward in this new field with courage.”

These educational reforms proposed by Iqbal were never implemented. Even a couple of months before his death on 21 April, 1938, an attempt was made by one of his devotees to establish a Dar-ul-‘Ulum according to the specifications of Iqbal, and for this purpose a correspondence started between Iqbal and Al-Maraghi, the Rector of Al-Azhar University of Egypt through Maulana Maudoodi, but the Egyptians could not produce an Arabic instructor satisfying Iqbal’s requirements.

There are many old and new Islamic educational institutions operating in Pakistan today. But it is difficult to say what kind of impact the duly qualified Ulema of these institutions have on spiritual life of the Muslims of Pakistan. The fact remains that neither Iqbal’s new Muslim society could be brought into being in this country nor new Ulema could be trained on the lines suggested by him for disseminating among the Muslim faith, unity and discipline so that they could collectively face the challenges of the new world.

IQBAL AND QADIANISM

The anti-Qadiani statements of Allama Iqbal mainly cover the period between 1930 and 1935. This was, politically speaking, the most crucial period for the Muslims because Islam in its modern history in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was never as divided as in this period. Notwithstanding that Iqbal and a few Muslim political theorists like him had started thinking in terms of a Muslim state for the Muslim nation. There were more than fifteen religio-political organizations, adhering to different and mutually contradictory programmes, presenting collectively a picture of complete chaos in the political thought of Muslim India.

Qadianism originally began as a reform movement within Islam, and in its early stages of development devoted itself in defending Islam from the attacks of Christian missionaries. No wonder that it secured the appreciation of the general Muslims including Iqbal who had hopes of good results following from this movement. But as the time passed, the real content and spirit of the movement revealed itself. In religious and social matters, the Qadianis pursued a separatist policy and gradually the idea was evolved by them of constituting a new community on the foundations of a rival prophethood. Accordingly, the conception of Finality of Prophethood in Islam was abandoned, a new prophethood was claimed and it was declared that all the Muslims who refused to accept the truth of the 'new' revelation were

Kafirs. As a community, the qadianis gave themselves a new name Ahmadis, refused to participate in the congregational prayers of the Muslims and socially boycotted the Muslims in the matters of matrimony, participation in the funeral prayers etc. However, the Qadianis refrained from completely cutting themselves off from the parent community and politically endeavoured to remain within the fold of Islam, obviously for political advantage which accrued to them only by remaining within the fold of Islam.

It was actually the political ideology of the Qadianis which instigated Iqbal to attack them and in attacking Qadianism he felt obliged to get himself involved in a theological controversy. The position of the Qadianis was this: Theologically they regarded themselves as a community separate from the Muslims, but politically they preferred to remain within the fold of Islam for securing such gain as Government employment under the Muslim quota. In addition to this, they remained ideologically loyal to the British, rejected the idea of Muslim nationhood, and refused to join hands with the Muslims in their struggle for securing political independence from the British as well as the Hindus.

Iqbal, as an ardent supporter of Islamic solidarity and as the first exponent of 'Muslim nationalism' in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, could not tolerate the emergence of a group of dissenters from the parent Muslim community who should hypocritically remain within the fold of Islam and cause further disruption within the ranks of Muslims particularly when they were unfortunately already so chaotically divided. In his address to the Muslim Conference session held at Lahore in March 1932. Iqbal summed up the Muslim position thus:

"And be it further said to the shame of us men of older generation, that we have failed to equip the younger generation for the economic, political and even religious crises that the present age is likely to bring. The whole community needs a complete overhauling of its present mentality in order that it may again become capable of feeling the urge of fresh desires

and ideals. The Indian Muslim has long ceased to explore the depths of his inner selfThere is yet a sort of chaos in the political thought of those who are supposed to guide the activities of Indian Muslims in the present day political struggles.”

This chaotic position of the Muslims was not to last long. On the return of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah from England the Muslim League was re-organized and the Muslim struggle to gain national independence started in right earnest. In 1940 the Pakistan resolution was passed at Lahore. The Muslims stood solidly behind Quaid-e-Azam and nine years after the death of Iqbal his dream of creating an independent Muslim state was realized. In the exchange of population that followed the establishment of independent Pakistan and independent India, the Qadianis came like the other Muslims as refugees from the Indian territories to Pakistan, the national home-land of the Muslims.

Hence politically the differences between the Muslims and the Qadianis ceased to exist. Theologically, however, their differences seem to continue although confined to certain theological groups. Enlightened Muslims who are mainly interested in the preservation of Pakistan could not possibly be moved by sectarian controversies unless and until such controversies tend to lead to disloyalty towards Pakistan as a State. The importance, therefore, of the anti-Qadiani statements of Iqbal is no more than merely historical. No well-wisher of Pakistan may he be a Sunni, a Shia, a wahabi or a Qadiani would care to associate himself with any controversy the effect of which is to harm or injure the solidarity of the Pakistani people.

IQBAL'S CONCEPTION OF IJTIHAD

We have got the promised land of Pakistan. And we are indebted to those who have paid the heaviest for it. Yet then we find a breathing space to look around us, we feel confused to find ourselves thrown in a dark abyss. Many discordant voices are heard but none appears to signify anything.

We made our presence felt to the whole of the world only because we were Musulmans. And even now, all of us sincerely desire to lay the foundations of our social life purely on the basis which Islam has provided for us. Still why it is that our heritage, our own conceptions and traditions have become an enigma for us? Why do we hesitate to solve the problems which the time has thrown in our path? Not because we had been crushed under the foreign heels, the truth is that we are ourselves to blame to have misunderstood the very spirit that throbs in Islam.

Surveying the pre-Islamic conditions, we notice that the human intellect was indeed in a state of infancy. Thus all the religious systems which precede Islam were no more than mere codes, in which God appears as a school-master holding a stick in His hand, to provide the infant intellect of humanity with ready-made judgments, choices or ways of action. The Quran was only revealed when the human intellect had attained to adulthood and maturity. Hence we come across everywhere in the Holy Book such provocations as “Don't you see?” or “Don't you think?” or “Don't you understand?”

There was no need of commandments now but provoking man's own reason, as the occasion demands it and God knew. Therefore changing His ancient attitude, He revealed Himself as a Friend and a Guide in our choice of Right and Wrong.

So if we penetrate deep to understand the significance of Islam, we must reach at the conclusion that its birth was in fact the birth of inductive intellect. As a cultural movement, according to Iqbal, it rejected the old view of the Universe and presented a dynamic view. Islam demands loyalty to God and to none besides Him. And since He is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to Him means loyalty to Man's own ideal self. Iqbal says: "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change."

I should better explain the difficult position. If we apply the concept of perfection to the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, we run the risk of pre-supposing Him as circular or static, as most of the Greek thinkers did. And if, on the other hand, we apply the concept of change or evolution to the Absolute then it involves the idea of imperfection or progress towards some end which might be understood in terms of perfection. Both views lead to negative conclusions. But God did make Himself clear when He declared in the Holy Book: "We reveal Ourselves daily in a new splendour" (Sura Rahman). Iqbal found reconciliation of the concepts of perfection and change in this verse of the Quran, and based the super-structure of his dynamic philosophy on this fact. For him this verse is the very essence of the Quran. The idea of change of the ultimate spiritual basis of all life in the state of permanence is the greatest contribution that Iqbal has made to the world philosophic thought. I do not intend to discuss nor space permits me to comment on or critically appreciate the apparent contradictions on that the concept 'variety-in-permanence' entails.

To plunge directly into my subject, I may boldly assert that if the Quran is an embodiment of the dynamic outlook on life, why should then our society be not based upon this great face. I do not mean to say here that our society was never based upon the ideal as such, nor it is a new discovery. But ignorance, misunderstanding and personal ends of certain groups of people caused its decline, and along with its decline came the so-called decline of Islam.

The principle of movement in the social structure of Islam then, as known to all of us, is 'Ijtihad'. Iqbal explains the word by saying: "In the terminology of Islamic law it means to exert with a view to form an independent judgment on a legal question." The idea might have been taken from the famous verse of the Quran: "And to those who exert We show our Path." We also find it lucidly illustrated in one of the traditions of the Holy Prophet. The Prophet is reported to have asked Ma'ad, the then appointed ruler of Yemen, by what method would he decide problems coming up before him. "I will judge matters according to the Book of God," replied Ma'ad. "But if the Book of God contains nothing to guide you?" "Then I will act on the precedents of the Prophet of God." "But if the precedents even fail?" "Then I will exert to for my own judgement."

I have quoted this tradition to show that 'Ijtihad' had, in a way, complete authority in legislation. Its theoretical possibility is admitted by the Sunnis yet its practice has been denied ever since the establishment of the schools. To the question why the Islamic Law is reduced to a state of immobility or a stationary character, the causes as seen by Iqbal can be safely assumed to have been these: firstly, the development of the Mutazillite (Rationalistic) school during the early days of the Abbasides had taken the religious controversies to such a bitter extreme as to question the eternity of the Quran, the God's word. They believed that if the Quran was eternal, then it was a co-relate to the eternity of Allah. But eternity was an attribute of God alone. Thus in their opinion, the Quran was merely a creation which had

ultimately to perish when its felicitous function was over. It was one of their bold doctrines. Later Abbasides feared the political implications of this extreme form of Mutazillitism and therefore mis-apprehending the ultimate motives of the school, regarded this movement as a force of disintegration, and a menace to the stability of Islam as a social polity. Many of the dynamic thinkers were actually butchered and there was no course left for the conservatives backed by the Sultans, to utilize the binding force of Shari'at, so that the net of their legal system be tightened as rigorously as possible.

Secondly, the growth of ascetic Sufism, a purely speculative attitude towards life, sponsored to some extent by the Greek and Hindu ideology, was also a cause of negligence and indifference towards the necessity of Ijtihad. Sufism attracted nearly all the great minds of the period, and the Muslim State, as Iqbal says, "was thus left generally in the hands of intellectual mediocrities, and the unthinking masses of Islam, having no personalities of higher caliber to guide them, found their security only in blindly following the schools."

Lastly, the sack of Baghdad by Halaku Khan was a final blow to the creative tendencies in Islamic thought. Fifty thousand books were burnt in the library of Baghdad and all the then great thinkers were mercilessly put to death. The remaining conservatives secretly focused their attention to the point of preserving a uniform social life for the people by excluding all innovations in the law of Shari'at. The strict organization thus formed was no doubt of a great help to counteract the forces of complete decay.

After two hundred years history took its revenge. All the Tatars came in the fold of Islam. But Tatars were strictly speaking, a race of warriors. They too did not think of creative innovations but accepted it in the strictest possible form as it was presented to them. Hence Islam was reduced to a code of certain laws (in the form of the Jewish or Christian Commandments) which had to be blind-foldedly followed. They ignorantly thought by evolving this rigorous

social order that they followed Islam rightly, whereas they had gone back – even to the extent of pre-Islamic days, when religions were merely codes of law, when the human intellect had not attained to adulthood and when God was considered in terms of a Police Sergeant and not in terms of a Guide or a Friend. Iqbal has so nicely put it: "But they did not see, and our modern Ulema do not see, that the ultimate fate of people does not depend so much on organization as on the worth and power of individual men. In an over-organized society the individual is altogether crushed out of existence. He gains the whole wealth of social thought around him and loses his own soul. Thus a false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection constitute no remedy for a people's decay." He further adds, "The only effective power, therefore, that counteracts the forces of decay in a people is the rearing of self-concentrated individuals. Such individual alone reveal the depth of life. They disclose new standards in the light of which we begin to see that our environment is not wholly invincible and requires revision. The tendency to over-organization by a false reverence of the past as manifested in the legists of Islam in the thirteenth century and later, was contrary to the inner impulse of Islam."

Iqbal, however, seems afraid to discuss 'Fiqh' in detail as he was not sure what sort of reaction he might get from the conservative Muslim public. He says, "Unfortunately, the conservative Muslim public of this country is not yet quite ready for a critical discussion of 'Fiqh' which, if undertaken, is likely to displease most people and raise sectarian controversies." Obviously he had gone through the whole of it and had felt the necessity to re-evaluate and re-adjust it. But he did not dare do it publicly as the conditions never permitted him.

As all great books of the world, when read again and again through the variation of Time, reveal new possibilities of meaning and understanding, so shall the Quran, the greatest of all books, open new realms of knowledge when read through centuries which have yet to come; because its life is

based on the principle of variety in permanence. For Iqbal the true and genuine interpretation of the Quran had yet to arrive. But shall we not think in terms of change, the basic principle of Islam, only because we are afraid of being considered as innovators, radicals, or becoming infamous or notorious in the eyes of illiterate masses helpless in the firm grip of worn-out Mullaism? Don't we know that from the earliest times, even up to the rise of the Abbasides, there was no written law of Islam apart from the Quran? Then in the middle of the first century upto the beginning of the fourth there were no less than nineteen schools of law and legal opinion?

With the expansion of the Islamic empire the out-look of the Muslim legists was also broadened. They went on adjusting the law according to the local conditions of life and habits of the new people that embraced Islam. If we study the contemporary social and political history we find that their deductive attitude changed steadily into the inductive as far as the interpretation of their legal opinion was concerned.

Finally looking at the four accepted sources of Mohammaden Law (The Quran, the Hadith, the Ijma and the Qiyas) including the controversies they involve, the fact becomes abundantly clear that the rigidity of the recognized schools is injurious and the need of a further development becomes essential.

Now, for a moment, let us study briefly the sources of movement in the social structure of Islam. Firstly, we will take the primary source of Islamic law i.e., the Quran. The Quran, Iqbal believes, is not essentially a legal code. Its ultimate purpose is to awaken a higher consciousness in man as far as his relations with God and universe at large are concerned. And yet it lays down certain principles uniting religion and state, ethics and politics in one comprehensive whole. Again with all the comprehensiveness, the principles are brought to our understanding by individual interpretations and as such cannot claim any finality. Neither the founders of our schools did ever claim such finality. To

label it is clear: "The claim of the present generation of Muslim liberals to reinterpret the foundational legal principles, in the light of their own experience and the altered conditions of modern life is, to my opinion, perfectly justified. The teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems."

Now I come to the second source of Mohammaden Law i.e., the Hadith, the Tradition of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), which has evoked much discussion both in ancient and modern times. There are those who believe in its trustworthiness and validity but others do not. Taking the positive view, we can trust Tradition provided we agree with the prophetic method of teaching as put by Shah Wali Ullah, whom Iqbal also quotes. To Shah Wali Ullah, "the law revealed by a prophet takes especial notice of the habits, ways and peculiarities of the people to whom he is specifically sent. His method is to train one particular people, and to use them as a nucleus for the building up of a universal Shariat. In doing so he accentuates the principles underlying the social life of all mankind, and applies them to concrete cases in the light of the specific habits of the people immediately before him. The Shariat values (Ahkam) resulting from this application (e.g. rules relating to penalties for crimes etc.) are in a sense specific to that people, and since their observance is not an end in itself they cannot be strictly enforced in the case of future generation."

Abu Hanifa and after him Ahmad Ibn-i-Hambal did not make use of Tradition because for them it was not worthwhile to apply it on legal matters of changed conditions. Iqbal justifies Abu Hanifa's attitude towards the tradition of a purely legal import and says, "If modern liberalism considers it safer not to make any indiscriminate use of them as a source of law it will be only following one of the greatest exponents of Mohammaden Law in Sunni Islam."

Now let us take the third source of Mohammeden Law, i.e. Ijma, the most important legal notion in Islam, which as far as the practice is concerned has remained merely an idea and very rarely assumed the form of a permanent institution in any Islamic country. The cause of this neglect was that the establishment of absolute monarchy immediately after the fourth Caliph, breed a fear in the minds of the Sultans lest their own overthrow should become probable if the power of legal independence be given to an assembly. "The growth of republican spirit" says Iqbal, "and the gradual formation of legislative assemblies in Muslim lands constitute a great step in advance. The transfer of power of Ijtihad from individual representatives of schools to a Muslim legislative assembly which, in view of the growth of opposing sects, is the only possible from which the Ijma can take in modern times, will secure contributions to legal discussion from laymen who happen to possess a keen insight into affairs." The Ijma has the power to extend or limit the application of a Quranic rule of law, but it has no authority to repeal or supersede it by another rule of law. In other words we are bound by the decision of the Companions that all that is included in the Quran (in the form of Suras) is a part of it. But as far as its interpretation is concerned, on the authority of Karkhi, says Iqbal, "the later generations are not bound by the decision of the Companions." We can say that the Sunnah of the Companions is binding only in such matters which we are not in a position to solve by Qiyas. But" says Karkhi, "it is not so in matters which can be established by Qiyas."

And now about the fourth and the last basis of Fiqh i.e. the Qiyas. Qiyas, according to Shafa'i is another name for Ijtihad which within the limits of the revealed text is absolutely free. On the authority of most of the doctors, it was even permitted in the lifetime of the Holy Prophet. Iqbal believes, "The closing of the doors of Ijtihad is pure fiction suggested partly by the crystallization of legal thought in Islam, and partly by that intellectual laziness which, especially in the period of spiritual decay, turns great thinkers into idols.

If some of the later doctors have upheld this fiction, modern Islam is not bound by this voluntary surrender of intellectual independence." Thus according to him we should courageously proceed "equipped with penetrative thought and fresh experience" to the work of reconstruction of Islamic legal thought.

For Iqbal, modern Turkey is a pattern before us, by slightly improving which we can build our own model. He has longingly declared. "If the renaissance of Islam is a fact, and I believe it is a fact, we too one day, like the Turks, will have to re-evaluate our intellectual inheritance." So we should have the freedom of Ijtihad with a view to rebuild the law of Shari'at in the light of modern thought and experience. And as the Turk is inspired by the realities of his own experience, and not by orthodox reasoning of jurists who lived and thought under different conditions of life, so should we think in terms of our own experience and conditions. Only then can we claim a right of intellectual freedom, only then can we pass from the 'ideal to the real', howsoever keen intellectual and moral struggle this hazardous undertaking might entail.

To sum up, Iqbal's purpose in writing this was nothing else than to give an idea to us as to how we used to solve our difficulties in old times. Now in the light of this experience, we can think and definitely solve the problems which the modern times have thrown before us. We will have to readjust our legal notions keeping in view our own experience and local conditions. And if we do not do it, we are to be blamed for behaving contrary to the spirit of Islam.

I need not mention the problems (as all of us already know) which the independent Ijtihad of Pakistan should come to grips with. I know only this much to say that we have achieved one freedom and that the other is yet to come. I wonder why our intelligentsia feel shy to give exposition to their thoughts. Unconsciously we all feel the necessity of some change, but consciously we are afraid to take it up. Renaissance in Islam in Pakistan must come, and if it is arrested, gagged or crushed, then we will be for ever doomed

to remain like a stagnant pool, till the mud completely occupies its depths and water evaporates by the heat of the sun.

I may conclude it with a quotation from Iqbal: "The final act is not an intellectual act, but a vital act which deepens the whole being of the ego, and sharpens his (man's) will with the creative assurance that the world is not something to be merely seen or known through concepts, but something to be made and remade by continuous action." Here lies the secret of Islam, the very spirit, the essence of our lives:

Art thou a mere particle of dust?
Tighten the knot of thy ego;
And hold fast to thy tiny being;
How glorious to burnish one's ego
And to test its luster in the presence of the sun
Re-chised, then, thine ancient frame;
And built up a new being.
Such being is real being;
Or else thy ego is a mere ring of smoke.

Iqbal

IQBAL – A THEISTIC SOCIALIST?

In his recent article on 'Iqbal and Colonialism — IIP' (*The Pakistan Times*, May 17) 'Zeno' regrets that ideological discussion in our country has developed a tendency for ignoring even the obvious facts of a case and the conclusions to be derived from them by the plainest common-sense. In his view it is an 'obvious fact' that Iqbal was a 'theistic Socialist'. But many Muslims do not agree with him. According to them the obvious fact is that Iqbal was a firm believer in the economic system of Islam and that he had nothing to do with any variety of Socialism.

Before we embark on a discussion regarding the position of Iqbal, let us take into consideration some other obvious facts. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century new ideas such as nationalism, patriotism, constitutionalism and Socialism were imported from the West into the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. The Hindus accepted these new ideas without any criticism, but the Muslims did not. The Muslims accepted these ideas only so far as they were in conformity with Islam. Thus if the accepted definition of nationalism was 'a principle of human unity founded on race, language and territory'—Muslims interpreted it as 'laying down one's life for one's country'—Muslims interpreted it as 'laying down one's life for one's religious-cultural traditions'. If constitutionalism was generally defined as 'a written instrument embodying the principles of fundamental law'—to Muslims it meant 'a written instrument

embodying the principles of fundamental law as enunciated by the Quran and the Sunnah'.

What's Socialism?

Socialism as defined in the Oxford English Dictionary, "is a theory or policy of social organisation which aims at or advocates ownership and control of the means of production, capital, land, property etc., by the community as a whole and their administration and distribution in the interest of all".

Webster writes: "These aims have given rise to many distinct schools...Bolshevism of Russia (being one of them).....Usually Socialism denotes the doctrine developed by Ferdinand Lassalle and Karl Marx, particularly the scientific Socialism of the latter and his followers.....On questions of policy, opportunist or conservative Socialists believe in a slow evolutionary transformation of capitalist into Socialist society, while radical or revolutionary Socialists believe in class war and the over-throw of capitalism by political uprising or a general strike".

Socialism has given birth to numerous groups- — collectivist, nationalist, nihilist, anarchist, Socialist, Communist, Bolshevik — all of these groups are united in distrusting the system of capitalist control of industry. The collectivist (or nationalist) would transfer much of that control to existing governments. The other groups object to this — the nihilist, on the ground that existing governments are survivals of a bad political tradition; the anarchist, because they are supporters of class distinctions and class privileges. The Marxian Socialist, more specifically, emphasises the economic evils of capitalist management, holds that labour creates value, that profit is mostly robbery, and that the proletariat must attain political power to remedy the evil. Communist, in the usual sense of the word, denotes an extreme Marxian Socialist, who would abolish property as well as profit. The Bolsheviks, a political rather than economic group, came into power as revolutionary Socialists in Russia, but many of their leaders abandoned Marx's theory

of value when they found it impracticable. (Webster's Dictionary: see under 'Socialism').

Muslims also rejected the generally accepted definition of Socialism and instead laid emphasis on 'the economic system of Islam.' They would have nothing to do with secular nationalism and constitutionalism, idolatrous patriotism or atheistic Socialism. This process of fixing definitions of these new ideas brought into being a new Muslim terminology in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The terms which gained currency were 'Islamic nationalism', 'Islamic constitutionalism', 'Islamic patriotism' and 'Islamic Socialism'. However, these terms were coined for the sake of convenience and in order to explain the Muslim viewpoint in a specific phase of their cultural history. By this terminology the Muslims meant nothing more than this that Islam was their nationalism, patriotism, constitutionalism as well as Socialism, i.e., Islam was a complete code of life, religious, political as well as economic. But as shall be explained later, these expressions have served their purpose and have now become obsolete in Pakistan.

Bolshevism

'Zeno' would have us believe that according to Iqbal the Russian experiment with Socialism was based on 'La' (negation of God) and if 'illa' (affirmation of God) could be added to it, the experiment would have been acceptable to him. 'Zeno' main-tains: "It was for this reason that Iqbal wrote to Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saiyyedain, while rejecting the atheism of Bolshevik Socialists, that: 'As for Socialism, Islam itself is a kind of Socialism, from which Muslim Society has so far not derived the benefits that it has in it'".

This sweeping generalization of 'Zeno' is far from being an obvious fact when the contents of Iqbal's letter to Ghulam-us-Saiyyedain are studied as a whole without taking a sentence out of its context. This letter is dated, Oct.17, 1936, and appears on page 318 of *Letters of Iqbal* ed. by Sh Attaullah, Vol. I. Iqbal writes:

"The believers in Socialism (the word used in Urdu text is also Socialism) are everywhere against religious spirituality and consider it as opium. Karl Marx was the first to use the word opium in this context. I am a Muslim and 'Insha Allah' will die as a Muslim. In my view the dialectic interpretation of human history is absolutely wrong. I am a firm believer of spiritualism as revealed in the Quran and I have attempted to explain it time and again in my numerous writings, particularly in my Persian Mathnavi, which shall reach you in the near future. The type of spiritualism which, in my opinion, is objectionable and contains 'opiumistic quality', I have condemned on many occasions. As for Socialism, Islam itself is a kind of socialism, from which Muslim society has so far not derived the benefits that it has in it."

The contents of this letter reveal that Iqbal does not accept Karl Marx's dialectic interpretation of history. Therefore, he cannot possibly be regarded as a Socialist of any variety. He claims himself to be a Muslim and hopes to die as a Muslim. If the last sentence of this letter is read in its proper context. It simply means that: Muslims should seek the solution of their economic problems in Islam.

A Warning

Now let us study the contents of Iqbal's letter to Sir Francis Younghusband from which 'Zeno' has again quoted a sentence out of its context: "Since Bolshevism plus God is almost identical with Islam, I should not be surprised, if in the course of time, either Islam absorbs (the word used in the original text is 'devour') Russia or Russia Islam."

This letter is included in *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal* compiled by Shamloo, pub. by Al-Manar Academy, Lahore, 1948. (pp. 164-169). Extracts of it were originally published in *The Civil and Military Gazette* on 30th July, 1931 (not 1935). The relevant portion reads as follows:

"Any attempt on the part of Great Britain at the next Round-Table Conference to take an undue advantage of communal split (in India) will ultimately prove disastrous to both countries. If you transfer political authority to the Hindu and keep him in power for any material benefit to Great Britain you will drive

the Indian Muslims to use the same weapons against the Swaraj or Anglo-Swaraj Government as Gandhi did against the British Government. Moreover, it may result in the whole of Muslim Asia being driven into the lap of Russian Communism which would serve as a *coup de grace* to British supremacy in the East. I do not myself believe that the Russians are by nature an irreligious people. On the contrary, I think that they are men and women of strong religious tendencies and the present negative state of Russian mind will not last indefinitely, for no system of society can rest on an atheistic basis. As soon as things settle down in that country and its people have time to think calmly, they will be forced to find a positive foundation for their system. Since Bolshevism plus God is almost identical with Islam, I should not be surprised if, in the course of time, either Islam would devour Russia or Russia Islam. The result will depend, I think, to a considerable extent on the position which is given to the Indian Muslims under the new constitution."

The contents of this letter disclose that Iqbal wants to give a 'diplomatic' warning to the British — if they transfer political authority exclusively to the Hindu majority and do not accept the separate national status of the Indian Muslims under the new constitution (which followed as the Government of India Act 1935), the whole of Muslim Asia may be driven into the lap of Russian Communism. Iqbal understands the British mind very well and knows how to play on it. He is aware that the British are mortally afraid of Russian expansionism. Therefore he threatens the British that Russians are religious people like Muslims, that their atheism is, only a passing phase, and that there exist possibilities of a Russo-Muslim alliance in case the British refuse to give to the Indian Muslims what they want.

Merely Topical

This letter does not appear in any of the hitherto published six collections of Iqbal's letters, speeches and statements. One of these collections entitled *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* ed. by Syed Abdul Wahid. pb. by M. Ashraf,

1964, deletes it for the reason that such utterances of Iqbal were merely topical and had no permanent value (see Introduction p. xiii). There are many statements of topical nature attributed to Iqbal. For instance, Abdulla Anwar Beg quotes Iqbal who is reported to have said: "In Germany Hitler has founded a new era". (*Poet of the East*, p. 130). W. C. Smith thinks that Iqbal was greatly impressed by Mussolini (*Modern Islam in India*, p. 115). M. D. Taseer quotes Iqbal having once said that if he were made a dictator of a Muslim State, he would first make it a Socialist State. (Introduction: *Aspects of Iqbal*, p. xix.) But would it be correct to pin Iqbal down on the basis of these statements of a topical nature and to brand him with such labels as theistic Socialist 'fascist or national Socialist? Such utterances of Iqbal, even if accepted as true at their face-value, do not at all affect his interpretation of Islam as a complete code of life.

'Zeno' is of course not the first who wants us to believe that Iqbal was a Socialist of some 'brand' or the other. In a Lahore Paper entitled *Inqilab* (this Paper commenced its publication in September, 1922 for Communist propaganda, but was closed down after an year or so due to lack of funds and a limited circle of readers) an article appeared written by its editor Comrade Shamsud-din Hassan, who tried to establish through Iqbal's writings that Iqbal was a 'Bolshevik'. He stated that if it was a crime to hold Communist views, then how could Iqbal save himself from the clutches of the law? The Communist State was founded on the ideas of Karl Marx, in the popular sense, were termed Socialism and Communism. In these circumstances if any one were to carefully study Iqbal's *Khizr-e-Rab* and *Payam-e-Mashriq*, he would at once arrive at the conclusion that Iqbal was certainly not only a Communist but was the arch-preacher of Communism in this country.

Iqbal's Denial

In order to refute these allegations Iqbal wrote a letter published in the *Zamindar* dated 23-6-1923. He said that in his

opinion to hold Bolshevik views amounted to the renunciation of Islam. He explained:

"I am a Muslim. It is my affirmed conviction and this conviction is founded on sound and demonstrable reasoning that the Quran has suggested the best cure for economic ailments of the entire humanity. Undoubtedly when the power of capitalism transgresses the limits of moderation, it becomes a kind of curse for the world. But in order to release the world from its pernicious effects the method of totally eliminating this element from the economic system, as suggested by the Bolsheviks, is not appropriate. The Quran has suggested the enforcement of the Law of Inheritance, the organisation of *Zakat* etc. for keeping this power within reasonable limits, and if one were to keep in view human nature, it is possible to realise that this is the only method which is practicable. Russian Bolshevism emerged as a reaction against the short-sighted and selfish capitalism of Europe. But the fact remains that Western capitalism and Russian Bolshevism result from a bitter struggle being waged between the haves and the have-nots. As I have mentioned above, the way of moderation is the only one which the Quran has suggested to us. The object of Islamic Shariat is to stop one group from oppressing the other through the power of capitalism, and I believe that for the realisation of this object the easiest method is the one which has been revealed to us by our Holy Prophet (PBUH).....It is unfortunate that Muslims have not yet cared to study the economic aspect of Islam, otherwise they would have realised what a blessing Islam is in this respect. It is my conviction that in 'You have been bestowed with the blessings of brotherhood' the reference is to this very blessing, because individuals of a community cannot constitute a brother-hood in the real sense unless they are equal to each other in all respects, and the realisation of this principle of equality is not possible without the implementation of such an economic system which confines the power of capitalism within reasonable limits.... I believe that the Russians themselves after discovering the faults in their present experiment will be compelled to turn to some other economic system, the foundational principles of which are either purely Islamic or similar to them. At present the economic ideal or the course of action adopted by the Russians, howsoever

praiseworthy it may be, can possibly have no attraction for Muslims. Muslims of India and other parts of the world who read European books on Political Economy get very easily impressed by Western ideas. It is essential that in these times they should make a profound study of the economic teachings of the Quran. I am certain that they will find the solution of all their problems in this Book. The Muslim members of the Labour Union of Lahore in particular must direct themselves to these teachings. I am in full sympathy with their aims and objects, but I hope that they will not adopt any such course of action which is opposed to the teachings of the Quran." (*Gulistane-Iqbal* ed. by Mohammad Rafique Afzal, Pub. by the Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, Lahore 1969, p. 5.)

Now let us turn to another statement of Iqbal — the Presidential Address delivered at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim Conference at Lahore on 21st March, 1932. He said:

"The peoples of Asia are bound to rise against the acquisitive economy which the West has developed and imposed on the nations of the East. Asia cannot comprehend modern Western capitalism with its undisciplined individualism. The Faith which you represent recognises the worth of the individual and disciplines him to give away his all to the service of God and man. Its possibilities are not yet exhausted. It can still create a new world where the social rank of man is not determined by his caste or colour or by the amount of dividend he earns, but by the kind of life he lives; where the poor tax the rich, where human society is founded not on the equality of stomachs but on the equality of spirits, where an untouchable can marry the daughter of a king, where private ownership is a trust and where capital cannot be allowed to accumulate so as to dominate the real producer of wealth." (*Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* ed. by Syed Abdul Wahid, pp. 212, 213).

Let us collect the obvious facts scattered in these writings of Iqbal concerning Iqbal's personal views:

- (1) He claims himself to be a Muslim and hopes to die as a Muslim.

- (2) He rejects Karl Marx's dialectic interpretation of history.
- (3) In his opinion holding of Bolshevik (this expression is used by Iqbal in its broader sense) views amounts to the renunciation of Islam.
- (4) He firmly believes that the Quran has suggested the best remedy for economic ailments of the entire humanity.
- (5) Although he is anti-capitalist, he does not approve of totally eliminating the power of capitalism from the economic system.
- (6) He regards private ownership as a sacred trust.
- (7) He does not permit the accumulation of wealth in such a way that it should dominate the real producer of wealth.
- (8) He approves of the way of moderation, i.e. confining the power of capitalism within reasonable limits.
- (9) He recommends Muslim members of the labour Unions to study the economic teachings of the Quran and hopes that they would not follow a course of action which is opposed to those teachings.

Do these 'obvious facts' disclose that Iqbal is a 'theistic Socialist'? 'Zeno' seems to have picked up this expression from the writings of Dr. Annemarie Schimmel who uses the words 'a kind of theistic socialism' while describing the economic philosophy of Iqbal. However, Dr. Schimmel can be forgiven for having used this phrase because she does not claim to be an expert on Socialism. But what should we accept from 'Zeno'? Either he, like Dr. Schimmel, does not understand Socialism or he is only trying to pull our leg!

II

Undoubtedly as a poet, Iqbal was moved by the international forces which were active in his contemporary world. He hated Western capitalist democratic order, imperialism, colonialism, etc., and objectively put forward the fascist and Communist standpoints. He may have

sympathetically watched the Russian experiment with Socialism because it was a kind of endeavour to realise the ideal of equality, so basic in Islam, although in the materialistic sense, so abominable to Iqbal. However, for Muslims in particular, he advanced his personal views which are based on the Quranic teachings.

He points out in his famous poem 'Ishtrakiat' (Communism) "The policies of certain nations make me feel that the feverish activities of Russians are not fruitless. Apprehension of capitalist exploitation has forced the emergence of revolutionary ideas. This age is weary of antiquated methods. Immerse yourself in the Quran, O Muslim! May God grant you the capacity of being novel in your activities. The truth which is so far hidden in (the Quranic verse) 'Say — the surplus' may be revealed in this era." (*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 138).

After a careful study of the capitalist democratic order of the power elite and the Communist dictatorial order of the proletariat in their present forms, Iqbal rejected them both as being defective and false in the light of Quranic teachings. He believes:

Both Incomplete

"Both these organisations of human life are incomplete and insufficient because both exclude God and deceive man. One of them thrives on class-hatred and destruction (*kuhraj*) and the other's object is to extort money from the oppressed (*keharaj*). Both these systems are two slabs of stone between which man is ground like a piece of glass. One destroys knowledge, religion and art, the other deprives the body of its soul and snatches bread from the hand. Both these systems are based on materialism. They strive to brighten the body and darken the soul." (*Javid Nama*, p. 70)

At this stage it may be appropriate to study what the Socialists (those who really understand Socialism) have to say regarding the economic philosophy of Iqbal. Two examples

will suffice: W.C. Smith, a Socialist from the Western bloc and Prof. Jan Marek, a Socialist from the Eastern bloc.

W.C. Smith writes: "His (Iqbal's) writings are throughout tinged socialistically.... But the basic fact is that he never knew what Socialism is — He explicitly said: 'Socialism has to do only with the body.' Once this misapprehension of his is realised, the rest follows readily — Towards the end of his life some of his friends were able to convince him that he really did not understand Socialism, and he was, perhaps, preparing to remedy this ignorance when he died". (*Modern Islam in India* p. 113).

Prof. Marek writes (the grammatical errors in English may be overlooked): "Belief in God and overestimation of the spiritual side of life led Iqbal to consider capitalism and Socialism as almost equal systems. He thought them identical in their un-godliness and their excessive care for the material well-being of man. In expressing his idea he forgot, to a greater extent than in his former collections, that in the capitalist system unobstructed care of bodily well-being can be exerted only by a part of human society. At the time of the origin of his collection *The Message of the East* (1924) Iqbal was able to recognise the true character of capitalist society more markedly and more correctly. Later on he fell deep into mystical speculation, considering belief in God the only decisive criterion of the values of various social systems. From this viewpoint he considers the capitalist and the Socialist order identical.... In the conclusion of his message to the Russian nation Iqbal expounds the ideas of Moslem Socialism, a socio-philosophic doctrine which was then very popular with a minor part of the Indian Moslem intelligentsia. The doctrine stressed the social aspects of the Koran teaching, proclaiming that the equality of all people did not necessitate a revolution or an economic organisation of human society; consistent adherence to the orders of the Koran was sufficient for the attainment of the said aim. Some members of the Moslem intelligentsia based their belief chiefly on those verses of the Koran which condemned lords,

riches and avarice, defended slaves, and fostered charitable activities and the giving of alms. Quoted most frequently in this respect was verse 2:219, 'They will ask thee what they shall expend in alms. Say — The surplus', and verse 3:87, 'You cannot attain to righteousness until you expend in alms what ye love'. Moslem Socialism raises charitable activity, depending on the goodwill of wealthy individuals, to the principle of the distribution of social means. Iqbal tried to prove that the principles of scientific Socialism, realised practically for the first time in Soviet Russia, were identical with the principles of the Koran and that consequently no difficulties would be involved by the Soviet peoples' acceptance of belief in Allah and their allowing themselves to be guided by the Koran and its laws... It is obvious that Iqbal could not have been serious in his exhortations. To consider their literal meaning would equal considering their author a naive simpleton and profaning his poetry. In his endeavour to revive the Islam, Iqbal merely wanted to prove that the teaching of the Koran could be applied also in modern life and chose the method of the confrontation of the Islamic principles with the various aspects of the contemporary social life for the purpose. In this particular case, however, his analogy was erroneous, since he failed to understand the principles of the scientific Socialism. Iqbal never knew what Socialism was and never took any pains to study it profoundly. He only approved of the Socialist principle of equal distribution of the means of living. He was chiefly interested in showing that principles, similar to those proclaimed in the Koran, could be practically applied. The success of the Socialist order in the Soviet Union afforded him another proof of the possibility of believing in the Islam religion even in modern times....

These verses indicate best that Iqbal criticises the contemporary society above all from a Utopian-viewpoint. However, his Utopianism was not a continuation of the tradition of the Utopian Socialists of the 18th and 19th centuries who at least based their ideas on a concrete analysis

of their society. Iqbal's Utopia was metaphysical, abstract, approaching rather the Christian Utopian teaching of St. Augustine on the divine society. It was very distant from the Socialist Utopia, because it was based on Iqbal's sentimental and rational predilection for the feudal order and for the religious organisation of society." (Notes on Some Social Ideas contained in Iqbal's *Javid Nama* — "Book of Eternity", pb. by Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Prague. 1967. pp. 239-243).

Frank Views

It can be deduced from what has been quoted above that W.C. Smith is convinced of Iqbal's ignorance regarding the understanding of Socialism and Prof. Marek agrees with him. But although Prof. Marek's attitude towards Iqbal is: "How dare you little naive simpleton Moslems offer Islam to the big Soviet people," his views are very interesting. He seems to think that the success of Socialism in the Soviet Union made Iqbal believe "in the Islam religion even in modern times." We may not agree with him there. But he is certainly correct when he says that Iqbal's real object was the religious organisation of society. In other words, 'Islamic socialism' of Iqbal is in fact the organisation of Islamic society on the basis of the economic teachings of the Quran. No wonder Iqbal's economic Utopia is very distant from the Socialist Utopia. However, these two Socialist scholars deserve our respect because they have expressed their views frankly and not hypocritically.

What is briefly the economic aspect of Quranic teachings, towards which Iqbal wants to draw the attention of the Muslims? Iqbal believes that the Quran is a living miracle because its verses can be interpreted according to the needs of each new age and generation. In his opinion the Quranic remedy of the economic ailments of humanity is perfect because it is based on the affirmation of God as the creator and on faith in human brother-hood, rather than the negation of God and class-hatred. In other words the approach of the

Quran is positive rather than negative. Hence it acknowledges the fundamental human right of 'private ownership' with the proviso that any individual cannot accumulate so much wealth that it becomes a source of exploitation of others. The Quran forbids such concentration of capital which violates the collective rights of the community and it disallows the use of unfair means to accumulate wealth.

The Arabic phrase 'Iqtisad' (Economics) has been derived from the word *qasd* meaning 'moderation'. The expression, therefore, means: 'The maintenance of a correct balance between labour and capital through moderation'. Iqbal says: "In the states of anger or pleasure be always just, and under the conditions of affluence or poverty, adopt the way of moderation (*qasd*)."
(*Javid Nama*, p. 239).

Since Muslims believe in the sovereignty of God alone (which means sovereignty of the people because God's approval is implicit through the voice of the people, under the law of the Quran, the sovereignty of a specific group, whether it is composed of the-power elite or of the proletariat, is illegal and contrary to the Quranic teachings. According to Iqbal, the rule of the power elite is indeed a curse, but there is no guarantee of the solution of the problems of humanity if the reins of government are given in the hands of the labourer because even in the method of Ferhad (the mountain-cutter) are concealed the strategies of Parvez (the tyrant king). (*Bal-e-Jibril* p. 62).

The object of the Quranic law is to establish a balanced economic order based on fundamental human rights which ensures that no individual can exploit another. Thus in order to keep the power of capital within reasonable limits the Quran forbids the taking of interest (*Riba*), disallows speculation (*Qumar*, etc.), imposes the law of inheritance (*Miras*), and a system of taxation based on *Zakat*, *Sadaqa*, *Ushr*, etc. In addition to the above, for the protection of collective rights, the state can be delegated such powers under the Quranic law by which it could secure a balanced distribution of wealth.

An argument can be advanced that the nature of Quranic teachings is only moral. In other words, the object of Quranic injunctions is that Muslims should obey them voluntarily and not through legal compulsion of the State. But this proposition is open to a serious objection. The political, legal or economic system of each and every State is based on certain well-known moral principles. If citizens, due to their individual weaknesses, failings or shortcomings, fail to observe these principles, the State can, for their collective welfare, make them obey the same though resorting to the means of legal compulsion.

A cursory glance at the Quran reveals that while it acknowledges the basic human rights, it disallows any individual from exploiting others. Again under the Quranic law and the Sunnah it is a duty imposed on the state to continuously make efforts in providing basic necessities of life such as food, clothing, shelter, education and medical aid to its citizens. Thus for the realisation of this object, any steps which the State may take, shall be considered in accordance with the Quran and the Sunnah so long as these steps are not opposed to or in conflict with the Quranic injunctions. A study of the life of the Holy Prophet and the practice of the Rightly-guided Caliphs reveals that there is no room for capitalism (in its generally accepted sense) in Islamic society. Accordingly Iqbal says:

"Oh Sheikh! Turn the rich out of the mosque because the arch of the Mehrab is bent in anger over their (hypocritical) prayers."
(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 176).

Letter to Quaid

With this background now let us study the contents of Iqbal's letter to Quaid-i-Azam (dated 28th May, 1937) to which 'Zeno' has also referred.

"The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper classes of Indian Muslims or Muslims or Muslim masses who have so far, with good reason, taken no interest in it. Personally I believe that a

political organisation which gives no promise of improving the lot of the average Muslim cannot attract our masses.....The problem of bread is becoming more and more acute. The Muslim has begun to feel that he has been going down and down during the last 200 years. Ordinarily he believes that his poverty is due to Hindu money-lending or capitalism.....The atheistic socialism of Jawahar-lal is not likely to receive much response from the Muslims. The question, therefore is: how is it possible to solve the problem of Muslim poverty? And the whole future of the League depends on the League's activity to solve this question.....Happily there is a solution in the enforcement of the Law of Islam and its further development in the light of modern ideas. After a long and careful study of Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim State or States. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India.....For Islam the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam.....But as I have said above, in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems it is necessary to redistribute the country.....Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived? Perhaps this is the best reply you can give to the atheistic Socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru." (*Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* pub. by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, pp. 15-18).

Three Reasons

The contents of this letter reveal that according to Iqbal there were three reasons why it was necessary to demand a separate Muslim State (or a federation of Muslim States).

First, in order to solve the problem of Muslim poverty, second to secure peace in this part of the world: and third, to give a reply to the atheistic Socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru by implementing an economic order in the new State which was in conformity with Islam.

Quaid's Speeches

Now let us study the statements of Quaid-i-Azam regarding this matter. In his speech at Chittagong on 26th March, 1948, he said:

"You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Mussulmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasise equality and brotherhood of man."

He addressed the Army Officers at Malir on 21st February, 1948:

"Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice and the equality of man in your own native soil."

In the Chittagong speech of 26th March, 1948, he also said:

"Today your State is hardly eight months old. But if we look back and review the short span of our national life, we can clearly see the steady evolution of great social ideologies and balanced relations between man and man."

On the occasion of the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan on 1st July 1948, he said:

"We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concepts of equality of man and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind."

In his address to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce on 27th April, 1948, he said:

"The number of industries Government have reserved for management by themselves consists of Arms and Munitions of War, generation of Hydel Power and manufacture of Railway Wagons, Telephones, Telegraph and Wireless Apparatus. All

other industrial activity is left open to private enterprise which would be given every facility a government can give for the establishment and development of industry."

On the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the buildings of a textile mill on 26th September, 1947, he said:

"I also hope that in planning your factory, you have provided for proper residential accommodation and other amenities for the workers, for no industry can thrive without contented labour."

In reply to a question as to what would be the economic policy of Pakistan in an interview to the representative of Associated Press of America on 8th November, 1945 he said:

"You are asking me to interpret what the Government will do. But personally I believe that in these modern days essential key industries ought to be controlled and managed by the State. That applies also to certain public utilities. But what is a key industry and what is a utility service are matters for the lawmakers to say, not for me." (*Speeches* 1947.48, pp. 98, 61, 99, 154, 135, 20 — *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, ed. by Jamiluddin Ahmad, Vol. I, p. 431).

From these quotations it becomes obvious that when Iqbal talks of 'social democracy consistent with the legal principles of Islam' he means, a democracy which is founded on the economic principles of Islam. Similarly when Quaid-i-Azam uses such expressions as 'Islamic Socialism,' 'Islamic democracy' and 'Islamic social justice', he means that in Pakistan Muslims should establish an economic system which is based on true Islamic concepts. It is clear that both Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam believed in democracy, and both disapproved of the economic system of the West (According to Quaid-i-Azam this system had failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field, it was largely responsible for the two world wars, it had placed the Western world in a worse mess than ever before in history, and therefore the adoption of Western economic theory and practice would not help Pakistanis in achieving their goal of creating a happy and contented people. *Speeches* 1947-48, pp. 153-154). But concerning the economic order of

Islam, what does Iqbal mean by 'moderation' and Quaid-i-Azam by 'balanced relations between man and man'? If the views of Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam are explained in the light of modern terminology of economics, it becomes obvious that both believed in the establishment of a democratic political order founded on 'mixed economy' *i.e.*, an economy which permits individual enterprise within reasonable limits and side by side implements the principle of State control. In other words, they want to realize the ideal of equal distribution of the means of living through the Islamic principles of equality, brotherhood and evolution (*i.e.*, with the consent of the people secured through democratic means), and not through class-hatred, violence, destruction or revolution. Their object is to establish in Pakistan a morally clean and economically balanced order so that a welfare State of the middle class could be brought into being. This is precisely the object of Islam. According to the Islamic moral code, the respect of a person does not depend on his wealth or poverty, but on the nobility of his character. Hence the object of the economic teachings of the Quran is to provide facilities for the have-nots so that they could achieve the living standard of the middle class and to impose restrictions on the haves so that they could not step beyond middle class. This is what Iqbal means by 'moderation' and Quaid-i-Azam by 'balanced relations between man and man' — the only method which, according to Islam, is easy and practicable.

As Quaid-i-Azam has pointed out in one of the above quoted statements, there are certain industries in Pakistan which are at present under State management and control whereas other industrial activity is left open to private enterprise. In this respect it would not be wrong to say that even today the economy of Pakistan is 'mixed'. However, Quaid-i-Azam wants to give the power to the National and Provincial Assemblies to determine as to which industries or public utilities should be brought under the state control and which should be left open to private enterprise. Therefore, it is the representatives of the people who can make laws

concerning nationalisation or denationalisation of a particular industry in accordance with the needs and requirements of the community.

Foreign Policy

The emphasis on the way of moderation and balanced economy must also be studied in the light of Pakistan's foreign policy, the salient features of which were laid down by Quaid-i-Azam in February, 1949, when he said:

"Our foreign policy is on friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against a country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fairplay in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world." (*Speeches*, 1947-48, p. 65).

A country which believes in the way of moderation in the sphere of economics should naturally pursue neutralist foreign policy and foreign trade. At least these seem to be the aims of Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam who were the architects and founders of the ideology and the State of Pakistan.

Thus concerning Iqbal's economic philosophy if such expressions have been adopted that he provided an Islamic interpretation of Socialism, or demanded the establishment of Islamic Socialism, or believed in Islamic socialist democratic order, they have been used only for the purpose of explaining the Muslim viewpoint *i.e.*, Islam is a complete code of life, religious, political as well as economic. But as we have already stated, it shall be explained later that these expressions have served their purpose and have now become obsolete in Pakistan.

III

It has been pointed out that through the creation of Pakistan both Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam wanted:

- (1) To solve the problem of Muslim poverty by establishing a democratic order based on 'mixed economy'. According to them, this was the way of

'moderation' or 'balanced relations between man and man' recommended by the Quran and the Sunnah, and the best reply to atheistic Socialism.

- (2) To contribute to the promotion of peace among all the nations of the world and, more specifically, to secure peace between Pakistan and India.
- (3) To pursue neutralist foreign policy and foreign trade.

A very relevant question which can be asked at this stage is: Were any steps taken by the political leadership of this country which followed Quaid-i-Azam (from September, 1948 onwards) in these directions so that the objects of the architects and founders of the ideology and the State of Pakistan could be realised? The categorical answer would be: No. Largely events or circumstances, and to a lesser degree, the errors of the political leadership that followed Quaid-i-Azam were responsible.

Why Failure

Let us objectively analyse the reasons why these aims could not be achieved. It is an obvious fact that from the moment of their creation in August, 1947, the relations between the new States of Pakistan and India had been strained. In the spheres of politics, economics as well as defence, there existed no co-operation between these two countries. India never wholeheartedly accepted the Partition and made persistent efforts to undo it by paralysing Pakistan at the very beginning. At the time of Partition, the western boundary of East Pakistan was so drawn as to leave all the jute mills just a little way within India. India produced all the high grade coal for railways and was well-established as a manufacturer of steel. On the other hand, in the areas constituting Pakistan there had been virtually no industrial development. The Radcliffe Award had created the disputes over Kashmir and the canal waters. Although most of the differences between the two countries were important in themselves, the Kashmir dispute paled all the other differences into insignificance.

In these circumstances, obviously the first consideration which attracted the attention of the political leadership of Pakistan was to preserve the newly carved out country, to safeguard and to defend it particularly from India. The geographical set up of Pakistan placed her both in the Middle East as well as South-East Asia.

In order to make herself strong defensively and economically, Pakistan looked around for friends. People's China had only gained her independence in 1949 and was in the process of organising herself. There were of course the USSR and the U.S. In 1949 Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan received an invitation to visit Moscow, but he did not go there. The Soviet attitude in the Security Council towards the Kashmir question, which in its earlier stages had been one of indifference, eventually became one of positive antipathy towards Pakistan. Liaquat Ali Khan visited the U.S. in 1950, but his statements were to the effect that Pakistan genuinely desired to pursue a neutralist foreign policy, uninfluenced by the inter-bloc struggle going on in the world (*Dawn*, 9th March, 1951).

In July, 1951 came the first threat of an Indian invasion when almost all of India's armed forces and her mechanised divisions were concentrated on the borders of Pakistan. This threat did not develop any further. But the political leadership of Pakistan realised that although Pakistan had made extensive purchases of arms at high prices in the foreign markets, risking a severe strain on her economy, she was far weaker than India. By continuing her military occupation of Kashmir, India violated international agreements to which she was committed as well as defied the U.N. The Pakistani apprehensions were genuine. With India in possession of Kashmir, Pakistan was strategically encircled. In the event of war with a superior power like India, how was Pakistan to protect herself? Her own armed strength was not sufficient. The U.N. was not an effective instrument for the maintenance of world peace. People's China, although friendly towards Pakistan, was involved in her internal

organisation. The USSR was definitely pro-India. There were countries like Yugoslavia and Turkey which were receiving military aid from the U.S. The U.S. also appeared interested in having a defence pact with Pakistan. What could one expect from Pakistan in her desperate situation?

In 1952-53 Pakistan faced a serious food shortage resulting in an economic crisis. The country's revenues fell catastrophically and drastic cuts had to be imposed on Government plans, including that on defence, which had to be curtailed at the risk of Pakistan's security.

Defence Pacts

Pakistan had so far tried to build up her defence with her own resources. But the expenditure was so enormous that it was imposing an increasingly burdensome strain on her economy. As a result, the development of her resources had to be sacrificed to the primary need of building up her defences.

On 19th February, 1954 a mutual defence pact was announced between Pakistan and Turkey, and shortly after Pakistan entered into a military aid agreement with the U.S. The Turco-Pakistani Pact eventually matured in 1955 into what was called the Baghdad Pact. The other parties to this treaty were Iran, Iraq, Turkey and the U.K. (This pact subsequently came to be known as Central Treaty Organisation or CENTO when Iraq withdrew from it in 1958.) On 5th March, 1959 the Pakistan-United States Bilateral Agreement of Co-operation was signed at Ankara. According to Article I of this agreement, the U.S. undertook to take appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, in the event of aggression against Pakistan. Under Article II, the U.S. affirmed that she would continue to furnish military and economic assistance to Pakistan, on an agreed basis, with a view to helping in the preservation of her national independence and integrity and the promotion of her economic development.

On 8th September, 1954 at Manila, Pakistan signed the pact called South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO). The parties to this agreement were Pakistan the Philippines, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand, France, the U.K. and the U.S. In this agreement Pakistan was committed to resisting aggression of every description and from any quarter whereas the U.S. intended the pact to be of an exclusively anti-Communist character.

The object of Pakistan in entering into these treaties was only to strengthen her position militarily, particularly against the threat of Indian aggression. Obviously Pakistan held no aggressive designs against the USSR or People's China. The position of Pakistan was perfectly understood by Peoples' China but not by the USSR whose attitude progressively hardened against Pakistan. In 1955 Bulganin and Khrushchev went to the extent of declaring that they regarded Kashmir as part of India. (*The New York Times*, 11th December, 1955). The price which Pakistan had to pay for following a policy of alignment with the Western bloc was that she alienated all the possibilities of development of friendly relations with the Eastern bloc.

Why Alignment

The logic of the policy of alignment was to lessen the burden from Pakistan's economy so far as defence was concerned. It was thought that by pursuing this policy Pakistan would be in a position to devote her own resources to the development of her human and material wealth and achieve greater economic stability and prosperity. But in spite of the military assistance provided by these pacts, Pakistan had to incur huge expenditure from her own budget for defence purposes, which obviously meant curtailment of expenditure to be applied on development plans. The result was that Pakistan had to look for economic aid in the form of loans, exclusively from the Western bloc.

The policy of alignment was followed by each successive government of Pakistan from 1954 to 1963. Whatever be the

criticism, it was, to a considerable extent, the compulsion of circumstances which led Pakistan to pursue this policy. However, in spite of being an aligned country, Pakistan, always took an independent stand regarding such issues as Palestine, Suez, self-determination of Indonesia, former Italian colonies in Africa, Independence of Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and other African territories, human rights, race relations in South Africa and the representation of People's China at the U.N.

As for development plans, Pakistan had to start from scratch as there had been virtually no industrial development. She was hampered by the absence of a large and skilled class of industrialists, managers and technicians. She also faced an acute shortage of foreign exchange. The economic assistance was indeed forthcoming from the West in the form of loans, but Pakistan was forced to entrust foreign exchange, for the purpose of purchasing materials and equipment, only to those few industrialists who had experience and who could prove their competence. This put her in the unfortunate position of encouraging and developing monopolies, and of placing immense wealth in the hands of ten, fifteen or twenty families. Undoubtedly attempts were made by few Governments to bring some of the basic industries as well as public utilities under state control, but these experiments were not successful for the simple reason that structures of nationalisation cannot in themselves solve the problem of equal distribution of the means of living because structures cannot guarantee that men will be found capable of doing in a competent, efficient and selfless way the difficult and creative jobs that industrialists in the private sector do for their own selfish ends.

Under Ayub

Under the Ayub Regime (1958-69) land reforms were implemented. This step was not only justified by practical necessity, but was also in conformity with the ideals on which Pakistan had been founded. However, owing to the

corruption which was part and parcel of this regime, the countless masses of impoverished and landless tenants could not get much benefit from these reforms. The resumed lands were distributed as grants mostly to the 'loyal servants' or other elements of a similar character. During this period, through enormous loans drawn from the Western bloc, industry developed rapidly. But since the policy was to feed primarily the private sector, the wealth of a restricted number of families also increased rapidly. Most of these wealthy industrialists evaded taxation and increased their wealth by black-marketing, hoarding, speculation and other illegal activities. With the increase of wealth in restricted hands, corruption also increased at all levels. Prices went shooting upwards, the Press was gagged, there existed no freedom of expression, no political activity and no fundamental rights. Corruption and political bribery became the rule of the day and the regime continued to provide pragmatic explanations for its failings. For instance, about corruption its attitude was: "Do not look at this problem sentimentally. After all what is corruption? One person pays money to the other in order to get his work done. The other receives the money and does the work. Money passes from one hand to another. It does not go out of the country. It circulates within the country. What is wrong in that? Money ought to keep on circulating in developing countries. If it, does circulate within the country, it is good. If it goes out, it is bad."

Pakistan's foreign policy showed tendencies of change in 1962 when after the Sino-Indian conflict the U.S. gave military aid in large quantities to India. This shook the balance of power in South Asia. In consequence thereof Pakistan felt obliged to strengthen her ties with People's China. Then followed in September 1965 the Indian attack on Pakistan coupled with the general feeling that the U.S. had betrayed Pakistan completely. These events made Pakistan realise, for the first time, that dependence on or alignment with a specific power bloc was dangerous, because each power bloc had its own policies to pursue and was likely to

use a small country like Pakistan as a piece on the chess-board of international competition for supremacy. As a result, from a policy of alignment, Pakistan shifted to a policy of neutrality. She did not break off her ties with the West, but concentrated more on developing closer relations with People's China as well as the USSR. Thus, by the force of circumstances, Pakistan found it necessary to pursue neutralist foreign policy and foreign trade.

Public Agitation

The Ayub Regime eventually collapsed due to a countrywide political agitation. During the past ten years, Pakistan passed through a period of ideological decay and the principles on which this country had been founded were misinterpreted, twisted or distorted. Consequently the need for reverting to the purity of the foundational principles is now generally felt.

It is understood that we cannot secure peace between Pakistan and India so long as the Kashmir dispute is not resolved. Hence the threat of Indian aggression against Pakistan will remain and we shall have to continue to incur huge expenditure from our budget on defence. The solution of the problem of Muslim poverty in Pakistan can only be considered in the light of what has been stated above.

Undoubtedly the political agitation which led to the collapse of Ayub Regime had resulted primarily from general economic discontent, though causes like political repression etc. were also there. It is for this very reason that almost all the political parties of Pakistan lay emphasis in their manifestoes on definite economic reforms. However, according to 'Zeno,' these programmatic declarations affirm Socialism. This observation may be correct so far as parties led by Messrs Bhashani and Bhutto or even Messrs Wali Khan, Mahmood Ali Kasuri and Mahmudul Haq Usmani are concerned, but it is incorrect in respect of other parties which have nothing to do with Socialism as a creed.

It has already been stated that the expression 'Islamic Socialism' was originally coined by Muslims for the sake of convenience and in order to explain the Muslim viewpoint, i.e., Islam is a complete code of life, religious, political as well as economic. The phrase had essentially been used by Muslims for distinguishing Islam from 'atheistic Socialism' and for persuading those members of their community who had accepted 'atheistic Socialism' or Communism as a creed to return to the fold of Islam. Maybe the expression was wrong or contradictory, but it was intended to serve a definite purpose i.e., to convey that Muslims need not look towards foreign ideologies, they can find the solution of all their problems (economic among them) in Islam.

No Atheists

Now let us turn to a few other important questions: Has there been any progress in atheistic socialism or Communism in Pakistan? Apparently there has been none, particularly since the notorious Pindi Conspiracy Case, the details of which need not be perused here. Are there any atheistic Socialists or Communists in Pakistan? Apparently none, for not a single person in Pakistan claims himself to be an atheistic Socialist or Communist. Are we, therefore, justified in assuming that all the former atheistic Socialists and Communists of Pakistan have discarded their creed and have returned to the fold of Islam — perhaps like the Italian writer, Ignazio Silone, who was second-in-command of the Italian Communist Party until a visit to the USSR under Stalin's rule which convinced him of the oppressive nature of Communist power and brought him back to the fold of Catholicism? Apparently, yes. If this is the apparently accepted position, then the term 'Islamic Socialism' coined by Muslims has definitely served its purpose and has now become outmoded or obsolete in Pakistan. If all, (including the believers in 'Islamic Socialism') in Pakistan are convinced that they are to establish an economic order in this country which is based on the Quran and the Sunnah, then there is

obviously no justification in continuing to use the expression 'Socialism' with Islam. It sows the seeds of dissension rather than unity among Muslims and therefore must be discarded in the interest of Islam and Pakistan.

If the believers in 'Islamic Socialism' mean by this expression something other than what Iqbal or Quaid-i-Azam meant by it, then they must come forward with a positive definition of their 'neo-Islamic Socialism'. So far no positive definition has been attempted. The only argument which neo-Islamic Socialists advance in favour of retaining the expression 'Socialism' with Islam is this: "You use the expression 'democracy' and launch a 'democratic' movement although this expression has been borrowed from the West and has no sanction in the Islamic tradition. Therefore, why object to the use of the expression 'Socialism' with Islam?"

This argument is not really an argument. It is merely a defence or an apology. Assuming but not conceding that 'democracy' at least is an unambiguous term and as a political order it has been unanimously accepted in Pakistan ever since Quaid-i-Azam laid the foundations of this country. If any one replaces it by any other political order, the people are justified in launching a 'democratic' movement so that 'democracy' could be restored.

The apprehensions which Muslims have from the supporters of neo-Islamic Socialism are these:

- (1) That most of the neo-Islamic Socialists are in reality the successors of atheistic Socialists and Communists. They attach the word 'Islamic' with Socialism only to mean that the religion of Islam will be given the same status under the Pakistani Socialism which it has at present under the Socialism of the USSR or People's China.
- (2) That they use the term 'Islamic' for the sake of convenience, their real object being the propagation of Socialism, and when the real object is achieved, this term will be discarded as obsolete. In other words, they are using Islam as a means for the

realisation of the ultimate end, Socialism. Under the Socialist creed, any means (moral or immoral) can be adopted for achieving the desired end.

- (3) That experience has taught them that it is impossible to reach the Muslim mind with the universally accepted terminology of Socialist creed. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt the generally accepted Muslim terminology, Muslim slogans, and to cite in support Muslim authorities for the ultimate triumph of Socialism.
- (4) That during the Round Table Conference with Ayub Khan, although the opportunist or conservative neo-Islamic Socialists (who believe in a slow evolutionary transformation of capitalist into Socialist society) cooperated with other political parties, the radical or revolutionary neo-Islamic Socialists attempted to start a class war in order to overthrow not only 'capitalism' but also the Islamic traditions by such familiar methods as political uprisings and general strikes.
- (5) That they are belligerent; they really want to confront and defeat Islam through the perpetuation of conditions of unrest in this country.
- (6) That they want Pakistan to break off her ties (economic as well as other) completely with the Western bloc and align herself exclusively with the Eastern bloc or People's China.

It is because of these apprehensions that some Muslims (as 'Zeno' has pointed out respecting one of them), have advanced the thesis that to negate Socialism is to affirm Pakistan and Islam or conversely, to affirm Socialism is to negate Pakistan and Islam.

It is for the neo-Islamic Socialists to determine as to whether the apprehensions of these Muslims are justified or not. But there are a few obvious facts which we must understand. These are:

- (1) Islam is itself belligerent when it confronts anything un-Islamic, even within itself.

- (2) Pakistan has learnt a lesson by aligning herself exclusively with the Western bloc. Therefore, it will not be easy to persuade her now to align herself completely with the Eastern bloc or People's China. We are familiar with the happenings in Vietnam, Hungary, Czechoslovakia etc. We threw off the yoke of colonialism after a bitter struggle. We cannot possibly be made to accept the yoke of neocolonialism. Liberty is certainly more precious than food or clothing. Had it not been so, beggars would have preferred to commit petty offences and gladly got convicted or sentenced to specific terms of imprisonment. One is fed and clothed in the prison, why do the beggars prefer to remain out?
- (3) Experience has taught us to pursue neutralist foreign policy and foreign trade. We cannot help a confrontation with India. Therefore, we must continue to strengthen our defence. A country can defend itself only when it is politically and economically stable. It is only through Islam that we can realize the political and economic stability of Pakistan. If those fundamental principles are generally accepted in Pakistan, there ought to be no controversy.

Iqbal says:

"Both nationalism and atheistic socialism, at least in the present state of human adjustments, must draw upon the psychological forces of hate, suspicion and resentment which tend to impoverish the soul of man and close up his hidden sources of spiritual energy. Neither the technique of mediaeval mysticism nor nationalism nor atheistic socialism can cure the ills of a despairing humanity. Surely the present moment is one of great crisis in the history of modern culture. The modern world stands in need of biological renewal. And religion, which in its higher manifestations is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves, and restore to him that

attitude of faith which makes him capable of building a personality here and retaining it hereafter." (Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam pp. 187, 188).

Therefore, he preaches:

"Remember. The Muslims who seek Inspiration from alien ideologies are trying to carve out a spring of fresh water from a mirage. Such men are unfamiliar with the secret of Islam because their hearts are full of jealousy, spite and hatred against one another. The fact is that from such an exclusive group of men it is futile to expect any good. If I have come across honesty or truthfulness, it is only among the masses. Therefore, learn to distinguish between the men of truth from those who thrive upon hatred and spite. Sit in the company of the truthful ones. The ways and habits of vultures cannot be compared to the grace of the flight of the eagle... Thus if you aspire to achieve your station in this world, fill your heart with the love of God and stick to the way of the Holy Prophet." (*Javid Nama*, p. 243, *Armughan-e-Hijaz*, p. 89).

IQBAL'S VIEWS ON THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL FUTURE OF HUMANITY

Iqbal's world-view is based on his deep concern with the future of humanity as well as religion. On the future of humanity his thoughts are scattered in his poetic works and some of his prose writings. But on the future of religion he has elaborated his ideas in the last chapter titled "Is Religion Possible?" of his book *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*.

Broadly speaking, religion is required for the moral uplift of man. If there had been no man, there would have been no need for religion. Therefore humanity and religion complement each other. It is proper to assess Iqbal's view on the future of humanity before considering his ideas on the future of religion.

I wish to commence the discussion by defining two relevant terms. These are: (a) Development, and (b) Modern Man. "Development", in the modern context, means "increase in per capita income of a nation-state". This purely materialistic concept of development is generally considered a Western innovation. And what do we mean by the expression "Modern Man"? Certain changes took place in the mentality and way of life of the Western man as a result of the dissemination of materialism and the evolution of Western Europe from a developing to a developed society. Modern Man is sometimes called Industrial Man, Technical Man, Mass Man, One-sided Man, Angry Man, Lonely Man etc. He believes in the supremacy of science and technology of which

he himself is a product. He relies on reason and feverish activity. He is secular, proud, selfish and amoral. He seeks happiness only through multiplying material comforts and wealth. According to Iqbal, he is so much overshadowed by the results of his intellectual achievements that he has ceased to live soulfully i.e., from within.

Many liberal thinkers and poets of the West have criticized Modern Man. There is a very interesting passage in Iqbal's *Reconstruction Lectures* in which he shows his disillusionment with both Western man as well as Eastern man. About Western man, he comments: "In the domain of thought he is living in open conflict with himself, and in the domain of economic and political life he is living in open conflict with others. He finds himself unable to control his ruthless egoism and his infinite gold-hunger which is gradually killing all higher striving in him and bringing him nothing but life-weariness. Absorbed in the 'fact', that is to say, the optically present source of sensation, he is entirely cut off from the unplumbed depths of his own being".

About Eastern man, he laments: "The condition of things in the East is no better. The technique of medieval mysticism by which religious life, in its higher manifestations, developed itself both in the East and in the West has now practically failed. Far from reintegrating the forces of the average man's inner life, and thus preparing him for participation in the march of history, it has taught him a false renunciation and made him perfectly contented with his ignorance and spiritual thralldom". (*Reconstruction*, pp. 148-149).

Generally speaking, Modern Man is Western man and he is found in materially prosperous countries, technically called I.D.Cs (Industrially Developed Countries) as opposed to U.D.Cs (Under Developed Countries).

What took place in Europe which eventually led to the development of materialism and the emergence of Modern Man?

The European society in the Middle Ages was a feudal society. The average man lived as a serf, totally dominated by

cruel feudal lords and a static Church. The hold of the Church was primarily based on Ptolemy's cosmology, according to which, the earth was the centre of the universe and everything including the sun revolved around it. On the basis of this cosmology, the position adopted by the Church was that man was under the direct gaze of God. Thus the Church being the Vicar of God, and with the support of the feudal lords, had acquired enormous power over the ignorant, superstitious and frightened masses who were exploited for centuries.

However certain events or movements in Europe changed the then existing state of affairs. These were: Reformation, which released man's faith from the clutches of a dominating and static Church. Renaissance, which liberated man's mind and in his quest for knowledge man gradually learnt to depend on reason, sense perception and scientific thinking. The Ptolemaic cosmology was shattered by the Copernican astronomy, according to which the earth could no longer be considered the centre of the cosmos, but as one celestial body among many, it revolved around the sun and as for its position in the universe, it was merely an insignificant speck. So man was not under the constant Gaze of God as such. Then followed Darwin's theory that man had descended from apes or had biologically evolved from animals.

Iqbal feels that this formulation of the view of evolution in Europe (unlike the one advanced in the world of Islam which brought into being Rumi's tremendous enthusiasm for the biological future of man), had led to the belief that there existed no scientific basis for the idea that the present rich complexity of human endowment would ever be materially exceeded. On this Iqbal comments: "That is how the modern man's secret despair hides itself behind the screen of scientific terminology". (*Reconstruction*, p. 148).

However Iqbal realized that all these events collectively made man conscious that he had to depend solely on himself and this led to the awakening of man. He gained confidence through his philosophies of criticism and naturalism. He felt that his future lay exclusively in his control over the forces of nature.

Thereafter the Industrial Revolution started changing the face of Europe, and with the French Revolution came the concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity. It was in fact this awakening which led to the rise and growth of materialism, and the disappearance of religion from the collective life of the people.

Man learnt to produce energy through coal and steam. Thus cheap energy and labour were used for running factories and mills. Europe manufactured so many goods that in the history of mankind this had never been achieved before.

For the sale of these goods markets were required. The search for markets and more raw material led to colonialism and imperialism. Thus in Europe a market society was created, and the standard of life of an average man improved. Through the emphasis on freedom of trade autocratic powers of monarchs were curtailed, and capitalist democracies were established on the basis of territorial nationalism.

In Europe these events engendered the formation of a new mentality and a new freedom. But the new man who came into being in this process, demanded absolute freedom. Absolute freedom meant ruthless trampling over the rights of others. Therefore, Modern Man with all his dedication to and respect for human rights, maintained double standards. Broadly speaking, human society was divided into exploiters and the exploited.

The competition and jealousy among the exploiter—robber nations of Europe eventually led to the First World War on the one hand and the establishment of atheistic socialism or communism in Russia on the other.

However the struggle of Modern Man for supremacy over the others continued and resulted in the Second World War. But no lesson was learnt by man from these two wars of mass destruction of human life and property.

The race for the manufacture and production of fatal arms did not stop. According to the figures provided by Dr. Hans Blix upto 1985 the member-states of the Nuclear Club possessed 50,000 nuclear devices with an explosive yield of 1000 Heroshima bombs. In other words, according to him,

there was 4 tons TNT explosive available for the destruction of each and every human being in this world, and this was the position in 1985.

How are the I.D.Cs sustaining their prosperous position or what is the secret of their material power? It is the production and use of energy. The position is that the population in the I.D.Cs is 27% of the population of the whole world whereas they consume 80% of the energy produced in the world. The population of the U.S.A is only 6% of the world population but it consumes 36% of energy. As for the U.D.Cs, they constitute 73% of the world population and the energy used by them is only 20%.

The U.D.Cs aspire to become like the I.D.Cs and the model of man before them is the Western Modern Man. But the I.D.Cs maintain their economic and technological hegemony over them by imposing a system of economics based on loans. If the U.D.Cs increase the prices of raw material, the I.D.Cs increase the prices of technology or finished products. This results in global inflation which is not as destructive for the I.D.Cs as it is for the poor U.D.Cs. Thus the material prosperity of Modern Man is founded and is being maintained on this discrimination between man and man.

However, despite the oil crisis, global inflation, and population explosion in the U.D.Cs, the movement in those countries for economic freedom and technological emancipation is gaining momentum.

Meanwhile a depressing picture of the future is presented in the annual reports of the Club of Rome. According to these reports by approximately middle of the 21st century, the world's food resources may be completely exhausted. According to the estimate hunger is likely to strike first in certain parts of Africa and thereafter Bangladesh, India, Pakistan etc. If the growth rate of the population remains the same as it is at present, this situation is likely to arise in the first quarter of the 21st century. The reports also state that the conventional means of obtaining energy or the world's power resources may be completely exhausted before the end of 21st century.

In the light of these reports, some liberal thinkers of the West are recommending that the political leaders of the I.D.Cs should review their definition of "development". According to some of them the Utopias of early twentieth century i.e., communism and capitalism, as economic orders, have both failed to get rid of under-development on global scale, and that at present no one possesses any such economic system which can generate will and courage in man to improve his living conditions in the future.

Eminent Marxist philosophers like Herbert Marcos and Maximilian Robel had been extremely critical of the Soviet policy of only concentrating on breaking the Western industrial and technological supremacy instead of using the Soviet revolution for the economic betterment of man. In a way, these thinkers had forestalled the eventual break-down of the Soviet economy if such a policy was to be pursued.

World politics at present are not development oriented but are power oriented. If power is dependent on economic stability, then the emergence and continuance of the U.S.A as a unipolar power, would involve the length of time it can remain in the field as such. But the unipolar power cannot live in the ivory tower when 73% population of the world is afflicted with global inflation, population explosion and under-development. According to the liberal thinkers the world today is standing on the edge of a global economic crisis, which can lead to total destruction of mankind. Consequently these thinkers are suggesting the establishment of a new international economic order based on ethics and morality. According to them, such artificial discriminations like blacks and whites, capitalists and communists, developed and under-developed etc. had been harmful for the natural advancement of humanity. Tofler suggests that the U.N. should establish an international body composed of economic experts belonging to both I.D. Cs as well as U.D.Cs, in order to control the threatened global economic crisis or to keep an eye on the negative trends of world economy. Tofler is of the view that in order to save humanity from all future economic

crises, it is necessary to think in terms of unity of human beings rather than nations. According to him, the world's population should be planned according to its resources and that these resources should be fully exploited. All men are under-developed in the sense that for their economic survival they have to depend on one another. Therefore the future survival of man is possible only if he becomes mature by his bitter experiences of the past and learns to respect his fellow men. (*The Future Shock/The Ecco Spasm Report*).

It is interesting to note that the views which are being expressed by the liberal thinkers of today about the future of humanity are more or less the same which had been expressed by Iqbal in his writings more than fifty years ago. Iqbal rejected territorial nationalism as a basis of human unity even when he was a student in Europe. In the Allahabad Address (1930) which contained his suggestion of the formation of a Muslim state in the North-West of the Indian subcontinent, he had stated: "Luther.... did not realize that in the peculiar conditions which obtained in Europe, his revolt (against the church organizations would eventually mean the complete displacement of the universal ethics of Jesus by the growth of a plurality of national and hence narrower systems of ethics. Thus the upshot of the intellectual movement initiated by.... Rousseau and Luther was the break up of the one into mutually ill-adjusted many, (and) the transformation of a human into a national outlook... The result is a set of mutually ill-adjusted states dominated by interests not human but national, And these mutually ill-adjusted states after trampling over the morals and convictions of Christianity are today feeling the need of a federated Europe, i.e., the need of a unity which Christian church-organization originally gave them but which, instead of reconstructing it in the light of Christ's mission of human brotherhood, they considered it fit to destroy under the inspiration of Luther." (*Speeches and Statements* ed. by A. R. Tariq pp. 4-6).

In a poem titled "Mecca and Geneva" included in his *Zarb-e Kalim*, he points out that in this age nations seem to be

mixing freely with one another, although the principle of human unity remains hidden from the discerning eye. This is so because the aim of Western diplomacy is to divide humanity into nations, whereas the mission of Islam is to unify human beings into one fraternity. Respecting this matter Mecca sent a message to the city of Geneva: Are you content to be a scat of the League of Nations or would you prefer to be the centre of United Humanity?

In a statement recorded a couple of months before his death in 1938, Iqbal pointed out: "The modern age prides itself on its progress in knowledge and its matchless scientific developments. No doubt, the pride is justified But inspite of all these developments, tyranny of imperialism struts abroad, covering its face in the masks of (capitalist) democracy, (territorial) nationalism, communism, fascism and heaven knows what else besides. Under these masks, in every corner of the earth, the spirit of freedom and the dignity of man are being trampled underfoot in a way of which not even the darkest period of human history presents a parallel. The so-called statesmen to whom government had entrusted leadership have proved demons of bloodshed, tyranny and oppression. The rulers whose duty it was to promote higher humanity, to prevent man's oppression of man and to elevate the moral and intellectual level of mankind, have in their hunger for dominion.... shed the blood of millions and reduced millions to servitude simply in order to pander to the greed and avarice of their own particular groups. After subjugating ... weaker peoples... sowed (the seeds of) divisions among them that they shed one another's blood and went to sleep under the opiate of serfdom, so that the leech of imperialism might go on sucking their blood without interruption.... The governments which are not themselves engaged in this drama of fire and blood are sucking the blood of the weaker peoples economically. It is as if the day of doom had come upon the earth, in which no voice of human sympathy or fellowship is audible. The world's thinkers are stricken dumb. Is this going to be the end of all this progress and evolution of civilization?... Remember, man can be

maintained on this earth only by honoring mankind, and this world will remain a battleground of ferocious beasts of prey unless and until the educational (and moral) forces of the whole world are directed to inculcate in man respect for mankind.... National unity too is not a very durable force. Only one unity is dependable and that unity is the brotherhood of man, which is above race, nationality, colour or language So long as men do not demonstrate by their actions that they believe that the whole world is the family of God, so long as distinctions of race, colour and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely, they will never be able to lead happy and contented life, and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialize". (*Speeches and Statements*, ed. by A. R. Tariq, pp. 226-228).

Now we can consider the question: What are Iqbal's views on the future of religion? It has already been pointed out that, broadly speaking, religion is required for the moral uplift of man. However a counter-argument may be advanced that morality or ethics being a branch of philosophy, why should it be founded on religion? This line of reasoning would naturally take us to the discussion as to what is the difference between philosophy and religion?

According to Iqbal, philosophy is an independent inquiry based on reason for the comprehension of Reality, and religion, in the broader or higher sense, is also a search for Reality. But its foundations are laid on experience which is other than the normal level of experience. If one claims that the normal level of experience is the only level of knowledge-yielding experience, then religion need not attract anyone's attention. But Iqbal argues, if the universe, as it is normally perceived, is only an intellectual construction, and there are other levels of human experience capable of being systematized by other orders of time and space; and in which concept and analysis do not play the same part as they do in the case of our normal experience, then the matter is different. It is precisely for this reason that a person who relies on religious experience, the knowledge gained by him

through his experience is essentially personal and incommunicable. However, Iqbal maintains, that the fact that the knowledge gained through religious experience is incommunicable does not imply that the pursuit made by the man of religion has been futile.

Modern man is secular in the sense that he is indifferent towards religion. The reason is that according to his evaluation religion is in conflict with science, and since the findings of science are rationally demonstrable, religion is reduced to mere superstition providing solace to man in his stages of ignorance, but of no authentic relevance in the present and the future. Iqbal does not agree with this conclusion. In his view Reality has outer as well as inner dimensions. Science is concerned with the external behavior of Reality whereas the domain of religion is to discover the meanings of Reality in reference to its inner nature. In this respect both scientific and religious processes run parallel to each other. While commenting on these processes Iqbal states: "A careful study of the nature and purpose of these really complementary processes shows that both of them are directed to the purification of experience in their respective spheres." (*Reconstruction*, p. 155)

Iqbal divides religious life into three periods. In the first period religious life appears as a form of discipline which is voluntarily accepted by an individual or a group of people as unconditional commands without any rational understanding of the ultimate purpose of those commands. It is only in this sense that religion is based on dogma, ritual or some kind of priesthood. In the second period revelation is reconciled with reason and discipline is followed by a rational understanding of the discipline and the ultimate source of its authority. It is at this stage that religion may claim itself to be the sole possessor of the Truth and becomes exclusive or relative and engenders hatred of one religion against the other as well as within a religion itself when one mode of interpretation comes into conflict with another. In the their period religious life develops the ambition to come into direct contact with

the Ultimate Reality and it is at this stage that religion becomes a matter of personal assimilation of life and power.

For Iqbal this stage of religious life is what he calls higher religion. He states: "It is, then, in the sense of this last phase in the development of religious life that I use the word religion.... Religion in this sense is known by the unfortunate name of Mysticism, which is supposed to be a life-denying, fact-avoiding attitude of mind directly opposed to the radically empirical outlook of our times. Yet higher religion, which is only a search for a larger life, is essentially experience and recognized the necessity of experience as its foundation long before science learnt to do so." (*Reconstruction*, p. 143-144).

The question may well be asked that if in the context of higher religion, God is the centre of all religions and the Truth is absolute, then why the diversity or relativity of religions? The answer provided by Martin Lings is that God has sent different religions especially suited to the needs, requirements and characteristics of the different groups of humanity in different temporal cycles. But if these groups of men, in the course of human history, have persecuted one another on account of religious differences, then Providence cannot be held responsible for it. However, despite winning converts through persuasion or slaughter of human beings in the name of religion, many religions which have fought against or competed with one another in the past history, have survived and now dominate different parts of the world. It is therefore necessary that irrespective of the position adopted by the partisan religious authorities we must carefully examine what, according to Iqbal, higher religion teaches about the nature of God.

The modern Western civilization has dealt with the problem of religion through encouraging the development of two types of secularism. One type of secularism is based on indifference towards religion and this is the attitude adopted by Modern Man in the capitalist democracies: The other type is based on the suppression of religion and for a number of years this policy has been followed by the socialist countries.

But the experience tells us that indifference towards religion automatically leads to the demand for that variety of "freedom" which Albert Camus calls "tyranny" or "waywardness". On the other hand, the recent developments in the U.S.S.R and the other socialist countries indicate that atheism cannot be successfully imposed from outside on a people, and whenever such an attempt is made, it is bound to fail. Thus it is evident that the existing types of secularism have not been able to resolve the problem.

It is perhaps in this background that Iqbal rejected the methodologies of territorial nationalism, capitalism, atheistic socialism as well as religious conservatism as drawing upon the psychological forces of hatred, suspicion and resentment which tend to impoverish the soul of man closing up his hidden sources of spiritual energy. He points out: "Surely the present moment is one of great crisis in the history of modern culture. The modern world stands in need of biological renewal. And religion, which in its higher manifestations is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves, and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retaining it hereafter. It is only by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither, that man will eventually triumph over a society motivated by an inhuman competition, and a civilization which has lost its spiritual unity by its inner conflict of religious and political values". (*Reconstruction*, p. 149).

From the above analysis it appears that the solution of the problem lies in the adoption of the policy not of indifference towards or suppression of religion, but of respecting all religions. Every religion in the narrower sense consists of dogma, ritual and some form of priesthood. This aspect of religion is exclusive or relative to the people who adhere to it and it is only in this context that the international community is multi-religious. Unfortunately some of the religious

communities in the world today are passing through a phase of conservatism or fundamentalism, which has let loose the forces of hatred and resentment. Whatever be the reasons for this affliction, let us hope that the phase is temporary and shall pass away. However according to Iqbal, each great religion, at the higher level contains the absolute Truth. Therefore it is necessary for every religious community to discover and project the higher level of its religion. It is at this level that religion can restore to humanity its spiritual unity and ethically prepare man to respect his fellow-men.

Iqbal does not consider Islam as a religion in the ancient sense of the word. For him, he explains: "It is an attitude- an attitude, that is to say, of Freedom, and even of defiance to the Universe. It is really a protest against the entire outlook of the ancient world. Briefly, it is the discovery of Man". (*Stray Reflections*, p. 193)

It is interesting to note how Iqbal deduces the principles of higher religion from the verses of the Qur'an and bases his political idealism on them. The citing of a few examples may be useful.

In sura XXII verse 40 it is stated: "If God had not raised a group (i.e., Muslims) to ward off the others from aggression, churches, synagogues, oratories and mosques, where God is worshipped most, would have been destroyed". Broadening the interpretation of this verse so as to include all the religious minorities (and not only the people of the Book) in a Muslim state, he proclaims in the Allahabad Address: "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 Qur'an, even to defend their places of worship, if need be". (*Speeches and Statements*, ed. by A. R. Tariq, p. 10).

For Iqbal "*Tawhid*" (Unity of God), as a working idea, stands for equality, solidarity and freedom of man. Therefore the state, from the Islamic standpoint, is essentially an effort

to transform these ideal principles into space-time forces. (*Reconstruction*, pp. 122-123). According to him the republican form of government is consistent with the spirit of Islam. In fact he is convinced that the ultimate object of Islam is the establishment of a "spiritual democracy".

On which specific verses of the Qur'an Iqbal could have possibly relied in support of this thesis? Let us examine the relevant verses.

In sura XL verse 78 while addressing the Holy Prophet, God say: "Verily We have sent messengers before thee. About some of them have We told thee, and about some have We not told thee". The self-evident meanings of the verse are that God has not only sent those prophets whose names are known to the Semitic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam), but also other messengers had been sent by Him bearing the tidings of numerous other modes of the Religion of Truth.

The second relevant piece in this connection is sura V verse 69 in which it is stated: "Verily the Faithful (Muslims) and the Jews and the Sabians and the Christians, whoso believeth in God and the Last Day and doeth good deeds, no fear shall come upon them neither shall they grieve". As for the expression "Sabians" there is no general agreement as to which religion is referred to. However, as is indicated in the verse it is that category of religions which are based on a natural idea of God, of accountability and which emphasizes on the doing of good deeds. Thus according to the Qur'an, everyone who believes in God, eventual accountability and who does good deeds need not fear as no grief shall come upon him.

The third is sura V verse 48 in which God addressing human beings declares: "For each of you We have appointed a law and a way. And if God had willed He would have made you one (religious) community. But (He hath willed it otherwise) that He may put you to the test in what He has given you. So vie with one another in good works. Unto God will ye be brought back, and He will inform you about that wherein ye differed". If God had only sent one religion to a world of widely differing aptitudes, it would not have been a

fair test for all. Therefore He has sent many different religions and in this Quranic verse He expects human beings to enter into competition with one another only in doing good deeds and nothing else. It appears that it was in the light of such verses of the Qur'an that Iqbal desired the Muslims of today to evolve and establish a "spiritual democracy".

He maintains: "Humanity needs three things today— a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society— on a spiritual basis. Modern Europe has, no doubt, built idealistic systems on these lines, but experience shows that truth revealed through pure reason— is incapable of bringing that fire of living conviction which personal revelation alone can bring. This is the reason why pure thought has so little influenced men, while religion has always elevated individuals and transformed whole societies. With him (i.e. the Muslim) the spiritual basis of life is a matter of conviction for which even the least enlightened man among us can easily lay down his life; and in view of the basic idea of Islam that there can be no further revelation binding on man, we ought to be spiritually one of the most emancipated peoples on earth. Early Muslims emerging out of the spiritual slavery of pre-Islamic Asia were not in a position to realize the true significance of this basic idea. Let the Muslim of today appreciate his position, reconstruct his social life in the light of ultimate principles, and evolve, out of the hitherto partially revealed purpose of Islam, that spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam". (*Reconstruction*, p. 142).

The conclusion is that if for the survival of humanity it is necessary for man to respect his fellow-men, in the same way it is necessary for him to learn to respect religions other than his own, It is only through the adoption of this moral and spiritual approach that, borrowing Iqbal's phrase, man may rise to a fresh vision of his future.

PHILOSOPHY OF IQBAL

Iqbal falls in the category of those religious thinkers who believe that man is still in the process of evolution and is yet to attain higher stages of life. In support of his philosophic reasoning, he advances the Qur'anic version of the creation of Adam.¹ When God disclosed to the angels His intention to create man, they were apprehensive that such a creature would create mischief. But God snubbed them by declaring that they do not know what He knows. Thereupon the angels submitted before God's will, conceding that they only knew what He had taught them. Further, according to the Qur'anic version, after the creation of man, God equipped him with knowledge and then challenged the angels to compete with him, but they could not. Adam and Eve were made capable of choosing between right and wrong, and in order to test their competence in exercising this freedom, God ordered them not to taste the fruit of a specific tree. But they both disobeyed and then sought forgiveness. They were forgiven, but as they had been through the test, they were directed to proceed from the "higher" place to the "lower" place and to lead their lives as they desired, for God had distinguished for them the right path from the wrong.

Iqbal infers from this Qur'anic version that man's first act of disobedience was also his first exercise of the freedom of choice. Therefore, according to Iqbal, his earthly life is neither a punishment to atone the "original sin" nor is this world "profane". On the contrary, man, equipped with

knowledge and bestowed with the freedom to choose between right and wrong, is absolutely free to strive for higher stages of life.

Iqbal then quotes another passage of the Qur'an in which God talks about the great "responsibility" (*amanah*) which he wanted to bestow upon his creatures, but they were all reluctant to receive it except man.² According to Iqbal, this great "responsibility" that man voluntarily accepted is the "self", "ego" or "personality". Thus, Iqbal's main contribution to the cultural rejuvenation of Islam is his philosophy of the "self". This is not only reflected in all his poetic works, but also in his principal work of prose titled *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*.

In brief, his philosophic ideas are these: his God is the Ultimate Ego, a personality vigorously alive and constantly creative, whose infinity is intensive and not extensive, Who continuously adds to His creation and is fully capable of changing His mind.

From the Ultimate Ego only egos proceed. The universe, from the mechanical movement of the atom of matter to the free movement of thought in human ego, is a self-revelation of the "Great I am". Therefore the universe is one continuous act of God and there is no distinction between mind and matter except for their degrees of ego-hood. Man is distinguishable from the universe because in the process of creation, he, as an act of God, has become self-conscious.

Man as a finite ego and as a personality is unique and distinct from God. He is free. His desires and aspirations, pains and pleasures, loves and hates, judgments and resolutions are exclusively his. Even God cannot feel, judge, or choose for him when more than one course of action is available. He is potentially creative and, if he takes the initiative, is capable of becoming a co-worker with God in the process of progressive change. His ego is capable of attaining such high power that while changing any destiny God Himself may have to ask for the approval of man:

Khudi ko kar buland Itna, Ke her taqdeer say pehlay.

Khuda banday say khud poochay, bata teri raza kisiya hai.

In this context, man has to earn life after death by fortifying his ego through constant creativity. According to Iqbal, hell is not a pit of everlasting torture but only a corrective experience. Similarly, heaven is not a permanent holiday. They are not locations but states (of mind). In fact, man's activity knows no destination or end. He is always to march forward to illumination and refresh himself from the Ultimate Ego.

Iqbal's God and man are highly dynamic personalities - distinct from each other, yet together. Each and every act of man leads to a new situation and this provides a greater scope of creative activity. According to Iqbal, the mystical or Sufi example of the submergence of drops of water into the ocean applies only to weaker egos who fail to fortify themselves. But persons who can fortify themselves supremely are akin to pearls in the perpetual flow of the Divine Sea. Their existence is not obliterated - they are held in the all-embracing Ultimate Ego within itself just as the flame of a candle retains its separate existence in the over-powering light of the sun.

Life, therefore, is like a candle's constant struggle to keep its flame continuously burning, or like a drop of water's tension spearing struggle to attain pearl-hood. Accordingly, the destination of man in Iqbalian terms is not liberation from the limitations of "self" but the affirmation of "self" until man becomes a co-worker with God towards the establishment of a perfect universe.

According to Iqbal, God's creativity only outwardly appears as a process of change in "serial" Time. In reality, the change is a continuous act in "durational" Time. God has deliberately created the relativity or objectivity of "atomic" Time as a first measure of the creativity of man. Human acts, if performed by a fortified personality, are creative and live as permanent forces unaffected by "serial" Time. All other human efforts ultimately perish by the remorseless passage of Time.

Interestingly, Iqbal felt that understanding the problem of Time was a question of life and death for the Muslims. This remark necessitates a brief survey of views on the nature of Time expressed by people other than Iqbal. According to the Greeks, since the universe was stationary or motionless, the movement of Time was an illusion. The Ash'arite group of Muslim thinkers, who rebelled against this Greek philosophy, advanced the theory of "atomic" Time. Jalaluddin Dawani and Ayn al-Quzzat Hamadani divided Time into three categories: slowest flow of Time for heavier material bodies; faster flow of Time for lighter spiritual beings; and "God's Time" which is motionless, unchangeable and without any beginning or end.

As far as the European thinkers are concerned, Leibnitz advanced the concept of "monads" which was quite close to the Ash'arite concept of "atomic" Time. It is also somewhat similar to the modern "Quantum" Theory advanced by Plank and Bohr. Newton believed in "Ordinary Time" and the underlying "Absolute Time." Nietzsche conceived "Cyclical or Repetitive Time". Ouspenski believed that Time was the involuntary motion of a three dimensional body in space. Iqbal could not refute the objectivity of Einstein's "Relativity" Theory, but his main objection against it was that it destroyed the original nature of Time by reducing it to a mere "fourth dimension" of space. Besides, it fixed "future" as pre-determined. In other words, events in future were not expected to happen, but were already laid out in space and that one could only come by them. This, according to Iqbal, was the worst kind of determinism.

Iqbal generally agreed with Bergson on the "Subjective" nature of Time. But he rejected Bergson's argument that "duration" only consisted of the past and present events and could not include future events. Iqbal thought that future events must also be considered as an essential feature of "pure Time" as future events at least existed in the realm of probability because they may or may not take place.

Iqbal attached equal importance to both the "objective" (serial) and the "subjective" (durational) aspects of Time because of Time's significance with reference to the creative activity of the human ego. He gave the example of God's constant creative activity in "serial" and "durational" time by interpreting the Qur'anic expressions of creating heavens in "seven days" (*Sitta Ayyam*)³ and in the "twinkling of an eye" (*Kalambil basr*).⁴ Likewise, he cited the Tradition attributed to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) in which he described his personal experience in "pure Time", stating, "I had a Time with God"; and another Tradition in which he is reported to have said, "Do not abuse Time, for Time is God".

Iqbal reprimanded Muslims who, as a decadent community, measured time by the passage of day and night and considered life only as eating, drinking, sleeping and waking. In the eyes of Iqbal, such life was the life of animals that did not know the real significance of Time. He expected them to discover the relationship of Time with creativity and to aspire to live creatively. The ethical values that Iqbal deduced from his philosophy of the "Self" include attributes such as love, freedom, courage, high ambition, and supreme indifference towards the acquisition of material comforts. Cultivation of these attributes is likely to result in the fortification of man's personality. Thus a life of such cultivation would be creative and everlasting.

The factors that destroy man's personality emerge from stagnation, the opposite of creative activity. Stagnation gives birth to passive virtues like, humility, submission and obedience as well as fear, corruption, cowardice, beggary, plagiarism and imitation, eventually leading to servitude. Servitude annihilates individuals and societies, and the blind and cynical march of Time obliterates their very trace from history.

In his philosophy of the "Self", Iqbal sought the rebirth of the spirit of inquisitiveness and defiance among the Muslims, calling on them as individuals and as a society to rediscover their lost position in the fields of creativity and innovation.

Through his historical analysis, he demonstrated that in the sphere of human knowledge Western civilisation was a prolongation of Islamic civilisation. Everything in Western thought that led to human progress was an elaboration of the very ideas and theories on which Muslim thinkers and scientists had commenced debate. Hence Iqbal, through his vision of new Muslim individuals and a new Muslim society, endeavoured to create a bridge between Islam and the West. But his dream of creating a "new world" (*Jahan-i-Naw*) could not be realised except through the advancement of a new concept of nationality and the establishment of a modern Islamic state. Iqbal's concept of nationality is also founded on his philosophy of "Individual ego" and "collective ego". He taught the Muslims of South Asia that Islam should form the basis of their nationalism as well as patriotism. Therefore their nationality was founded on a common spiritual aspiration and not on common race, language or territory. He also taught them that in the regions of the Indian subcontinent where they were in a majority, they were justified to assert their right of self-determination and to strive for their independence. Iqbal's dream was realised after his death by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah under whose leadership Muslims established Pakistan. Iqbal had rightly declared, "Nations are born in the hearts of poets. They prosper and die in the hands of politicians."

Iqbal did not define Islam as a theologian but as a philosopher. According to him, Islam was not a religion in the ancient sense of the word. It was an attitude of freedom and even of defiance of the universe. It was essentially a protest against the entire outlook of the ancient world. It was the discovery of man. Therefore in his perception, Islam as a religion and culture is humanistic and egalitarian. Any interpretation of Islam, which approves feudalism and discriminates between man and man, is unacceptable to him.

As for the Qur'an, Iqbal believed that its different interpretations could resolve the problems of the past, present and future eras provided that Muslims were able to

reconcile "reason" with "love", and realised that the new world lying buried in their hearts was anxiously waiting to unfold itself on hearing the word "be" from them.

In brief he subscribed to the view of flexible and progressive interpretation of Qur'anic laws in order to cope with the needs and requirements of changing times. It was in this background that he held that the claim of modern Muslim liberals to re-interpret the foundational legal principles of Islam, in the light of their own experience and the altered conditions of modern life, was perfectly justified. He suggested that each and every generation of Muslims, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve their own problems.

According to Iqbal, Islam's fundamental principle of "*Tawhid*" (God's Unity) in fact implied human equality, solidarity and freedom. He regarded the gradual formation of popularly elected legislative assemblies in Muslim lands as a return to the original purity of Islam. It also constituted a great step forward to transfer the power of "*Ijtihad*" from individual representatives of schools of Law to Muslim legislative assembly. This was necessary towards the establishment of an evolutionary outlook towards the Islamic legal system in modern times. He also realised that due to the extraordinary development of human knowledge, the contribution to legal discussion of experts other than the Ulema, (religious Scholars) as well as laymen who happened to possess a keen insight into affairs, was required in order to stir into activity the dormant spirit of life in the Shari'ah laws.

As for the political or constitutional order of Islam, Iqbal felt that the history of Muslims established that it had always been in a state of "becoming" and was never considered a finished product.

For establishment of the caliphate, different modes were adopted e.g. election, nomination, election through an electoral college, referendum, usurpation of power and finally constitutional caliphate as contemplated by Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani. But laying stress on equality, solidarity and

freedom, Iqbal went one step further and proposed for his Islamic state a "Spiritual" democracy, embodying the principles of supremacy of law, guarantee of human rights and realisation of social and economic justice for all citizens as laid down in the Qur'an and Sunnah.

In sum, Iqbalian idealism is an appropriate example of the fusion of modern ideas into Islam. Iqbal was declared a "*Kafir*" (infidel) by some Ulema for the views expressed in his poems and in his lecture on "*Ijtihad*" in 1924. He was ahead of his times and even today the conservative Muslim community of Pakistan is not ready to accept all his views. Iqbal's Western critics may consider his concept of a modern Islamic state as founded on its own kind of "secular humanism" or perhaps "liberal Unitarian humanism", but to Iqbal the spirit of Islam was boundless and as established by its past history, was capable of assimilating all the attainable new ideas of the surrounding civilisations, giving them its own peculiar direction of development.

Notes and References

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- ¹ The account of the creation of Adam is to be found at several places in the Qur'an. Like most Qur'anic narrative, is not told in one place. See the Qur'an, 2:30-34, 7:11 and elsewhere.
 - ² Qur'an, 33:72.
 - ³ Qur'an, 7:54, 10:3, 25:59 and elsewhere.
 - ⁴ Qur'an, 54:50.

ETHICAL VALUES IN IQBAL'S METAPHYSICS

Iqbal is a metaphysical thinker whose conception of morality can be traced through his metaphysics. Every metaphysical thinker is also a moralist, though every moralist may not necessarily be a metaphysician.

Morality, as a conception in Islam, is not separated from the creed but forms its integral part. The conception of life which Islam presents is a composite whole that includes the biological and spiritual evolution of the entire universe. Morality thus, apart from being an end in itself is more of a means to a further end beyond itself.

We know, up to only a certain point ethical questions can be discussed without involving metaphysical or spiritual argumentations to physical laws exist in things, so we are obliged to assume that the Moral Ideal must have spiritual sources through which it comes to us. Hence a conception of Morality, howsoever self-consistent and self-sufficient it may be, is bound to be incomplete and faulty if it is independent of metaphysics or, in other words, is deficient spiritually.

Muslim ethical thought showed signs of decline when Iqbal appeared in the scene. Development of resvertedly mystical priesthood defended on a self-created mathematical calculus in fudging moral values. The Muslim multitudes of the Indian sub-continent were stuck up in the lowest category of negativism, a state of hopelessness and spiritual famine –

since more emphasis was laid on the calculation of punishable vices as compared with the virtues, neglecting the fact that if numerically there had been more vices in the universe, God would never have taken the trouble to create.

The spirit of Islam, as Iqbal felt, is empiric. The world for it is real and not merely an appearance. Thus experience seems a necessary source of knowledge. But its experience is not merely sense experience, which obliges us to grasp reality piece meal or supplementation of perceptions with more perceptions. It is an experience, which, though springs up from sense experience, yet in its maturer form – steps beyond the sensible unfolding new horizons of transcendent reality. Sense experience above, therefore, cannot help us in formulating a view about an Absolute-Objective Morality because it is unfavourable for the recognition of the validity of such a view on strictly empirical basis. Spiritual belief as a complementary constituents is essential for its finalization.

Iqbal divides spiritual life into three stages: (a) Faith, (b) Thought and (c) Discovery. Faith is "submission to discipline". Iqbal believes, "The essence of religion is faith, and faith, like the bird, sees its 'trackless way' unattended by intellect." To Iqbal faith is much more than mere feeling. Thought is the second stage. He believes, "Perfect submission to discipline is followed by a rational understanding of the discipline and the ultimate source of its authority." In other words, we evolve a metaphysics and a morality of our faith in this stage. Finally the stage of discovery comes when the disciplined self develops an ambition to come into direct contact with the Ultimate Reality.

Religion, to him, is man's total attitude – intellectual, emotional and practical towards the universe as a whole. It is neither mere thought, nor mere feeling, nor mere action; it is the expression of the entire man. Conservatism in religion is dangerous as it is dangerous in any other department of human activity. It shatters ego's creative freedom blocking the paths of fresh spiritual enterprise.

Discussing religion in connection with Morality, Iqbal lays emphasis on the significance and meaning of prayer. "Prayer", he says, "is an expression of man's inner yearning for a response in the awful silence of the universe." It is a unique process of Discovery, the ego's escape from mechanism of freedom. It is spiritual culture as essential as Intellectual or Aesthetic Culture. Further, he insists on the socialization of spiritual illumination, as the spirit of all true prayer is basically social. Posture of body, according to him, determines the attitude of mind, and a particular direction seems the unity of feeling, creating the sense of social equality.

For reaching at the very core of the ethical Iqbal of Iqbal, it is necessary to accept the existence of self, that is the cause of its own activity. The prevalent mystical schools of thought (تصوف) rejected such a view, since it hindered the absorption of the individual self into the Universal Self. Consciousness – denying in most cases, causality even to God, who was reduced merely to a thinker or a thought Iqbal, in the century, insists that actions must be attributed to the individual self, otherwise the moral Iqbal would lose its objective significance.

Secondly, faith in the existence of God, who is not to be considered as a Universal Mind but a Universal Will, is essential. Iqbal's God is not a changeless or timeless God. Such a God, according to him, would imply uselessness of effort. His God is dynamic and highly active. A Personality whose infinity lies in His intensity and not in His extensity. An Ego with whom personal communion is possible. A creator of the Universe and Director of His own spirit into it. He holds the finite egos in His own Self without obliterating their existence. As a personal God He is not opposed to the being and freedom of the finite egos.

Lastly, belief in the immortality of Self as a corollary of belief in God is essential for its own sake. It is not to be considered only for the distribution of posthumous reward

and punishment, but the value of an idea of a future justice consists to emphasize the reality of moral obligation, the objectivity of an Absolute Moral Ideal and personal responsibility.

Iqbal conceives life as continuous, involving series of death, that is, entering from one state of life into another, though its movement is, it must be borne in mind, not cyclic but creative and processive. For him there is neither eternal damnation nor eternal blessedness in the worlds to come. He emphatically says, "Character tends to become permanent, its reshaping must require time. Hell, therefore, as conceived by the Quran, is not a pit of everlasting torture inflicted by a revengeful God, it is a corrective experience which may make a hardened ego once more sensitive to the living breeze of Divine Grace. Nor is Heaven a holiday. Life is one and continuous. Man marches always onwards to receive, ever fresh illuminations from an Infinite Reality which every moment appeared in a new glory." Somewhere else he insists, "Hell and Heaven are states not localities – they are usual representations of an inner fact, i.e. character."

Coming to the moral implications is his conception of the finite ego, Iqbal places the idea of Personality, which, according to him, gives us a standard of value and settles the problem of Good and Evil. He says, "That which fortifies personality is Good, that which weakens is bad. Art, Religion and Ethics must be judged by the standpoint of personality."

The apparent causes of the decline of Muslims as a community were firstly, the philosophical systems that inculcated self-negation. Obviously such system implied uselessness of effort. And secondly a rigorous social order that gave birth to an over-organised society in which the individual was altogether crushed out of existence. Iqbal lays stress on Self as free, creative and immortal. Its purpose is to help in the upward march of humanity. This secret can be revealed by an intuition of the Self, which makes us conscious of our 'will-attitudes'. Our very existence depends on action, cognition and desiring. He says, "My feelings, hates and loves,

judgments and resolutions are exclusively mine. God himself cannot feel, judge and choose for me when more than one course of action are open to me." Further, he insists, "Goodness is not a matter of compulsion; it is the self's free surrender to the moral ideal and arises out of a willing co-operation of free egos. A being whose movements are wholly determined like a machine cannot produce goodness. Freedom is thus a condition of goodness.

Now the Ideal Man of Iqbal is that who is free and can fortify his personality. This Ideal Man is 'Momin' who is the ideal to which all life aspires.

Iqbal catalogues the factors that help in the fortification of personality into an all-inclusive one – Creative Action (خلاقیت), constituents of which are (a) Love (b) Supreme Indifference and (c) Courage.

Intensity of desire is heightened by love. It is in essence free, therefore it has the capacity of fortifying ego. Its abode is heart and its elements are faith, unity of thoughts, magnificence and the joy of distinctness. Iqbal has his own definition of love. He says, "This word is used in a very wide sense and means the desire to assimilate, to absorb. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realize them. Love individualises the lover as well as the beloved. The effort to realize the most unique individuality individualises the seeker and implies individuality of the sought, for nothing else would satisfy the nature of the seeker." Hence not the submergence or extinction (as the traditional definition goes), but on the contrary, emergence or maintaining the distinctness, is what Iqbal implies of love. Further, love is the fountainhead of Intuition, a higher form of intelligential experience as compared with Reason, the product of more sense experience.

Again Supreme Indifference, as Iqbal conceives it, does not entail the traditional idea of 'selflessness', rather, it is the very essence of the opposite of it. It is an expression of actions motivated by no other desire than the desire to fulfil

the moral law for its own sake, irrespective of the joy of its reward or the despair of the reverse. Iqbal's definition of Faqr can be best interpreted by a tradition from the Holy Prophet, when he said, "Even God is amazed at those who are brought to Paradise in chains." Precisely it is an attitude of complete detachment, hence distinctive in character.

Courage, is the secret of ego. It is triumph over fear. It urges the self to wage a constant war against the negative forces within and without. With love courage is strengthened. Courage, again means personal effort and struggle. Iqbal's Ideal Man is supposed to 'live dangerously', defying all forces which tend to obstruct the achievement of right.

Love, Supreme Indifference and Courage culminate into the all-inclusive, Creative Action. Life, as Iqbal conceives it, is creative, it is a constant effort, an unceasing quest, an unending struggle. It is original, essential, spontaneous, vital and constantly in the state of 'becoming.' Hence there is no end to action, no permanence but continuity. This continuous, creative activity in the Ultimate Ego keeps on adding more and still more into the universe. God becomes a co-worker with man. On the other hand, the kindling of constant fire of action in Man raises him to the Divine Plane, takes him beyond Good and Evil, into a super-Moral Sphere. Then the Momin's consciousness transcends moral distinctions, as he apprehends the celestial Good and nothing besides it. This is the realm of angels (and yet it is not the goal).

If the universe, as Iqbal holds, is purposive, creative and evolutionary, how can we account for the presence of what our moral consciousness pronounces to be Evil? Further, if human ego is related to the ultimate Ego, then we are forced to conclude that Evil exists also for the mind of God, since Good implies a constant struggle against mental and physical Evil, injury and injustice.

Iqbal does not come to grips with the problems of Evil as an absolute something. His Satan, like his Momin and God, is also a great personality, highly active and sharp. Still

the factors that weaken human personality (finite ego) can be precisely mentioned, though their significance is entirely negative. The all-inclusive among them is stagnation, that is the opposite of Creative Action – meaning absence of activity or effortlessness. Stagnation gives birth to fear – opposite of courage, imitation – opposite of love and finally, servitude – opposite of Supreme Indifference.

To sum up, Evil can be categorized among the degrees of Reality. A degree which the human ego is apt to pass through in the elementary stages of his upwards flight. He trods on it without difficulty, because his creative activity is essentially vital in nature and not empirical. "The final act", says Iqbal "is not an intellectual act but a vital act which deepens the whole being of the ego, and sharpens his will with the creative assurance that the world is not something to be merely seen or known through concepts, but something to be made and remade by continuous action. It is a moment of supreme bliss and also a moment of the greatest trial for the ego."

FOREWORD TO SHIKWA (BENGALI TRANSLATION)

Shikwa is the poem recited by Iqbal at the session of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam in Islamia College, Lahore, in April 1911. Iqbal's father sat in the audience, and was very much moved by this poem. A few months later the other half of the poem, *Jawab-i-Shikwa*, was recited in a meeting outside Mochi Gate, Lahore.

The historical background against which these poems were written is worth considering in any attempt to comprehend the fullness of the poet's meaning. Iqbal left Sialkot and came to study in Lahore at the age of 22. Like any other sensitive young man he was aware of the tensions and frustrations in the world around him. The degraded condition of the Muslim world was not hidden from him.

The Ottoman Empire was Islamic only in name. Islam was gradually being banished from Eastern Europe. The Southern Muslim Russian States had, one after the other, been absorbed into Tsarist Russia. The Chinese Muslims had been defeated in their struggle for independence and had ceased to exist as a distinct political entity. The British held Egypt. France had its eyes on Morocco. Iran lay dying. The condition of the Indonesian Muslims was pitiable under the oppressive rule of the Dutch. In the Indian sub-continent after the suppression of the 1857 Mutiny, the flag of Islam lay low.

In this condition of defeat and despondency, the only hope for the Indian Muslims seemed to lie in the movement for Islamic solidarity under the leadership of the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph. The Muslims looked towards the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph because the Ottoman Empire was the only independent Muslim power left in the world. But the greed of the European powers for colonies was insatiable; they hungered for the conquest of this last remnant of Muslim civilization. The British were instigating the Greek to rebel against the Ottomans, and this had increased the hostility of the Indian Muslims against their British rulers.

Sir Syed was a setting sun, yet the Mutiny of 1857 was still a living reality before his eyes. He was terribly afraid lest the Muslims because of this hostility might again fling themselves against the power of the British, and lest the edifice he had erected for the peaceful progress and betterment of the Muslim community might collapse. He therefore taught the Muslims to remain aloof from politics and restrained them from taking any active interest in the political tensions of the Muslim world.

In 1882 when the British banished Jamal-ud-Din Afghani from Egypt and confined him to the Indian sub-continent, Sir Syed and his followers ignored him. Jamal-ud-Din Afghani was the prime mover of the movement for Islamic solidarity. He was confident that the defence of Islam was only possible if the Muslims of the world would present a united front against the aggressive and voracious Imperialism of Europe. This great son of Islam spoke not only in theory, but inspired disciples and founded societies all over the Islamic world so that his vision of future greatness for the Muslims might be realised.

Although Sir Syed and his followers ignored Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, there were many sensitive and freedom-loving young Muslims who were attracted by this magnetic personality and daring ideas. Jamal-ud-Din Afghani left behind him in the Indian sub-continent an excitement and a new hope in the hearts of many young Muslims. One of the

young Muslims who responded to this new hope was Muhammad Iqbal.

From 1899 to 1904 Iqbal's poems about the condition of the Muslims reflect a spirit of despondency. In his view the Muslim nation was like an orphan whom he would sometimes depict as *Tasvir-i-Dard* (Portrait of Pain), and sometimes as *Nala-i-Yateem* (Sighing of an Orphan). Or he would raise a *Firyad Behazur Sarwar-i-Kainat* (A Complaint to the Prophet). Everybody seemed to be silent and hushed. Islam was dying, and the Indian Muslims stood mutely as spectators.

From 1905 to 1908 Iqbal remained in Europe. When he returned he had realised that there was no future for Islam unless and until there could be solidarity among the Muslim peoples. The Muslims as a people were continuously decaying and losing their identity. But Iqbal's voice was gradually stirring the Muslims to move from darkness into light. By now the Muslims had been thrown out from the Balkans, Iran was involved in a life and death struggle, and the plains of Tripoli were red with Muslim blood. In this period all the poems which Iqbal wrote greatly stirred the Indian Muslims. In this very period he wrote his famous poem called *Trabalus ke Shahidun ke Lahu* (The Blood of the Martyrs of Tripoli). *Shikwa* and *Jawab-i-Shikwa* also belong to this period. In fact *Jawab-i-Shikwa* was written with the object of collecting funds for the refugees from the Balkan wars.

I congratulate Kavi Ghulam Mustafa for rendering this poem of Iqbal in Bengali. He has already made his name by translating many other works of Iqbal. As he himself has said, any good translation must be a second creation strictly following the spirit, thought and sentiment of the original, I am sure that this work of Kavi Ghulam Mustafa would stir the hearts of its Bengali readers, and awaken in their minds a deeper vision of Muslim solidarity not only in Pakistan but in the world.

RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY OF MUHAMMAD IQBAL

Iqbal had no philosophic system to offer. Therefore strictly speaking, he was not a philosopher. He was also not a trained theologian in the traditional sense of the term; hence he could not be considered as an expert on religion. Had he been alive, he would have certainly been surprised to hear his thoughts or ideas being described as 'religious philosophy'. Even otherwise he would have rejected the term 'religious philosophy' as contradictory, for, philosophy, according to him, is merely a groping inquiry whereas religion is founded on faith in Reality. He, likewise, disapproved of being called a poet, for, according to him, he had only used poetry as a vehicle for conveying his ideas to the others.

Nevertheless Iqbal was essentially a religious poet, who expressed the religious aspirations of his age in such a way that it is difficult to enter into the spirit of his great poems without some acquaintance with the religious-cultural history of Islam. He was a poet gifted with the necessity of utterance and thus carried a prophet's burden. The message he was to deliver had been pressed like lead upon his soul and although the process of telling was an agony, he was compelled to tell it. Each word of the message was like a flame, which struggled to break forth into speech and would accept no suppression or denial.

There is no denying the fact that poetry can be vigorous while being quite indifferent to religion. But poetry cannot long remain separated from religious consciousness if it is to achieve a higher level of expression. Therefore, the bond between religion and poetry is not superficial. Religion is a power as ancient as the world and if philosophy, the parent of the sciences, has been universally acknowledged as the child of religion, there is no reason why poetry, which in its higher forms is more philosophical than philosophy itself, should not be considered as the child of religion.

There has always existed a mysterious link between great problems and great poems. The conflict between the experience of men and the religious aspirations of the age has laid the foundations of the greatest poems of the ancient Greeks, Jews, Christians and Muslims. In the world literature examples of numerous poets could be cited, who, were most effective when their poetic expression resulted directly from religious emotion.

In chronological order Iqbal comes after Hali and before a group of Indo-Pakistan writers in modern Urdu literature known as the Progressive Writers. But in terms of the accuracy of his insights into the problems of contemporary Muslims, Iqbal ought to be placed much later. Similarly, his message must not be interpreted in isolation from the socio-political conditions under which he lived and against which he felt obliged to react.

He hailed from a Muslim middle-class family that was known for its piety and abstinence. He received his early education in Sialkot and thereafter came to study in Lahore. As a sensitive young Muslim, he realised that the glory of Islam had become a matter of past history. The Ottoman Empire was in the process of breaking up. The struggle for independence of the Chinese and Central Asian Muslims was brought to an end and they had already been absorbed in the Chinese nationalist Empire and Tsarist Russia. The Muslims were gradually being driven out from Eastern Europe. Iran was collapsing. Egypt was controlled by the British. France

had seized Morocco. The Muslims of the Indian sub-continent had given up all hope of regaining their lost freedom after suppression of the so-called 1857 Mutiny. Under the British rule, they had been reduced to a minority of 100 million people. Initiative had been snatched away from the hands of Islam which, like an old man, lived in the past and was perpetually on the defensive.

In this condition of utter despair the Muslims of the sub-continent turned their eyes towards the movement of Islamic solidarity. This movement (also called the Pan-Islamic movement) had been founded by Jamal al-Din Afghani. Throughout his life Afghani preached that the unity of purpose among the Muslims was the only weapon with which they could defeat the forces of imperialism. Accordingly, he endeavoured for the establishment of a federation of Muslim states under the constitutional leadership of the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph. Iqbal was profoundly influenced by Afghani's vision of Islamic solidarity and it is in this context that he is regarded as a poet-prophet of Islamic revival or resurgence. He started his career as a poet in the traditional sense and wrote on whatever moved him. He was fascinated by nature, expressed himself on topics like love, solitude, loneliness etc. or composed *Ghazals* in the conventional style. He also wrote some poems in support of Indian nationalism. Sometimes the subject matter of his poems was universal and at other times it exclusively concerned the Muslim community. He experimented in writing satirical verse or wrote poems for children. But the most moving poems of his formative phase are those in which he bewailed the miserable plight of the Indian Muslims or lamented the sorrows of the Muslim world involved in a bitter struggle for independence.

There is an interesting admission by Iqbal about himself in his notebook entitled *Stray Reflections*. This notebook was compiled in 1910. In one of the notes, while reflecting on the poets who had influenced him during this formative period, he remarks that Wordsworth saved him from atheism in his student days. An analysis of this remark is important for two

reasons: First, it reveals the questioning and searching nature of Iqbal's mind; and second, it indicates that he was not confined to the generally accepted narrowness of his own tradition. From this remark it can be safely assumed that he drifted from a state of doubt to a pantheistic state and during this phase he founded his political ideas on a pantheistic philosophy. Accordingly he wrote poems in support of Indian nationalism and patriotism; but side by side with this trend proceeded the love for his own religio-cultural tradition which found expression in numerous exquisite poems written in the same period.

He went to Europe in 1905 as an ardent supporter of pantheism, nationalism, patriotism and at the same time Islamic solidarity. He stayed there upto 1908 studying philosophy and law at different universities. At that time Europe was in a state of intellectual turmoil. The spell of Hegelianism was holding every intellectual. The emphasis on rationalism and automatic progress through science had resulted in the development of materialistic and atheistic trends. It is a tribute to the quality of Iqbal's mind that it remained unaffected by the materialistic and – an atheistic trends in the Europe/thought of the early 20th century. Actually it was during his stay in Europe that he passed through an intellectual as well as emotional revolution and became disgusted with pantheism, secular nationalism as well as territorial patriotism. He had seen the forces of secular nationalism and territorial patriotism active in Europe and arrived at the conclusion that the construction of human groups on the foundations of race, language, colour and territory or fighting as well as dying for it was not only inhuman and barbaric but contrary to the universally accepted spiritual values of equality and brotherhood of man. A critical study of European culture had revealed to him that the development of materialistic and atheistic trends in Europe had trampled over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity; whereas the forces it had engendered e.g. nationalism, patriotism, imperialism etc. resulted in the

formation of mutually ill-adjusted states, dominated by interests, not human but national. These mutually ill-adjusted states had been frequently dragged into internecine wars and were involved in a dangerous competition which would eventually lead to their destruction. He felt that secular nationalism and territorial patriotism were idols with which European Christianity had made a compromise at the cost of itself receding into the background of private opinion. But Islam, he reflected, never compromised with idolatry of any form and had destroyed this adversary altogether. Since Islam was complete in itself, it could not tolerate nationalism, patriotism or any *ism* sundered from it.

This disillusionment from European culture made Iqbal feel the necessity of seeking inspiration exclusively from his own religio-cultural tradition. A deeper study of the history of Muslims led him to the conclusion that it was pantheism among other destructive forces which had killed the will to act in the Muslim peoples and resulted in the decline of Islamic civilisation. Pantheism developed in Islam when decadence had already set in through the establishment of autocratic Sultanate and sterile Mullaism. It was a product of slavish mentality which extolled passive virtues like humility, submission and obedience. Accordingly this pantheistic God, manufactured by such mentality, according to him, was very different from the vigorous personality of the original Qur'anic God.

A deeper study of Islamic culture also revealed to Iqbal that the scientific and technological progress achieved in Europe had in fact been stimulated by and was an advancement on what had been handed-over by Islamic culture to Europe through Spain and Italy before the Renaissance. Therefore, adopting the same in the world of Islam amounted to taking back what Islam had originally given to Europe. Of the rest of the European culture he became an adverse critic and remained so all his life. The European civilisation appeared to him as 'an empty scabbard

chased with flowery gilt' and he genuinely believed that it would eventually 'commit suicide with its own dagger'.

Iqbal returned from Europe in 1908 with an awareness that for the Muslims the realisation of Islam was the only destiny. He had ceased to bewail the miserable condition or lament the sorrows of the Muslim world. Instead he either erupted into violent protest to God or broke into moving prayers urging God to guide him in finding solution of the problems of the Muslim community. The prayed for guidance was immediately available and the answer came spontaneously. There was a miraculous touch in the turning point, for, as he proceeded along, his poetry became more and more vigorous and strong.

Since Iqbal felt called upon to deliver a message, his poetry attained a prophetic character. As the message was to be delivered to the Muslims of the world, he changed the mode of communication from Urdu to Persian, the language of Islamic culture. Although the forms of imagery employed by him were taken from the Islamic literary tradition, he used them as vehicles for the expression of absolutely new insights. Since he aimed at bringing home his religio-philosophical ideas directly to the hearts of Muslims, the poetic language of Iqbal became lucid, simple and profound to the emotions, but remained complex, difficult, and unintelligible to the mind.

As for the religio-philosophical ideas on which the message of Iqbal is founded, an outline can be attempted. In order to appreciate his ideas properly, a comprehensive knowledge of the development of modern philosophy in Europe is required in addition to an understanding of the Islamic religio-cultural tradition. He had his own concepts of God, man and universe. He was deeply interested in the contribution of Muslim philosophers to the problem of time and space. He dealt with the problem of death and had his own concept of life-after-death.

According to him, the existence of God cannot be established by reason alone, but it can be established by a

totality of experience consisting of sense perception, reason as well as intuition. God is a personality, vigorously alive and constantly willing. He is the Ultimate Ego Whose Infinity is intensive and not extensive. He is continuously creative, goes on adding to His creation and is capable of changing His mind. From God conceived as the Ultimate Ego only egos proceed. Therefore, the universe from the mechanical movement of the atom of matter to the free movement of thought in human ego, is the self-revelation of "the Great I am". It is one continuous act of God. There is no distinction between mind and matter except that of the degree of egohood.

Man is distinguishable from the universe, because in the process of creation, he, as an act of God, has become self-conscious. He, as a finite ego, is the representative of God on earth. He is essentially a creative activity and has the potential as well as capability of becoming a co-worker with God in the process of progressive change if he takes the initiative. Man, as a personality, is unique, distinct from God and free. His desires and aspirations, pains and pleasures, hates and loves, judgements and resolutions are exclusively his, and even God cannot feel, judge, or choose for him when more than one courses of action are open to him.

Death is a temporary shock, but man's personality can survive it provided that it is fortified by such attributes as Love, Freedom, Courage and Disinterestedness. Life-after-death or immortality cannot be claimed by man as of right. It is to be earned by him through the fortification of his ego or personality. Hell is not a pit of ever-lasting torture, nor is Heaven a holiday. Man always marches onwards to receive ever-fresh illumination from the Ultimate Ego. Each and every act of man creates a new situation and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding.

Man and God, according to Iqbal, are highly dynamic personalities, distinct from each other and yet together. The example of submergence of the drops into the Ocean only applies to those egos which fail to fortify themselves and

cannot stand the shock of death. Consequently, their submergence implies destruction or complete annihilation. But those personalities which can fortify themselves, live, move and have their being like pearls in the perpetual flow of the Divine Sea. Their existence is not obliterated, but they are held by the All-Embracing Ultimate Ego within Himself just as flames of candles retain their separate and distinct existence in the presence of the over-powering light of sun. Life, therefore, is a constant struggle for the candle to keep its flame continuously burning, or for the drop to attain pearlhood, because the eventual destination of man is not emancipation from the limitation of individuality but to achieve a more precise definition of it. Thus, man is essentially a spiritual being realising himself in space and time. He can be properly apprehended as a living force possessing rights and duties only in the social organism to which he belongs. Unique individuals must constitute a unique society - a society which possesses a well-defined creed and has a capability to enlarge its limits by example and persuasion. Such a society, according to Iqbal, is Islam. Hence his ideas on the Individual and Collective Ego are based on the Qur'anic conceptions of a perfect Muslim individual and the Islamic society.

The creative activity of God may appear outwardly as a process of change in serial time. But in reality the change is a continuous act of God in durational or pure time. Here Iqbal introduces his concept of what he terms 'permanence-in-change'. The relativity or objectivity of atomic time has been created deliberately by God as a device to test or measure the creative activity of man. Human acts, if performed by a fortified personality, are creative and live as permanent forces across serial time. All other human efforts ultimately perish by the remorseless rolling on of time.

These ideas have been beautifully expressed in one of his famous poems, namely, "The Mosque of Cordoba." The poem opens with a description of the destructive power of serial time in the face of which all human efforts ultimately

perish. But this ambiguity, cynical indifference or remorselessness of time is a touch-stone by which man's works are measured. If the activity of man is inspired by the courageous power of Love, it cannot be destroyed by time, but lives for ever across time. Experience of visiting this great mosque in Spain affected Iqbal so profoundly that he saw manifest in its stones the inmost self of the ideal Muslim. The vision convinced him that if the Muslim peoples were to realise their ego individually and collectively, they could reach the heights of perfect creativity again. There is, of course, no returning to the past, but the new challenges must be faced with courage and vigour. The countries of Europe have seen many a revolution in modern history and now the world of Islam—and here the poem assumes a prophetic character—is also on the verge of a revolution. Life, which is untouched by revolution, is death, for, living nations must breathe the air of revolution. Such nations are like a sharp sword in the Hand, of God, cutting, changing, moulding, shaping and casting history in accordance with their ideals.

The ethical values which can be derived from his religio-philosophical ideas are such attributes as Love, Freedom, Courage and Disinterestedness (or supreme indifference towards the acquisition of material comforts). The cultivation of these attributes results in the fortification of man's personality. The acts of such a man are creative and ever lasting, for, he is a co-worker with God. It may be noted that these attributes are, by themselves, strong, dynamic and individualistic forces. Even Love, the main key to the worldview of Iqbal, is a power of genuine individuality. He defines it as "the desire to assimilate and to absorb. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realise them. Love individualises the lover as well as the beloved. The effort to realise the most unique individuality, individualises the seeker and implies the individuality of the sought, for, nothing else would satisfy the nature of the seeker." Hence the agony of separation from

God is transformed into man's affirmation of distinctness from God in Iqbal's concept of love.

The factors which destroy man's personality arise from stagnation, the opposite of creative activity. Stagnation gives birth to fear, corruption, cowardice, begging or asking (not only for the means of livelihood but also for thoughts, ideas, habits etc. from the others), imitating, and finally servitude. Servitude annihilates individuals, societies as well as nations and the blind and cynically indifferent rolling on of time obliterates even their trace in history.

From this brief survey of Iqbal's religio-philosophical ideas, it can be gathered that he spoke for the ideal Muslim individual and the Islamic society of tomorrow. Since the reconstruction of Islamic society was not possible without a struggle for the political, cultural, social, economical and technological emancipation of the Muslim peoples, he felt obliged also to present his views on these issues.

According to Iqbal, Islam constructs nationality out of a purely abstract idea, i.e. religion. The conception of nationality in Islam has no material basis because a sense of belonging to each other amongst the Muslim peoples really depends on a sort of mental agreement with a certain view of the world and a desire to lay down their lives in defence of it. Hence for a Muslim Islam is itself nationalism as well as patriotism. So Iqbal became the exponent of Muslim nationalism in the Indian sub-continent from 1909 onwards, and in 1930 as the President of the Muslim League, suggested that the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent should demand territorial specification in the form of a separate state on the basis of a distinct cultural unit. He did not only dream of carving out a separate state for Muslims of the Indian sub-continent, for, the realisation of this goal was merely a means for achieving the unification of the entire Muslim world. This unification, according to him, was possible either through the establishment of a single federated Muslim state or through a commonwealth of Muslim nations or through a combination of several independent Muslim states tied to each other for

purely economic and political considerations. He even suggested Teheran as the capital of the future Commonwealth of Muslim Nations.

The constitution of a Muslim state could not be secular but Islamic and its form could be no other than socio-democratic, because the ideal Muslim individual as well as the Islamic society can only be brought up in a spirit of equality and freedom. Iqbal believed that the past contained many treasures of wisdom and understanding of the human soul. But according to him a return to medievalism was neither possible nor desirable. Since the idea of progressive change had so much significance in his philosophical thinking, he took it as normal that an age should end, and that new challenges must be faced with vision and courage. Therefore, he was of the opinion that Islamic Law should be reinterpreted in the light of contemporary experience and the altered conditions of modern life. He insisted on a reform in the system of Islamic legal instruction and was in favour of transferring the power of interpreting the law of Islam from individual representatives of Schools to a Muslim Legislative Assembly.

Iqbal was disgusted with the imperialism of the European secular capitalist-democratic powers. He was of the view that Asia was bound to rebel against the acquisitive economy which the West had developed and imposed on the nations of the East. In his opinion, Asia could never comprehend modern Western capitalism with its undisciplined individualism. However, since he believed in a re-birth of passionate and creative faith in God, he could never accept the communist Utopia founded on atheistic socialism. According to him, although Islam considered private ownership as a trust, it did not allow capital to accumulate so as to dominate the real producers of wealth. Islam recognised the worth of the individual but disciplined the 'haves' to surrender and give away as trustees to the service of the 'have-nots'. Islam could, he maintained: "still create a new world where the social rank of man is not determined by his

caste or colour or the amount of dividend he earns, but by the kind of life he lives; where the poor tax the rich; where human society is founded, not on the equality of stomachs but on the equality of spirits".

From the above it follows that Iqbal had rejected both the secular capitalist-democratic order of the power elite developed in the west as well as the atheistic socialist-dictatorial order established in the communist countries. The revolution of which he was the prophet was to be realised only by establishing the Islamic socio-democratic order. The best expression of his ideas on this subject is found in another famous poem titled "Satan's Parliament" which pictures Satan and his counsellors discussing contemporary history. The poem was written two years before the commencement of the Second World War. It is the last of the series of Iqbal's great poems on Satan whose personality had attracted his attention as an active force that shatters the spell of paradisaical rest. Satan drew in Europe's mind the fantasy of imperialism based on a secular-capitalist-democratic order of the power elite and thus divided humanity into groups of the exploiters and the exploited. Thereof, as a natural consequence, atheistic socialism emerged and communism came to be established. In order to destroy communism Satan revealed the dream of fascist authoritarianism. Satan alone is capable of dragging the European nations into war, because he can seduce them into destroying each other. He is himself the creator and protector of the secular capitalist-democratic order. Therefore, he is not afraid of the threat of the communist revolution of tomorrow. The only revolution of which he is frightened is the possibility of the awakening of the Muslims and the establishment of the Islamic socio-democratic order. Hence he commands his counsellors to keep the prophet's path hidden from the sight and mind of the Muslim peoples and to keep their eyes well-bandaged from the theatre of life and activity.

In the light of what has been stated above, it is evident that the achievement of Pakistan is merely the realisation of a

fraction of Iqbal's dream. His ideas on the establishment of Islamic socio-democratic order in Muslim countries as well as the unification of the world of Islam are far from being realised. Consequently, the revolution he dreamed of is yet to come and thus he continues to remain the poet philosopher of Islam's tomorrow.

THE MOSQUE OF CORDOBA FROM *BAL-E-JIBRIEL* (GABRIEL'S WING)

Day succeeding to night - moulder of all time's works!
 Day succeeding to night - fountain of life and of death!
 Chain of the days and nights - two coloured thread of silk
 Woven by Him that is, into His being's to be!
 Chain of the days and nights - sigh of eternity's harp,
 Height and depth of all things possible, God-revealed.
 You are brought to their test; I am brought to their test -
 Day' revolving with night, touchstone of all this world;
 Weighed in their scales you and I, weighed and found wanting,
 shall both
 Find in death our reward, find in extinction our wage;
 What other sense have your nights, what have your days, but
 one
 Long blank current of time empty of sunsets or dawn?
 All Art's winders arise only to vanish once more;
 All things built on this earth sink as if built on sand!
 Inward and outward things, first things and last, must die;
 Things from of old or new-born find their last goal in death.

Yet, in this frame of things, gleams of immortal life
 Show where some servant of God wrought into some high
 shape
 Work whose perfection is still bright with the splendour of
 Love-
 Love, the well-spring of life; Love, on which death has no
 claim.
 Swiftly its tyrannous flood time's long current may roll:
 Love itself is a tide, stemming all opposite waves.

Other ages in Love's calendar are set down,
 Ages as yet | jnnamed, far from this now-flowing hour;
 Love is Gabriel's breath, Love is Mahomed's strong heart,
 Love is the envoy of God, Love the utterance of God.
 Even our mortal clay, touched by Love's ecstasy, glows;
 Love is a new-pressed wine, Love is the goblet of kings,
 Love the priest of the shrine, Love the commander of hosts,
 Love the son of the road, counting a thousand homes.
 Love's is the plectrum that draws music from Life's taut strings-
 Love's is the warmth of life, Love's is the radiance of life.

Shrine of Cordoba! from Love all your existence is sprung,
 Love that can know no end, stranger to Then-and-Now.
 Colour or stone and brick, music and song or speech,
 Only the heart's warm blood feeds such marvels of craft;
 Flint with one drop of that blood turns to a beating heart-
 Melody, mirth and joy gash out of warm heart's-blood.
 Yours the soul-quickenning pile, mine the soul-kindling verse,
 Yours to knock at men's hearts, mine to open their gates.
 Not less exalted than high Heaven is the human breast,
 Handful of dust though it be, bounded by that blue sky.
 What, to Him Who is Light, is it to watch men kneel?
 He cannot feel this fire melting our limbs as we pray.
 I from the infidel East - see with what fervour I glow,
 Blessings on God and His Saint filling my soul and my mouth.
 Fervently sounds my voice, ardently sounds my lute,
 God is God, like a song, thrilling through every vein!

Outward and inward grace, witness in you for him,
 Prove your builder, like you, fair of shape and of soul;
 Firm those foundations are fixed, countless those pillars soar
 Like an array of palms over the Syrian sands.
 Light such as Hoses beheld gleams on those walls, that roof,
 High on that minaret's top Gabriel sits enthroned!
 Never can Muslim despair; he, reciting his creed,
 Stands before God where once Moses and Abraham stood.
 Limitless is his world, endless horizons are his,
 Tigris and -Danube and Nile billows that roll in his sea;
 Fabulous days have been his, strange are the tales he can tell,
 He who to ages outworn brought the command to depart;

He who gladdens the gay, rides in the lists of Love,
 Pure and unmixed his cup, tempered and pure his steel,
 Warrior armed in this mail; There is no god but God,
 Under the shadow of swords refuged by no god but God.
 Here stands his inmost self manifest in your stones,
 Fire of passionate days, rapture of melting nights;
 Here his high station displayed, here his high-mounting
 thoughts,
 Here his joy and desire, self-abasement and pride.
 As is the hand of God, so the Believer's hand,
 Potent, guided by craft, strong to create and to rule.
 Fashioned of dust and of light, creature divine of soul,
 Careless of both the worlds beats his not humble heart;
 Frugal of earthly hope, splendid of purpose, he earns
 Friendship with courteous mien, wins every voice by his glance;
 Mild in the social hour, swift in the hour of pursuit,
 Whether in feast or in fray pure in conscience and deed.
 Round His servant's firm faith God's great compasses turn;
 All this universe else shadow, illusion and myth.
 He is Reason's last goal, he is the harvest of Love,
 He in creation's hall sets all spirits ablaze.

Shrine of the lovers of art! Visible power of the Faith!
 Sacred as Mecca you made, once, Andalusia's soil.
 If there is under these skies loveliness equal to yours,
 Only in Muslim hearts, nowhere else can it be.

Ah, those proud cavaliers, champions Arabia sent forth
 Pledged to the splendid Way, knights of the truth and the creed!
 Through their empire a strange secret was understood;
 Friends of mankind hold sway not command but to serve.
 Europe and Asia from them gathered instruction: the West
 Lay in darkness, and their wisdom discovered the path.
 Even today in this land rich with their blood, dwells a race
 Carefree, open of heart, simple and smiling-faced;
 Sven today in this land eyes like the soft gazelle's
 Dart those glances whose barbs stick in the breast where they
 fall
 Even today- in its breeze fragrance of Yemen still floats,
 Even to-day in its songs echoes live on of Hejaz.

Under the stars your realm lies like a heaven; alas!
 Ages are fled since your courts heard their last prayer-call sound
 What new halting-place now, what far valley, has love's
 Dauntless caravan reached, treading its stormy road?
 Germany saw, long since, Reformation's rough winds
 Blotting the old ways out, sweeping away every trace,
 Vicars of Christ and their pomp dwindling to lying words,
 Reason's fragile bark launched once more on its course;
 under the eyes of France, Revolution long since
 Fashioned anew the whole world known to the men of the
 West;
 Rome's chief daughter, grown old worshipping ancient things,
 Led by desire of Rebirth found, she too, second youth.
 Now in the soul of Islam tumults like those are astir,
 Working God's secret will: tongue cannot tell what they mean.
 Watch! from the ocean-depth-what comes surging at last!
 See how those colours change, there in that asure vault!

Drowned in twilight, a cloud hangs over vale and hill,
 Heaped by this sunset with red rubies of Badakhshan.
 Simple, poignant, a girl singing her peasant song;
 Youth is the current that bears lightly the boat of the heart.
 Flowing Guadalquivir! Here on your bank is one
 Gazing at things gone by, dreams of another day.
 Destiny's curtain till now muffles the world to be,
 Yet, already, its dawn stands before me unveiled;
 Were I to lift this mask hiding the face of my thoughts,
 Europe could never endure songs as burning as mine!
 Death, not life, is the life no revolutions stir:
 Change, upheaval, the air breathed by the nations' souls;
 Keen as a sword that Fate holds in its hand is a folk
 Mindful to reckon its deeds, casting their sum in each age.
 Warmed by no blood from the heart, all man's creations are
 botched;
 Warmed by no blood from the heart, poetry's rapture grows
 faint.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF IQBAL*


Iqbal's thought is multi-dimensional. Its most important dimension is his cosmic view, which is tied up with his fundamental concept of individual and collective ego. Through this concept he elevates man and makes him stand side by side with God as co-worker and co-creator in the construction of a better universe and a more perfect world order. The universe, according to Iqbal, is not a block universe or a finished product, incapable of change. But it is a growing universe as God keeps on adding to it in the process of progressive change. Iqbal's God is a living God because of His continuous creative activity. Man as a spiritual being, realizing himself in space-time, can also become eternal like God if he takes the initiative, by regarding life as a struggle or a challenge, and by constantly creating or inventing for the betterment of the world and the universe.

However, the cosmic view of Iqbal cannot be properly comprehended, unless and until one grasps his worldview. He has a message for the Third World as well as a warning for the rich and affluent nations. For the nations of the Third World his message is that they must constantly endeavour to realise their collective ego, exploit their own resources, control their populations, learn to depend on themselves alone, build up their own industries and commerce, establish such politico-economic orders which are founded on their


* Text of the speech delivered at New Delhi on December 26, 1977.

own tradition, help one another in reconstruction, resolve their disputes through bilateral negotiations, and must not go about with a begging bowl to the affluent nations. To the affluent nations his warning is that so long as they remain attached to fabricated dualism, such as distinction between white and black, coloniser and colonized, exploiter and exploited, capitalist and communist, underdeveloped and developed, they would not become aware of the moral implications of dignity of man and consequently shall perish or be obliterated from the face of the earth.

It is interesting to note that whatever Iqbal said 50 years ago, is now being reflected in the writings of the liberal thinkers of West. In the light of the findings of the Reports of the Club of Rome, it is generally felt that capitalism as well as communism have failed to cope with under-development on a global scale and that at present the most highly developed countries cannot, possibly offer any such social order which provokes the enthusiasm of man. In the opinion of the liberal thinkers, the false distinctions and values created by the West have harmed mankind. In their view, if humanity is to survive in the 21st century, it must consider itself as one because all of us are under-developed in the sense that we are economically inter dependent on each other. It has been suggested that multi-national corporations be established in order to keep a watch on such destructive economic forces as inflation and take appropriate measures before they strike mankind. Iqbal has pointed out to the nations of the Third World that their collective ego cannot be realised merely by getting political independence. They must at the same time endeavour to achieve economic autonomy and technological emancipation. Iqbal's relevance to the present context is that his world view be properly understood, not only by the nations of the Third World, but also by the rich and affluent nations. It is only through this understanding that modern man may succeed in establishing an international economic order founded on the universally accepted norms of politico economic ethics, justice and equity.



IQBAL
THE POLITICAL THINKER



CONVENTIONAL ISLAMIC RULES OF GOVERNANCE & ALLAMA MUHAMMAD IQBAL'S CONCEPTS OF NATIONALITY & STATE IN ISLAM

There are many Muslim scholars in South-Asia like Shah Waliullah, Syed Ahmad Khan, Maulana Shibli and Syed Jamal ud Din Afghani who have gained eminence in attempting to interpret Islam to suit the modern requirements. But on the subjects of the principles of governance of a modern Islamic state and the necessity of commencing the process of اجتهاد in an elected Muslim Assembly in order to modernize the Shariah laws, the contribution of Allama Muhammad Iqbal is outstanding.

About the nature of Sovereignty of Allah and the basis of Muslim nationhood, the views of Iqbal are founded on the teachings of the Holy Prophet of Islam to the effect that the over-all Sovereignty of Allah does not interfere with sovereignty of the state as the application of any Qur'anic rule of law can be held in abeyance, restricted or expanded by those who command authority in the state if the conditions so demand; and that the Muslims constitute a nation on the basis of a common spiritual the ritual of بيعة women and non-Muslims did not participate. Furthermore, although there was no prohibition on more than one candidate contesting for the

office, such a situation did not arise during the Republican era of Muslim history. But Iqbal accepts the present method of constituting assemblies through general elections in which men and women as well as non-Muslim minorities together cast votes and elect representatives. Iqbal does not consider this method as "repugnant" to the injunctions of Islam.

Under the traditional system of governance, the شورى was merely an "advisory" body, presided over by the امام and the امام could overrule the advice of the شورى possibly under the Qur'anic command in Surah Aal Imran: Verse 159 and following the practice of the Holy Prophet. But at this juncture Iqbal parts company with the holders of the traditional view. It is evident that according to the above mentioned verse, only the Holy Prophet was not bound by the advice of the شورى and was given the authority to overrule it; for the rest of the heads of state, the rule laid down in Surah Shura: Verse 38 is to be followed, where under شورى through "mutual consultation" is authorized to resolve the matters of the community and therefore as a "consultative" body, شورى is supreme & sovereign. Iqbal argues that at the end of the Republican era, when خلافة was transformed into ملك the succeeding sovereigns completely reduced the importance of this vital organ of governance.

However, he concludes by suggesting that the syllabus of modern institutions of legal instruction, law schools as well as universities in the Muslim countries, be reformed so as to include the study of Arabic language and to add a course on comparative study of Islamic jurisprudence فقه with modern jurisprudence. The lawyers who qualified in this course of study could be permitted to contest elections as technocrats on the tickets of different political parties with other غير علماء experts and sit in Parliament of the future to participate in the process of اجتهاد for modernizing Islamic laws wherever required.

Iqbal has not specifically pointed out in which fields of Islamic Law, reinterpretation is required through اجتهاد. But

his writings indicate that he was in favor of legislation on "family planning" and prohibition of polygamy. In his opinion, such legislation is lawful as Head of an Islamic state can hold in abeyance, curtail or expand the application of a Qur'anic rule of law if the conditions so demanded.

However in this connection there still remain some ambiguities which have not been attended to by Iqbal. For instance, if non-Muslims get elected as members of Parliament through joint electorates and have the right to cast votes in accordance with the mandate of their political parties, can they participate in the process of اجتهاد along with their Muslim colleagues in matters pertaining to Islamic legislation? According to some Hanafi jurists they may participate as members of اجماع but they cannot act individually as مفتى و مجتهد or قاضى However, in the course of development of Muslim Personal Law in British India some principles of modern jurisprudence were incorporated in Islamic jurisprudence under the Doctrine of "Justice Equity and Good Conscience" and as a consequence, Muslim Personal Law (Civil) has become "objective" like other non-religious, secular or man-made laws. Therefore now it is not necessary that only a Muslim judge should adjudicate on matters pertaining to Muslim Personal Law. Even a non-Muslim judge can decide cases involving the interpretation of an Islamic Law and this jurisdiction is still exercised by non-Muslim judges in the courts of India and Pakistan.

The second problem involves the question of نسخ و منسوخ Can a legislative Assembly of a modern Islamic state, in its capacity as اجماع declare a Qur'anic rule of law as "abrogated" if the conditions under which the original law was revealed, have undergone a radical change or have ceased to exist?

The third problem is that if a legislative assembly of a modern Muslim state, while exercising the power of اجتهاد in the process of re-interpretation, adopts a new code of Islamic Civil and Criminal Law, enforceable only within the territories of that particular Muslim nation-state, would it not

lead to the formation of a new national and territorial school of law, that supercedes the traditionally established schools?

In the conventional Islamic state only those laws could be enforced which were derived exclusively from the Qur'an and Sunnah and no other source. Ibn Khaldoun considers such laws as *سياسة دينية* as distinguished from manmade or secular laws which he categorizes as *سياسة عقلية*. The argument advanced was based on the principle of governance that if a Muslim majority state enforced manmade laws along with Shariah laws then it would be called *ملك* but not an Islamic state. However, in a modern Islamic state, as conceived by Iqbal, manmade laws, which are not "repugnant" to the injunctions of Islam, can be enforced side by side with the Shariah Laws.

The main sources of revenue of the conventional Islamic state approved by the Shariah were: *عشر*, *زكاة*, *خراج*, *جزية* and *غنيمه*. But it is doubtful if these ancient taxes can be levied by the government in any Muslim nation-state today except perhaps *زكاة* which can be given voluntarily or privately. As for Pakistan, the minorities are not considered as *ذمي* nor are there any Kharaji lands. However *زكاة* is collected through the governmental machinery from the Muslims and *عشر* is imposed as tax on the agricultural produce of Muslim landholders. But these Islamic taxes are not sufficient for the economic growth and development of the country. Therefore, Iqbal recommends the imposition of additional taxes derived from the teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah.

The taking of interest on money loaned *ربا* was forbidden in the conventional Islamic state. But in order to encourage the development of "free market economy" Iqbal is of the view that bank interest does not fall in the category of *ربا*. On this point he appears to follow the opinion of Maulana Shibli.

The ancient Islamic state was based on the principle of "two-fold" ideal of happiness for its citizens: i.e. to provide them basic necessities of life for their material happiness in

this world and to prepare them for the realization of spiritual happiness in the next world (hereafter). The latter objective was achieved through the department of *حسبة* (Religious Censor) which enforced the observation of *عبادات* (religious obligations) on the Muslims. In other words the state not only guaranteed *حقوق العباد* (Human rights) but was also expected to make provisions that the citizens observed *حقوق الله* (Rights of God). However the modern Islamic state as conceived by Iqbal, is founded on the supremacy of Parliament of elected representatives of the people which guarantees human rights *حقوق العباد* and upholds the rule of law. As for the rights of God *حقوق الله* these must not be enforced by the state through adopting coercive methods but should be the responsibility of the educational institutions of the state. In other words the educational policy of the state must include bringing up Muslim children as good Muslims by making them observe *حقوق الله* (Rights of God).

The conventional Islamic state strictly enforced Islamic Criminal Law *حدود* but Iqbal agreeing with Maulana Shibli, is of the opinion that since the *حدود* penalties were revealed keeping in view the habits and customs of the people who were before the Holy Prophet and that the object of these penalties was not simply to punish but to eradicate crime in accordance with the customs of the community, these penalties need not be strictly enforced on the future generations of Muslims. It seems that Iqbal lays more stress on legislation for the eradication of poverty and ignorance among the Muslims than on the imposition of *حدود* punishments, because in his view the economic backwardness of the Muslims is real cause of the spread of numerous crimes in the Muslim society.

In the conventional Islamic state, the non-Muslims were free to lead their lives in accordance with their own laws, and generally speaking Islamic Laws were not applicable to them. In the "conquered territories" they were expected to pay *جزية* and *خراج* taxes for their exemption from military service. In

the case of violation of any provision of Islamic criminal law, they were awarded, as far as possible, half the penalty as compared to a Muslim offender. However, the distinction between Muslims and Non-Muslims was strictly maintained. But in Iqbal's modern Islamic state Muslims and non-Muslims are to be considered as equal citizens of the state and there is no political distinction between them. Iqbal does not object to the system of mixed electorates in a Muslim majority state. He believes that *توحيد* stands for human solidarity, equality and freedom and that Islam aspires for the creation of a pluralistic society based on these principles. Iqbal was the first Muslim in South-Asia to declare that the real object of Islam is to establish a "Spiritual Democracy". On this point his vision is founded on *ميثاق المدينة*

In the conventional Islamic state, the mosque-Imams were appointed by the Caliph but the religious schools *مدارس* were free from the governmental control. However, during the Ottoman Caliphate, the office of Sheikh-al-Islam was created and the mosques as well as religious schools came under his management. In this manner in order to avoid conflict of opinions, only that interpretation of Islam was advanced which was approved by the state. Thereafter during the times of Ata-Turk, when the Ministry of Religious Affairs was created to bring the mosques and religious schools under the governmental control, a law was passed to the effect that only those mosque-Imams could deliver *خطبة* who were licensed by the state. Iqbal approved of this reform and explained that in a modern Islamic state the separation of the department of religion from other departments of the state in only "functional" and does not amount to the separation of "church" from the "state". He argues that since religion and state are one, it is the responsibility of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in a modern Islamic state, to look after the mosques and religious schools, formulate a modern syllabus for them, affiliate them with the universities and appoint only those persons as mosque-Imams who are qualified.

Now we turn our attention to the question as to what measures did the conventional Islamic state adopt for the eradication of poverty and ignorance among the Muslims? There are precedents set in the Republican period of Muslim history when the government took steps to provide basic necessities of life like food, clothing, housing, education or health facilities to its citizens, although the sources for providing these facilities were confined only to the taxes approved by the Shariah and no permanent governmental system was evolved for the realization of this objective except through the collection of *زكاة* or *صدقات*. However, Iqbal is of the view that the modern Islamic state must endeavor to seek further guidance from the Qur'an and Sunnah to resolve the problem of economic backwardness of its citizens.

Iqbal is against the adoption of capitalist or socialist systems of economy. In his opinion, the aim of a modern Islamic government should be to establish a welfare state of the middle class. He thinks Islam does not completely eliminate the power of capital from its economic system, but while retaining it, recommends the establishment of a structure which is based on a balance between capital and labor *اقتصاد*

Placing reliance on Sura Al-Zuriyaat: Verse 19, Sura Al-Baqara: Verse 219 and other welfare Quranic rules of law, Iqbal arrives at the conclusion that any legislation which is made for the welfare of the community as a whole cannot be opposed by the Shariah. For the realization of these welfare objectives, he lays stress on the proper organization of the system for the collection of *زكاة* and *عشر* as well as the strict enforcement of Islamic law of inheritance as the Muslim, feudals in Pakistan, in order to deprive their female heirs of the right to succeed in the division of inheriting ownership of land, advance the plea that they follow the custom *عرف* rather than the Shariah. Iqbal is against the collection of *مخايرة* from the tenants by the feudal owners. He is of the view that a

landowner can retain ownership of the land only to the extent that he can self-cultivate and that the rest of the land should be taken away from his possession and distributed among the landless tenants by the state on the payment of easy installments. Iqbal is in favor of the imposition of agricultural income tax on the produce of landowners. In addition to that he is in favor of legislation to safeguard the economic rights of the landless tenants, for such legislation, according to him, is in conformity with the Shariah.

Iqbal was aware that a welfare state cannot be established without resources. Therefore he was in favor of encouraging a free-market economy and in order to procure capital for investment in industry he held the view that bank interest did not fall in the category of ربا. He was in favor of continuing the division between public and private sectors of industry, but believed that the state must make laws fixing the minimum wages of laborers and industrial workers, and the governmental permission for the establishment of any industry must contain conditions to the effect that the industrialist shall make provision for the residence, education for children and medical relief to the laborers, industrial workers and their families, and on injury or death by accident, provide compensation to the affected ones and gratuity on retirement.

The Iqbalian model of a modern democratic Islamic welfare state exists only on paper. It has never been worked out properly and implemented effectively in Pakistan.

IQBAL'S ALLAHABAD ADDRESS AND THE LAHORE RESOLUTION

Iqbal's famous address, delivered at Allahabad on 29th December 1930, is generally considered to have laid down the foundations of what turned out to be a separate Muslim state in the Indian subcontinent. The address may look like one of the numerous other schemes suggesting some sort of partition of the subcontinent as a solution of the communal problem. But in fact it was based on the poetic or philosophical vision of Iqbal which cannot be disassociated from his political creed.

The philosophical vision of Iqbal emphasised the development of the self in every Muslim individual. He thus contemplated the creation of a new Muslim society, and for the realisation of this ideal, the territorial specification of Islam in the sub-continent was necessary.

Iqbal joined the Muslim League's British Committee when it was formed in London in 1908, and upon his return to Lahore during the same year, he became a member of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. He denounced the Lucknow Pact of 1916 on the grounds that it had originated in a false view of Indian Nationalism, so far as the Muslims were concerned. He was not a signatory to the Pact, and had consistently held that it deprived the Muslims from holding political power in India. (*Presidential Address, Muslim League, Allahabad Session, December 1930*, p. 16). He likewise, disagreed

with the Khilafatists and Ulema when they launched a non-cooperation movement in collaboration with the Hindus in 1918. The Khilafatists, he wrote, had gone astray from their real goal, and were showing the way to a kind of nationalism which the Muslims were not prepared to accept without without safeguards. (*Iqbal Nama*, Vol. I, Shaikh Ataullah ed., p. 158).

From 1923 onwards, Iqbal emphatically supported such Muslim demands as the extension of constitutional reforms to NWFP and Baluchistan, and the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency. The province of Sind, he maintained, had her back towards India and her face towards the Muslim world. (*Presidential Address: Muslim League, Allahabad Session, December 1930*, pp. 15-17). He also insisted on the restoration of the majority position of the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal, which had been surrendered under the repudiated Lucknow Pact. He was against the idea of giving up separate electorates until a provincial redistribution was made that would secure absolute majority for the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal.

From 1926 to 1930, Iqbal, as an elected member of Punjab Legislative Council, single-handedly played a very important role by again denouncing Indian nationalism. However, before the Allahabad Address, Iqbal was thinking in terms of calling an Upper India Muslim Conference. Accordingly, on 19 December, 1930, he issued an appeal to the leading Muslim figures of NWFP, Baluchistan, Sind and the Punjab. In this appeal, he candidly pointed out that God in his infinite wisdom, knowledge and omniscience, had not kept Muslim majorities in these provinces without any purpose, and the purpose was gradually revealing itself to all those who were endowed with reason and intelligence. Therefore, the time had come for the Muslim leaders to realise the will of God by working collectively to safeguard the rights of the Muslims. (*Gufar-i-Iqbal*, Muhammad Rafique Afzal, ed., pp. 113-116).

But the need for calling the Upper India Muslim Conference did not arise. Iqbal's name as President of the

Allahabad Session of the Muslim League had already been proposed by Jinnah and he was so elected at the meeting of the League Council held at Delhi on 13 July, 1930. The members of the League Council wanted to hold the Allahabad Session before the commencement of the First Round Table Conference in London so that a policy could be framed as to what course was to be adapted by the Muslim League if an agreement could not be reached at the Round Table Conference over a Federal system based on the Fourteen Points of Jinnah. But these efforts did not succeed. Eventually, when Iqbal delivered his address, most of the Muslim leaders, including Jinnah, had left for London to attend the Round Table Conference.

During this phase of his life, Iqbal also concentrated on articulating his philosophical vision. His Persian poem *Asrar-i-Khudi*, (*Secrets of the Self*), was published in 1915. In this poem he attempted a socio-political reconstruction of the Muslims by attacking pantheistic Sufiism, and emphasising the development of the "self" through which the Muslims could achieve power and freedom once again. He preached that the Muslims should endeavour to develop Islamic character as defined by him and thereby become complete and perfect as individuals.

The second part of this poem, *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (*Mysteries of Selflessness*), was published, in 1918. In this part he dealt with the question as to how the new Muslim society could be evolved. Islam, he asserted, was a successful opponent of all anti-humanitarian ideologies based on race, language and territory. It laid the foundations of a unique society composed of unique individuals. These poems together are an exposition of his ideas about the individual and society from the standpoint of Islam. Thus, through these poems, Iqbal endeavoured to provide an "ego" of their own to the Muslims of India.

During this period, he also delivered a series of lectures, including the Madras lectures, which were subsequently published in book form under the title, *Reconstruction of*

Religious Thought in Islam. In these lectures, he emphasised the need of a new theological approach towards the interpretation of the Quran and Sunnah, (Ilm-i-Kalam), based on the discoveries and findings of modern sciences, the re-interpretation of Islamic law (Shariah), through "Ijtihad" to suit the current needs and requirements of the Muslim community, and finally, the combining of the study of Islamic sciences with modern sciences, so that the spirit of enquiry, research, creativity and innovation could be revived and disseminated in the Muslim community.

He was of the view that the religion of Islam and its culture could not be separated from one another, and therefore, the religious revival of Islam was incomplete without its cultural renaissance. He formulated three principles on which a modern Islamic state is to be founded, namely, human solidarity, equality and freedom. (*Reconstruction*, ed. 1989, pp. 122-123)

He regarded the awakening of a republican spirit and the formation of elected legislative assemblies in some Muslim countries, as a return to the original purity of Islam. In order to realize the ideal of equality, he approved of the establishment of a social order based on mixed economy, and believed that the object of Islam is to create a welfare state of the middle class.

His concept of an Islamic state is neither founded on indifference to, nor suppression of religions other than Islam. On the contrary, it is based on the respect of all religions, faiths and creeds in a multi-cultural, modern Muslim society. Consequently, his Islamic state is conceived not only as a democracy in the purely materialistic sense, but also in the spiritual sense, (*Ibid.*, p. 142)

This was the background in which Iqbal delivered the Allahabad Address wherein he held:

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

Muslims of at least, North West India.

He further added:

The exclusion of Ambala Division, and perhaps, of some districts where non-Muslims predominate, will make it less extensive and more Muslim in population.

Iqbal did not mention Bengal in the address. But, subsequently, in 1937, applying the same principle to the Muslims of East India, he wrote to Jinnah:

Why should not the Muslims of North West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?

(*Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, p. 22).

The most significant paragraph of the Lahore Resolution, (adopted on 23 March, 1940), reads as follows:

That it is the considered view of this session of the All India Muslim League, that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country, or acceptable to the Muslims, unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial re-adjustment as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-West and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units should be autonomous and sovereign.

The main draft of the Lahore Resolution had been prepared by Quaid-i-Azam himself. (S.S. Pirzada, *Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan Resolution*, p. 13). It appears as if the spirit of Iqbal had manifested itself through him, for Iqbal had acknowledged him as the only leader who could accomplish the task of bringing the scattered forces of Muslim India to a common front of unified action. Quaid-i-Azam's secretary and biographer, M. H. Saiyid, writes that, after the passing of the Lahore Resolution, Quaid-i-Azam said to him:

Iqbal is no more amongst us, but had he been alive, he

would have been happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted us to do. (*Muhammad Ali Jinnah, A Political Study*, p. 329).

It is evident that the Lahore Resolution was an echo of Iqbal's Allahabad Address and his above-cited letter to Quaid-i-Azam. There are certain interesting features which are common to these documents. First, the word "Pakistan" is not mentioned. Second, it is not clear whether a single Muslim state/nation, or two separate autonomous Muslim states/nations are envisaged, one in the North-West and the other in the East; and third, these documents leave the question of centre open.

The word Pakistan had been coined by Rehmat Ali at Cambridge in 1933, partly inspired by Iqbal's Allahabad Address. He was also the founder of Pakistan National Movement at Cambridge. Iqbal lived for almost eight years after his Allahabad Address, and, on numerous occasions, was called upon to explain the proposal embodied in it. He never allowed his proposal to be identified or confused with the Pakistan Scheme of Rehmat Ali. Why? The answer is, that the Muslim strategy throughout had been not to advance the concept of partitioning of the sub-continent, but to keep the door open for negotiating some form of federal government to unify the sovereign units, and the position remained of the same, even after ten years, when the Lahore Resolution was adopted.

At that stage Rehmat Ali's scheme of Pakistan had also been ridiculed by Quaid-i-Azam. Some time after the adoption of the Lahore Resolution, he was asked by Frank Moraes to comment on Rehmat Ali's scheme. Frank Moraes writes:

I noticed a distinct lift of Jinnah's eyebrows whenever I mentioned Rehmat Ali. He seemed to regard Rehmat Ali's concept of Pakistan as some sort of Walt Disney dreamland, if not a Wellesian nightmare, and I think he felt the professional's contempt for the amateur's mistake of showing his hand without holding the trumps. (*Witness to*

an Era, p. 80).

In fact it was the Hindu Press which had pronounced the Lahore Resolution as Pakistan Resolution, and that too with a motive to kill it, as explained by Quaid-i-Azam while addressing the Muslim League Session at Delhi on 24 April, 1943. He pointed out:

I think you will bear me out, that when we passed the Lahore Resolution, we did not use the word "Pakistan". Who gave us this word? (Cries of, "Hindus"). Let me tell you, it is their fault. They started damning this Resolution on the ground that it was Pakistan. They are really ignorant of the Muslim movement. They foisted this word upon us. Give the dog a bad name and then hang it. . . Now our Resolution was known for a long time as the Lahore Resolution, popularly known as Pakistan. But how long are we to have this long phrase? We thank you for giving us one word. (Applause and cries of, "Hear! Hear!"). (*Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Jamiluddin Ahmad ed., Vol. I, pp. 555, 556).

Thus it is clear that, so far as the centre was concerned, the Lahore Resolution, like Iqbal's Allahabad Address, had kept the door open for negotiations and it was in this background that Quaid-i-Azam and the League Council were prepared to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946, the last hope for a single Indian Union to emerge in the wake of the British Raj. The purpose behind acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan was to make the Muslim majority regions autonomous without exchange of population and Hindu minority in these regions, and also to provide security to the Muslim minority in Hindu majority areas. But the obstinacy and self-righteousness of the Hindus; and like always, their desire to completely dominate the Muslims, scuttled it. Thereafter, there was no other alternative left for Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League except to launch the struggle for establishing of a fully independent, sovereign state of Pakistan, with a view to save as many Muslims from the Hindu dominance as possible. This also included the Muslim

majority state of Jammu and Kashmir as the letter K in Pakistan stood for Kashmir.

There is justification in maintaining that the political ideal of Iqbal was realized by Quaid-i-Azam. But, unfortunately, ever since the establishment of Pakistan, we have gone farther and farther astray from the ideals of Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam. Instead of evolving a democratic polity, we have been afflicted with successive military dictatorships. Again, instead of integrating ourselves into a single multi-cultural community through a liberal, forward-looking and reformist interpretation of Islam, we fell into the trap of intolerant, conservative and backward-looking religio-political fundamentalists, and have broken ourselves up into groups and nationalities on ethnic, linguistic or regional bases.

We are a poverty-stricken developing people, with the highest rate of illiteracy and population growth in the world. Our problem of un-employment cannot be resolved without industrialisation, and industrialisation depends on energy. But we do not allow dams to be constructed to produce energy, because we continue to fight over the distribution of river waters as though we are inhabitants of different countries. Therefore, the big question still requiring an answer is as to who is going to realise Iqbal's philosophical vision of bringing into being in Pakistan, a new, integrated, democratic, tolerant, liberal, reformist, creative and innovative Muslim society?

SATAN'S PARLIAMENT FROM *ARMAGHAN-E-HIJAZ* (GIFT OF HIJAZ)

SATAN

The elements weave their ancient dance. Behold
This vile world, dust and ashes of the hopes
Of Heaven's exalted dwellers! That Creator
Whose Let there be made all things, today stands
Ready to annihilate them. I it was
Who drew in Europe's brain the fantasy
Of empire, I who snapped the spell of mosque,
of church, of temple; I who taught the homeless
That all is ruled by Fate, and filled their guardians
With capitalism's hot frenzy. Who shall quench
The devouring blaze in him whose paroxysm
The fires that rage in Satan's soul have fed,
Or bow the crest of that time-weathered palm
Whose branches I have watered into greatness:

FIRST COUNSELLOR

Firm, beyond doubt, is the sovereignty of Hell.
Through it the nations have grown rotten-ripe
In slavishness: wretches, whose destiny is
From age to age to kneel, whose nature craves
A prostrate worship, no prayer uttered erect;
In whom no high desire can come to birth,
Or born must perish, or grow misshapenly.

From, our unceasing labour this wonder blooms:
 Priesthood and sainthood now are servile servile props
 For alien dominion. Opium such as theirs
 Was medicinable to Asia; had we needed,
 The sophist's art lay ready, no less potent
 Than droning psalm. And what if pilgrim zeal
 Still shout for Mecca and the Kaaba?—blunt
 Is grown the sheathless scimitar of Islam!
 To whose despair stands witness that new-fangled
 Canon: anathema, the Muslim who
 In this age draws his sword in holy war!

SECOND COUNSELLOR

That many-headed beast bellows for power;
 Is this our bane, or boon? You have not learned
 What new-hatched mischiefs are about the earth.

FIRST COUNSELLOR

I have learned; but my scrutiny of the world
 Assures me of no danger in what is only
 A fig-leaf hung to hide the lust of empire.
 Was it not we, when men began to observe
 And to reflect, who dressed autocracy
 In democratic costume? The true power
 And purpose of dominion lie elsewhere,
 And do not stand or fall by the existence
 Of Prince or Sultan. Whether parliaments
 Of nations meet, or Majesty holds court,
 Whoever casts his eye on another's field
 Is tyrant born. Have you not seen in the West
 Those Demos-governments with rosy face's
 And all within blacker than Ghengiz' soul?

THIRD COUNSELLOR

While tyranny's spirit lives on no fear should come
 To trouble us! But what answer shall we give
 To that accursed creature, that vile Jew,

That prophet of no Sinai, that Messiah
 Without a cross—no messenger of God,
 Yet in his clasp a Book? How shall I tell you
 How many a veil those godless eyes have shrivelled,
 Heralding to the nations east and west
 Their day of reckoning? What dire pestilence
 Could outgo this! the slaves have cut the ropes
 That held their lords' pavilions.

FOURTH COUNSELLOR

In the halls
 Of mighty Rome behold the antidote.
 We have revealed once more the dream of Caesar
 To Caesar's offspring, whose strong arms enfold
 The Italian sea and make its tumbling waves
 Now soar like the pine, now like the rebeck sob!

THIRD COUNSELLOR

He! - When he casts the future, I do not trust him;
 He has stripped Europe's statecraft all too naked.

FIFTH COUNSELLOR

(to Satan)

Oh you whose fiery breath fills up the sails
 of the world! You, when it pleased you, brought to light
 All mysteries; in your furnace earth and water
 Became a planet panting with hot life.
 We, once Heaven's simpletons, with you for teacher
 Have come to knowledge; and no deeper skill
 Than yours in Adam's nature has He whom men,
 Poor innocents! magnify as their Preserver -
 Whilst they on high whose only thought was prayer
 And sanctification and the rosary
 May hang their heads in everlasting shame,
 Mean beside you. But though you have for vowed
 Disciples all the shamans of the West,
 Their wits lose credit with me. That rebel Jew,

That spirit of Mazdak come again! Not long,
 And every mantle will be rent to shreds
 And tatters by his fury. The desert crow
 Begins to plume itself among the hawks
 And eagles; dizzily the face of the world
 Goes altering! What we blindly thought a handful
 Of blind dust has bloom whirling over the vast
 Of the skies, and we see trembling, so deep sticks
 The terror of tomorrow's revolution,
 Mountain and meadow and the bubbling spring-
 Oh Master! on the brink of chaos lies
 This earth, whose sole reliance is your sceptre.

SATAN

(to his Counsellors)

\Earth, sun and moon, celestial spheres, all realms
 Of matter, lie in the hollow of my hand.
 Let me once fever the blood of Europe's races,
 And East and West shall see with their own eyes
 A drama played out! With one incantation
 I know how to drive mad their pillars of State
 And princes of the Church. Tell the wise fool
 Who thinks our civilization fragile like
 A glassblower's workshop, to destroy its cup
 And flagon if he can! When Nature's hand
 Has rent the seam, no needleworking logic
 Of communism will put the stitches back.
 I be afraid of socialists? - street-bawlers,
 Ragged things, tortured brains, tormented souls!
 No, if there is one monster in my path
 It lurks within that people in whose ashes
 Still glow the embers of an infinite hope.
 Even yet, scattered among them, steadfast ones
 Come forth who make lustration of their hearts
 With contrite tears in the pure hour of dawn;
 And he to whom the anatomy of the age
 Shows clear knows well, the canker of tomorrow
 Is not your communism: it is Islam.

2

I know its congregation is the Law's
 Upholder now no more; the Muslim runs
 With all the rest, makes capitalism his creed;
 I know that in this dark night of the East
 No shining hand that Moses raised to Pharaoh
 Hides under his priest's sleeve. Yet none the less
 The importunities of the hour conceal
 One peril, that somewhere the Prophet's faded path,
 Be rediscovered. A hundred times beware,
 Beware, that Prophet's ordinance, that keeps safe
 The honour of women, that forges men and tries them,
 That bears a death-warrant to every shape
 Of servitude, admits no Dragon Thrones,
 Knows neither emperor no roadside beggar.
 It cleanses wealth of every foulness, making'
 The rich no more than stewards of their riches;
 What mightier revolution could there be
 In thought or deed than it proclaims- Earth's soil
 Belongs to no earth-monarch, but to God?
 And well for us if those enactments still
 Lie buried snugly out of sight and mind!
 Felicity it is, that the Believer
 Himself has lost all faith. Long may he halt
 Entangled in the maze of divinity
 And glozing comment on the sacred Word:

3

May daybreak never invade the obscure night
 Of that God-meditating folk whose creed
 'light burst the spells of all the finite world!
 -Whether the Son of Mary perished once,
 Or knew no death; whether the Attributes
 Of God from God are separate or are God's
 True essence; whether 'He who is to come'
 Betokens the Messiah of Nazareth or
 Some new Reformer clothed with Christ's own vesture:

Whether the words of Scripture are late-born
 Or from eternity, and which, answer holds
 Salvation for the chosen People;-let
 These theologian's graven images
 Content the Muslim of this century!
 Keep him a stranger to the realm of action,
 That on the chessboard of existence all
 His pieces may be forfeit. Good, if he
 Lie down in slavery till the day of doom,
 Relinquishing to others what he calls
 A transient globe, and hugging such belief,
 Such minstrelsy, as serve to keep his eyes
 Well bandaged from the theatre of life.
 For yet with every breath I dread that people's
 Awakening, whose religion's true behest
 Is to hold watch and reckoning over all
 The universe. Keep its wits bemused with dawn
 Potations of its dregs of thought and prayer;
 And tighten round its soul the monkish bonds!

IQBAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO 'LIBERALISM' IN MODERN ISLAM

In the eighteenth century the moral, political and economic deterioration of Islam under the Ottoman, the Russian and the British rule had reached its climax. This general decadence was followed by the growth of 'puritanic' reform movements in Arabia, North Africa, South Russia and India.

Although these movements were not linked with one another and it was a mere coincidence that they existed in numerous parts of the Muslim world more or less at the same time. They were identical with regard to their object which was to purify Islam from the corruptions introduced by Sufiism, conservatism and the arbitrary Ottoman Sultanate. The Muslims were influenced everywhere by these 'puritanic' reform movements, for the reformers preached a return to the original simplicity of Islam by laying emphasis on God's Unity, the sufficiency of the Qur'an and the Tradition as precedents for the Muslims and the complete rejection of all innovations or heresies. Notwithstanding the fact that these movements encouraged communal tendencies among the Muslims, particularly of those countries where they constituted a minority. These movements remained, generally speaking, entirely internal in character because Islam, at that stage, had not become fully conscious of the threat of European expansion.

By the close of the eighteenth century the economic considerations of the European Colonial Powers necessitated a penetration in the world of Islam. This penetration resulted, in some cases, in the occupation and in other, the economic exploitation of the Muslim countries on the part of the European Powers. The contact with the West led to the infiltration of such new ideas as constitutionalism, secularism, nationalism and radicalism into the world of Islam. But by the time the Muslims abandoned their passive role the outer 'fringe' of the Islamic world had fallen into the hands of the Great Powers. The Muslims of the 'heart' or the 'core' of the world of Islam at any rate, looked forward to holding their own at least in those territories where they predominated. Accordingly Islamic 'puritanism' of the later half of the eighteenth century culminated in the condemnation of Western civilisation. The followers of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd-al-Wahhab in Arabia, Muhammad al-Sanusi in North Africa, and Sayyid Ahmad of Bareilly in India were violently anti-Western.

However, within a generation or two, the 'puritanic' beginning of the Muslim revival broadened into what has been termed 'liberalism', and the work of Islamizing the Western ideas was taken up by Midhat Pasha in Turkey, Mufti 'Alam Jan in South Russia, Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh in Egypt and Sayyid Ahmad Khan in India. For a time it appeared that the two groups (the 'puritans' and the 'liberals') would develop in opposition to one another. But as both the groups were still apprehensive of external European threat, they contributed jointly towards the religious and territorial defence of Islam. In connection with the reconciliation of these two seemingly antagonistic trends of 'puritanism' and 'liberalism' within Modern Islam, the name of Jamal-al-Din Afghani has been frequently mentioned. He laid stress on the acquisition of the technique of European progress and exhorted the Muslims to grasp the secret of Western power. Actually it was due to the influence of Jamal-al-Din Afghani that 'liberalism' together with 'puritanism' developed into

'Pan-Islamism', and shortly after the 1914-1918 War, when the Ottoman Empire was being dis-membered, 'Pan-Islamism' further developed into 'Muslim nationalism'. 'Liberalism', 'Pan-Islamism' and 'Muslim nationalism' therefore, were movements which were stimulated by external European pressure.

In the Indian sub-continent 'liberalism' seems to have developed hand in hand with 'political conservatism'. Perhaps with the exception of Shibli and his followers who had 'radical' tendencies and who found no objection to joining the Indian national movement, the 'liberalism' of all the other reformers of the Indian sub-continent was based on the Muslim separatist policy, and was confined to the uplift of the Muslims generally and particularly of the Indian sub-continent.

A glance at the works of Muhammad Iqbal, the last of the great 'liberal' reformers, from 1907 onwards, reveals that all his ethico-philosophical teachings, *e.g.*, his stress on the importance of the Individual and the Community, his vigorous optimism, his emphasis on creative activity, his constant striving for the absolutely new – were motivated by one permeating desire, the consolidation of Islam generally and particularly of the Indian sub-continent. In his 'liberalism' were blended the 'political conservatism' of Sayyid Ahmad Khan (like Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Iqbal was opposed to the idea of the Muslims joining the Indian national movement, and consequently he was not in favour of surrendering separate electorates), the 'radicalism' of Muhammad Shibli (like Muhammad Shibli, Iqbal was aware of the need of economic uplift of the Muslim agriculturists), and the 'Pan-Islamism' of Jamal-al-Din Afghani. This synthesis made it possible for Iqbal to interpret 'Muslim nationalism' as the political emancipation of numerous races, speaking different languages, but professing Islam and inhabiting those territories which comprise the world of Islam, without that emancipation coming into conflict with the general principles

of equality, fraternity and solidarity among the Muslims as established by their religious usage and cultural coherence.

Islam, he asserted, is hostile to nationalism when nationalism isolates itself from Islam and as a political creed, based exclusively on race, colour, language or territory, puts forth rival claims in opposition to those of Islam. However, patriotism or a readiness to lay down one's life for one's country, belief, historical traditions or culture is, according to him, an integral part of a Muslim's faith.

Iqbal envisaged an international Islam when he preached that Islam was neither 'nationalism' nor 'imperialism' but a 'commonwealth of nations' which accepted the racial diversity and the ever-changing geographical demarcations only for the facility of reference and not for limiting the social horizon of its members.

Life viewed from the standpoint of Islam was his principal theme and a philosophical foundation was provided for that basic theme. Iqbal, unlike his predecessors, was neither polemical nor apologetic. He boldly attempted a socio-political reconstruction of the Muslims by insisting on the development of 'Self' through which the Muslims could achieve freedom and power once again. He preached that the Muslims should endeavour to cultivate Islamic character and thereby become perfect as individuals. Islamic community, in his opinion, was a unique community composed of unique individuals. Thus through Islam he provided an 'ego' of their own particularly to the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent.

In replacing nationalism by Islam as a nation-building force, Iqbal helped the growth of 'Muslim nationalism' which in its turn led to the secession of Islam from the Indian sub-continent. A nation was constituted on the basis of Islam as a culture or a civilization and this nation eventually managed to secure self-determination as well as territorial specification.

As for an Islamic interpretation of 'constitutionalism', Iqbal regarded the Turk's decision to abolish the Caliphate as perfectly sound. He approved of the growth of a republican spirit in the Muslim countries which was, in his opinion, a

return to the original purity of Islam. He was likewise pleased at the establishment of legislative assemblies in the Muslim lands. These developments, he maintained, necessitated the revision of old Muslim institutions in the light of modern experience. Accordingly he laid emphasis on the need for reforms in Muslim Law as well as Muslim legal education, and recommended the revival of *Ijtihad* for a re-interpretation of Islamic Law in the light of modern experience, but in such a way that the original spirit of that Law was not lost.

Iqbal denounced 'secularism' which had resulted from the fundamental duality of spirit and matter in Christianity, and which led to the exclusion of religion from the life of the Western states.

Iqbal even provided the Muslims with an Islamic interpretation of 'socialism'. He was greatly impressed by the economic implications of the Muslim Law of Inheritance, and believed that Islam could create a new world where the social rank of man would be determined not by his caste or colour, or the amount of dividend he earned, but by the kind of life he lived. From the standpoint of Islam human society was founded on 'the equality of spirits' not on 'the equality of stomachs'; and, notwithstanding private ownership which was regarded as a trust, Islam did not allow capital to accumulate in such a way as to dominate the real producer of wealth.

Iqbal influenced the course of events in Muslim India through the force of his poetry and writings, but he died before Pakistan actually came into being. It is necessary that the 'liberal' spirit, to which Iqbal and his predecessors contributed, should be kept alive in Pakistan, and also that 'liberalism' should be safeguarded and protected from being abused at the hands of those who are not acquainted with the sources, history and limitations of this movement. Islam is good for all times. It tends to look forward with the help and under the guidance of its past experience, therefore we must be always ready and prepared to adapt our ways of life to changing conditions *without losing our integrity*.

IQBALIAN IDEALISM AND ITS IMPACT ON THE MUSLIM WORLD TODAY

Before assessing the influence of Muhammad Iqbal's thought within the Muslim world today, it is necessary to provide an outline of - his perception of Islam, Muslim nationhood, new Muslim society, Islamic state and the unity of the world of Islam.

Iqbal regards himself as "The Poet of Islam's Tomorrow." He advanced this claim when the Islamic world had been militarily overpowered and its political and economic destiny was in the control of the European Colonial Powers.

With the political expansion and economic penetration of the West in the world of Islam came new ideas like nationalism, patriotism, secularism, constitutionalism, etc. The impact resulted in the eighteenth century Muslim revival which, owing to its conservative nature, unsuccessfully resisted the new ideas. But within a generation or so, out of this conservative background, emerged a group of reformers scattered over the Muslim world who took up the task of Islamizing these new ideas. Eventually this resurgence led to the development of two mutually conflicting interpretational attitudes - conventional and reformist - among the Muslim intelligentsia each with its own notions as how to deal with the prevalent conditions.

Iqbal was acutely conscious of the reality of change. According to this philosophy "change" is the only "constant" or "permanent" feature in the whole of the created universe. Therefore he could not subscribe to the conventional viewpoint, which had made the old Muslim society static and

immobile. But through reforming or reconstructing religious thought in Islam, he contemplated the creation of a dynamic and progressive new Muslim society.

In Iqbal's perception, Islam is not a religion in the ancient sense of the word. It is an attitude of freedom from narrow-mindedness and even of defiance to the universe. It is a protest against all kinds of spiritual slavery of the ancient world.¹ Therefore according to him Islam is neither national, nor racial, nor personal but purely human. As a culture, it has neither any language nor any script nor any specific mode of dress.

According to the Western interpretation of "nationalism", a group of people having the same language, race and territory constitute a nation. But Iqbal is of the view that this definition of "nationalism" is narrow and anti-human. In his perception, any factor which develops among the people a sense of belonging to one another could constitute a nation. Advancing this argument further he held that Muslims constitute a nation on the basis of having a common spiritual aspiration, even though their languages or races are different and the territories they occupy are geographically non-contiguous. Therefore Islam endeavors to transform and unify different peoples with various racial and linguistic backgrounds into a single human community (*Ummah*). Iqbal considers Islam as a nation-building force when he maintains that for the Muslims, Islam is their "nationalism" as well as "patriotism". His contemplated new Muslim society of the future is to be founded on the political, cultural and economic unity of the Islamic world. On the basis of this reasoning, and following Syed Ahmad Khan, Iqbal was convinced that there were two nations in the Indian subcontinent - Muslim and Hindus - and therefore territorial specification of Islam was necessary by carving out a separate consolidated Muslim majority state.

Iqbal evolved his philosophy of individual and collective ego in the background of his perceptions of Islam and Muslim nationhood. He was not a philosopher in the formal sense of the term. Nevertheless, he believed that each and every

individual has numerous potentialities. If he is to become aware of even a single such potentiality within himself and endeavors to realize it, he could become a centre of latent power and attain uniqueness. According to him, a society consisting of such unique individuals is bound to be collectively unique. This is his vision of the future Muslim society.

What was to be accomplished by the new Muslim society? First: Iqbal laid emphasis on the need for the evolution of a new *Ilm al-Kalam* (Science based on rational interpretation of revelation) in the light of the discoveries of modern empirical sciences as well as the advancement of human knowledge. This was necessary for strengthening the faith of the younger generation of Muslims in the Qur'anic precepts. Second, he insisted on the abolition of the distinction between institutions of religious instruction and universities for teaching philosophy, literature, arts and other sciences. Third, he demonstrated through his analysis of history that Muslims were the founders of the experimental method or empirical sciences and contributed to the making of humanity. Therefore, he held that in the amalgamated centres of learning, the study of Islamic sciences should be revived and their broken link be re-established with modern sciences and technologies.

According to Iqbal, modern Western civilization, particularly in the sphere of knowledge, was a prolongation of Islamic civilization. During the dark ages of Europe, Muslims were the torch-bearers of knowledge, but when Muslim culture sank back into darkness, Europeans took over these sciences and made further advancements on them. This ushered the era of enlightenment in Europe. Therefore, the acquisition of science and technology from the West does no amount to borrowing something from an alien culture, but taking back what was originally handed over by the Muslims to the Westerners.

Iqbal desired the awakening of the spirit of curiosity and inquisitiveness in the new Muslim society through the reacquisition of science and technology so that the process of research, innovation, discovery, invention and creativity could be recommenced in the Muslim countries.

In the Iqbalian view, a modern Islamic state is to be based on the principles underlying the pivotal article of Islamic Faith i.e. *Tawhid* (Unity of God) which, in practical terms, stands for human solidarity, human equality and human freedom. It is an effort to transform these universal ideals into space-time forces and an endeavor to realize them in a specific human organization. Iqbal regards the reformation of elected legislative assemblies in Muslim countries as a return to the original purity of Islam.² The Democracy of Islam, according to him, did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity, but it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every human being is a centre of latent power, the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character.³

As for the responsibility of Muslims for protecting the rights of non-Muslim minorities in a modern Islamic state, Iqbal proclaims:

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 institution of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to the teachings of the Qur'an, even to defend their place of worship if need be.⁴

The last sentence in the dated passage is based on Surah 22 verse 40 of the Qur'an in which it is laid down:

If Allah had not created the group (of Muslim) to ward off the others from aggression, then churches, synagogues, oratories and mosques where Allah is worshiped most, would have been destroyed.

In the early stages the jurists interpreted this verse as a command to the Muslim to protect the places of worship of the Jewish and Christian communities in the Muslim state being the "People of the Book" (*Ahl-i-Kitab*).

However, after the conquest of Iran, the places of worship of the Zoroastrians were also included under this protective clause on the ground that the jurists had declared them as "Like the people of the Book" (*Ka-mithli-i-Ahl-i-Kitab*). On the same principle the temples of "the Hindus were granted protection during the Mughal rule in the India.

The modern Western civilization has dealt with the problem of religion through "secularism". There are two varieties of "secularism" developed in Europe after the Reformation and incorporated in the political orders of the Western countries. One type of secularism is based on the principle of "indifference to religion" and this is the accepted norm in the capitalist democracies, Western Europe, Britain, U.S.A, India etc. The other type is founded on the principle of "suppression of religion" and for a number of years this policy had been followed by the so-called socialist countries including the former U.S.S.R. But from the persecution of minorities, particularly the Muslim in Bosnia, Chechnya, Palestine, Kashmir etc., it is evident that either of the forms of secularism is based purely on hypocrisy and double standards. Even otherwise, generally speaking, the attitude of "indifference to religion" has resulted in the dissemination of a kind of freedom which leads to "ethical waywardness" and treading on the rights of others. Furthermore, the recent developments in the former U.S.S.R. and other East European countries indicate that atheism cannot be imposed on a people from outside through state terror, and whenever such an attempt is made, it is bound to fail. Thus, it is clear that the existing types of secularism evolved by the modern Western civilization have not been able to solve the problem.

It is perhaps in this background that Iqbal rejects the contemporary methodologies of secularism, territorial nationalism, capitalism, atheistic socialism, sectarianism or religious conservatism as drawing upon the psychological forces of hate, suspicion and resentment which tend to impoverish the soul of man. A deeper analysis of his writings on this subject indicates that he recommends the adoption of the policy not of "indifference" or "suppression" but of "respecting and liberating all religions, faiths and creeds". He argues that the political philosophers of today must reconsider their approach to secularism and materialism in the light of the discoveries of modern physics. He states:

The ultimate reality according to the Qur'an is spiritual and

its life consists in its temporal activity. The spirit finds its opportunities in the natural, the material, the secular. All that is secular is therefore sacred in the roots of its being. The greatest service that modern thought has rendered to Islam and as a matter of fact to all religions, consists in its criticism of what we call material or natural – a criticism which discloses that the merely material has no substance until we discover it rooted in spirit. There is no such thing as profane world. All this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realization of spirit. All is holy ground.⁵

Iqbal further argues that since the Muslims believe that there can be no further revelation binding on man, they ought to be spiritually the most emancipated peoples on earth. He thinks that those who came within the fold of Islamic early stages could not comprehend the true significance of this basic ideas because they had just emerged from the spiritual slavery of pre-Islamic times and had no conception of spiritual freedom. However, he concludes, the modern Muslims are perfectly competent of appreciating this idea. Therefore, he wants them to reconstruct their social life in the light of ultimate principles and "evolve, out of the hitherto partially revealed purpose of Islam, that spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam."⁶

It is interesting to note that in the modern Muslim political literature of South Asia, Iqbal is probably the only thinker who has used the expression "spiritual democracy" in order to define a modern Islamic state. He also employs the expressions "spiritual slavery" and "spiritual emancipation" for describing the collective states of minds of fanatical ignorant religious folks as opposed to the tolerant enlightened religious people. "Spiritual democracy" of Iqbal obviously means "a democratic state which is based on the principles of respect and freedom of all religions". This concept of Iqbal is founded on Surah 5 verse 48 of the Qur'an in which God addressing man commands:

For each of you we have appointed a law and a way. And if Allah had willed he would have made you one (religious)

community. But (He hath willed it otherwise) that He may put you to the test in what He has given you. Therefore, compete with one another in good works. Unto Allah will ye be brought back and He will inform you about that wherein ye differed.

If, according to Iqbal, the political message of Islam is to establish a "spiritual democracy" in any multi-cultural society where Muslims dominate numerically, then Iqbal's perception is a departure from the traditional notion of Islamic state. But Iqbal points out the conventional literature on Islamic political order was compiled during the times when the Muslim world had been afflicted with perverse kind of monarchy and when the political ideals of Islam had been "repaganized". He proclaims:

I consider it a great loss that the progress of Islam as a conquering faith stultified the growth of those germs of an economic and democratic organization of society which I find scattered up and down the pages of the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet. No doubt the Muslim succeeded in building a great empire, but thereby they largely repaganized their political ideals and lost sight of some of the most important potentialities of their faith.⁷

In regard to the legislative activity of the modern Islamic state, Iqbal was of the view that the Shariah principles pertaining to worldly matters (*Mu'amalat*) were subject to the law of change. They have to be reinterpreted through a continuous process of *Ijtihad* and made to conform with the modern needs and requirement of the Muslim community. He declares:

The claim of the present generation of Muslim liberals to re-interpret the foundational legal principles in the light of their own experience and the altered conditions of modern life is, in my opinion, perfectly justified. The teaching of the Qur'an that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems.⁸

According to Iqbal the power of *Ijtihad* should be exercised by elected Muslim assemblies in the form of *Ijma'* (Consensus of the community on the majority basis). In order to exclude or reduce the possibilities of erroneous interpretation, Iqbal suggests that the Ulema be nominated to constitute a vital part of the legislative assembly helping and guiding free discussion on questions relating to law along with the contribution from laymen who happen to possess a keen insight into affairs. But Iqbal does not give the power of veto to the Ulema. He thinks that the only effective remedy for eliminating the possibility of erroneous interpretation is to reform the present system of legal instruction in the universities of Muslim countries, to extend its sphere and to combine it with an intelligent study of modern jurisprudence.⁹ He is convinced like Shibli that if the reinterpreted socialistic or welfare-laws of Islam are implemented in the Muslim countries, their economic problems could be resolved.

Iqbal was greatly influenced by Syed Jamal-al-Din Afghani and his vision of the unification of the Muslim nationhood is to aspire for the realization of a unified Islamic world. He advanced his concept of Muslim nationhood at the time when the independent Muslim states were under the spell of territorial nationalism. Therefore, taking notice of this trend in modern Islam, Iqbal was of the view that for the present, every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self and focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics. He points out:

A true and living unity... is manifested in multiplicity of free independent units whose racial rivalries are adjusted and harmonized by the unifying bond of a common spiritual aspiration. It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not to restrict the social horizon of its members.¹⁰

The Western powers had brought into being the League of Nations at Geneva during Iqbal's life time. But Iqbal was not satisfied with its deliberations so far as the Muslim World was concerned. Therefore, he felt that sometime in the future, the Muslim states may have to create their own League of Nations and he even suggested Tehran as its seat.¹¹

As far the influence of Iqbal on the Muslim world of today, it may be noted that the bulk of his poetic works is in Persian and the rest of them in Urdu. Some of his poetic works have been rendered into Arabic and Turkish. But in Turkey and the Arab World, particularly Egypt and Syria, his impact is confined to a limited circle of Muslim academicians or intellectuals who consider him as a poet of Islamic renaissance. Similar is his position in the Persian speaking people of the new Central Asian Republics.

His famous English prose work titled *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* has been translated into Muslim languages like Urdu, Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Indonesian. But it is only in Iran that his poetic as well as prose works have been studied with greater depth. The Iranians claim that his thought was partly responsible for the recent Islamic revolution in Iran. The outstanding Iranian thinker Ali Shariati has been greatly influenced by Iqbal's ideas, and Imam Khaminaei, the present successor of Imam Khomeini is a renowned scholar of Iqbal's poetry.

Among the Muslims of India he has been accepted as a great Urdu poet-philosopher, whereas in Pakistan he is revered and respected as the spiritual father of the country.

Some of the political leaders of the contemporary Islamic world are familiar with his name, including President Rafsanjani of Iran, who paid rich tributes to his memory at the OIC Summit held at Islamabad on 23 March, 1997.

However, it is not important to measure the extent of Iqbal's influence within the contemporary Muslim world on the criterion of a conscious in-depth study of his ideas. On the contrary, what is required to be assessed in the rapid spread of

Iqbalian idealism all over the modern Islamic countries although some of them may have not even heard his name.

The emergence of numerous free and independent Muslim nation-states, their endeavors to stand on their own feet educationally, economically and technologically, their bilateral or multi-lateral cultural, economic or military pacts with one another for mutual benefit and security, their aspirations to work out some kind of forum like OIC for unification, in order to strengthen Islamic solidarity and promote cooperation among Muslim states for the collective well-being of all of them, are all different dimensions of Iqbal's magnificent dream. Furthermore, wherever Muslims are still struggling for the realization of their right of self determination as a distinct national unit founded on a common spiritual aspiration, be it Bosnia, Chechnya, Kashmir, Cyprus, the Philippines or Palestine, and also wherever movements exist for reform on the basis of constitutionalism, democracy, social justice and for reinterpretation of Islamic law to suit the the modern needs and requirements of the Muslim community, one is again reminded of Iqbal's voice as spokesman of dynamic, progressive and modern Islam. Some of his dreams may have been realized, but in many respects he still remains the Poet of Islam's tomorrow.

Notes and References

- ¹ *Stray Reflections (A Note-Book of Allama Iqbal)*, ed. by Javid Iqbal, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, 1992, p. 134.
- ² *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 1982, Ed., pp. 154, 157.
- ³ *Stray Reflections*, p. 139.
- ⁴ *Discourses of Iqbal*, Ed. by Shahid Hussain Razzaki, p. 62.
- ⁵ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 155.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 178-180.
- ⁷ *Thoughts and Refections of Iqbal*, Ed. by S. A. Wahid, p. 168.
- ⁸ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 168.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-176.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 159.
- ¹¹ *Zarb-i-Kalim*, p. 147 in *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal (Urdu)*, 1977, Ed.

MODERN INDIAN MUSLIMS AND IQBAL

The book *Reconstruction of Religions Thought in Islam* or the 'Madras Lectures' of Allama Iqbal, has been translated into Urdu under the title *Tashkeel-e-Jadid-e Ilahiyat-e Islamia*. In the light of this work I have chosen to speak on the topic: "Iqbal and the Concept of the Islamic State in Modern Times." But before opening the discussion, it is necessary to throw some light on these lectures of Iqbal.

This book has remained the least noticed work of Iqbal, although it deserves a lot more attention. The main reason for this neglect is that these lectures were addressed to and later published for the Muslims of the new generation. Iqbal was aware that the new generation of Muslims could not remain aloof from the values of modern western culture. It was, therefore, necessary for them to remain Muslim and at the same time to become modern. Since this book discussed modernity in Islam, some of the Ulema were quite annoyed with it. For this very reason publication of Urdu translation was delayed. It was feared that the translation could provoke the wrath of the Ulema and they might consider it a manifesto of a new religion like Akbar's *Din-e Ilahi* or a distortion of religion under the pretext of reinterpretation. Many objections were raised. For instance, the late Allama Syed Sulaiman Nadvi was reported to have said that it would have been better if he had not published this book. Maulana Syed Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, who reported these words, commented in these words:

I do not consider Iqbal an innocent and pious person or a religious guide or an Imam Mujtahid, nor do I cross the limits, as his staunch supporters do, while acknowledging and praising his works. I consider that Hakeem Sana'i, 'Attar and Rumi were far ahead of him in respecting and following the Shari'ah, uniformity in thought and deed, and harmony between precept and practice. Iqbal presented several interpretations of Islamic faith and philosophy, agreement with which seems very difficult. I am also not convinced, like some enthusiastic young men, that no one had a better understanding of Islam than him and that none could surpass him in the knowledge of Islamic sciences and historical facts. On the contrary, the truth is that all his life he kept on benefiting from his distinguished contemporaries. There are some drawbacks in his unique personality which do not quite match with the sweep of his knowledge and the greatness of his message. Unfortunately he could not find an opportunity to get rid of them. There are many thoughts and views expressed in his Modern Lectures, the interpretation of which conflicts with the collective convictions of the Sunnis.... It would have been better if these Lectures had not been published.

The fact that emerges is that because of their conservatism the Ulema of the subcontinent are not yet ready to accept the change that has taken place in modern life. Even today they believe that the Madras Lectures are a great danger to the future of Islam. If the society which Iqbal dreamt of in these Lectures had come into existence, then the face of Islam, particularly in regard to worldly affairs (*Ma'aamalaat*), with which we are familiar, would have not remained unchanged. This is the reason why the Ulema strongly opposed this book of Iqbal. A few years ago a seminar was held in Riyadh (Saudi Arabia) where some one asserted that his book contained nothing except heresies, and that the Muslims must not read it.

However, this is an extremely important book. Some eminent Muslim scholars whom I had the opportunity to meet in Istanbul, Damascus and Cairo feel that a book like this has not been written in the Islamic world for the past

three hundred years, and that the importance of this book is increasing in the world of Islam with each passing day.

The Reconstruction of Religions Thought in Islam has been translated into Urdu as *Fikr-e Islami ki Tashkeel-e Jadid*. This translation, in my opinion, is appropriate because what is meant by 'Reconstruction' is the process of 'correcting' or 'reforming'. You may call it either 'Modern Reconstruction' or 'Reformation'. But it is not the reconstruction of Islam or the Islamic faith, as was the movement of Martin Luther in Christianity. Martin Luther's movement is called the Reformation. What he meant by Reformation was a new interpretation of Christianity, which led to the establishment of a new school of thought or rather a new religion. But here the aim is not reconstruction of Islam but the reconstruction of the religious thought of Islam. Now the question arises as to when is such reconstruction or reformation required? Obviously when decadence takes place, a revival or renaissance becomes essential; otherwise if the process of deterioration is allowed to continue nations and communities cease to exist. This is the era of Muslim cultural and ideological revival, and the book was written during this period, because Iqbal belonged to that period of the history of the subcontinent when the process of reformation had commenced even before his birth. Shah Waliullah, Syed Ahmed Shaheed, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Maulana Shibli Nomani were personalities who were senior to Iqbal, and had already started the process of the reconstruction of Islamic thought. Jamaluddin Afghani was also one of them. In 1882, when Afghani took refuge in Hyderabad Deccan, Iqbal was only twelve years old. So one can imagine that the work of reconstruction had started even before Iqbal was born. Thus, following in the footsteps of his predecessors, Iqbal tried to study and apprise the Muslim community, and that too very courageously, as to what were the causes of decay in their society. It is very interesting to note that after one thousand years of the death of Imam Ghazali, Iqbal for the first time in the modern history of Islam disclosed that there were three

negative forces against which Jihad should be waged, and that only through the extermination of these forces could the new Muslim Society be brought into being. According to Iqbal, these three negative forces are: Autocratic Monarchy, ignorant Mullatism (Islamic priesthood) and decadent Sufism. In this context he addresses the Muslims of India and says: *Ay Kushta-e Sultani-o Mullai-o Piri* (You are nothing but a crushed compound of autocratic Monarchy, ignorant Priesthood, and False Spiritual Guidance).

These are the three disintegrating forces which led to the decadence of Muslim society. This means that Iqbal felt the necessity of reforming these forces so that they could yield positive results for the reconstruction. For example, he wanted to bring about changes in the teaching of Islamic theology, and it was his desire to bring a new *Ilm-ul Kalaam* (Scholastic religious thought) into existence, because at the present time man had made tremendous progress in the empirical sciences, and in the light of this advancement in human knowledge, a new scholastic philosophy was needed. Without a new approach in theology, it was not possible to strengthen the faith of the new generation of Muslims. Similarly, he wished for a revolution in the sphere of Sufism. Consequently, when he wrote the Introduction to the publication of his lectures, he specifically mentioned the need of this revolution. His third important point was to do away with autocratic monarchy in Islam and to proceed towards democracy, which, according to him, was to return to the original purity of Islam. After providing this background, I would like to bring to your notice that aspect of Iqbal's Philosophy which is known as *Khudi* (Self). Whether he talks in terms of the individual self or the collective self, the aim of Iqbal was that, through the development of the individual and the collective ego, a new Muslim society should be brought into being. In this respect his thought is founded on three basic concepts. These are: First, his concept of Muslim nationhood— i.e., the nationality of Muslims is to be based not on community, colour, race, language or territory but on

a common spiritual aspiration. Second, Islam cannot be conceived without *Shawkah* (Power). In other words, according to Iqbal, the new Muslim society cannot be subjugated. It has to be free, and in a dominant position. Third, if 'Power' is the ultimate aim, then it is necessary to find a manifestation for it— and this manifestation is the realisation of a state for the new Muslim society. His writing and discourses prior to the famous Allahabad Address reveal that he always had these three things in mind— the concept of Muslim nationality, the concept of Islam with 'Power' and the need for the creation of a Muslim State which he considered as the "territorial specification of Islam". He lays emphasis on the state because 'power' cannot be imagined in the absence of a state. A minority could never wield 'power'. This was the reason why the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) left his ancestral home, Mecca and founded a state in Medinah.

In this context, let us consider the discussion which took place between Iqbal and Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani. Maulana Madani's point of view was that of an Indian nationalist. On the other hand, Iqbal's view was that of a Muslim nationalist. Maulana held that as a nation Muslims were Indians, but as a community (Ummah/Millah) they were Muslim. Whereas for Iqbal nation and community were one and the same thing. There was no difference between the two. It is surprising to note that most of the Ulema who opposed the Pakistan movement and also rejected Iqbal's thesis, were prepared to accept the Muslims as part of the Indian nation in the secular set-up of India but were not prepared to accept Iqbal's concept of the creation of a new Muslim society in a politically free modern Islamic state of Pakistan. In other words, these Ulema were so attached to the conventional approach to Islam that they were willing to live under Indian secularism rather than agree to accept *ijtihad* or a new approach. In this connection I have always used three terms. What Iqbal called the Mullah's approach, I call the conventional or traditional approach to Islam. What Iqbal

called *Piri-muridi*, I call populist approach to Islam; and those who were the founding fathers of Pakistan, including Iqbal, their approach to Islam, according to me, was reformist. The social struggle being waged in all Muslim societies today is between these three groups. The masses who represent 'Populist' Islam are passive in this struggle, but the conventionalists and reformists are fighting the battle as backward-looking-romantics and forward looking realists. Generally speaking, the masses of Islam can neither read the Qur'an nor understand it. It is difficult to say whether they even know their prayer. Therefore, a large majority of them depend on their spiritual guides, pirs and saints who they believe are able to intercede between them and God.

Because of ignorance, this belief holds firm ground in their minds. May be some time in the future, when education spreads enlightenment, the present shape of the common man's Islam will change. But until then this situation must be considered to prevail to the advantage of the politician and the protagonist of conventional Islam. Moreover, the group of educated and enlightened Muslims who subscribe to reformist Islam is too small, and some time is required for them to develop into a class which could command a position of influence and power.

What are the constituent elements of Muslim society according to Iqbal? A serious consideration would reveal that Muslims are still far away from the reformist approach to Islam. Although a section of the Muslims of the subcontinent have obtained Pakistan, it would take a long time to make it a modern Islamic state. We have talked about the difference between the approaches of Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani and Iqbal, and have also taken note of the views of Maulana Syed Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi about Iqbal. Now I venture to present another interesting extract on Iqbal. This is from Maulana Najmuddin who is one of the disciples of Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani. He states:¹

We consider it a religious crime to grant the late Dr. Iqbal the status of more than that of a poet and a philosopher, as we have

studied his writings carefully. It is no exaggeration to say that although hundreds and thousands of his verses are useful, there are many which openly strike at Islam and Islamic philosophy.

He further adds:

The work of law-making in Pakistan can certainly be undertaken in the light of Iqbal's thought because the Islam on the basis of which Pakistan has been founded is in fact another name for Iqbal's philosophy.

It is, therefore, evident that a group of Ulema have always said that Pakistan was created in the name of a specific kind of Islam which they consider as another name for Iqbal's philosophy.

Now let us examine the other dimension of the problem: What kind of sick society did Iqbal confront? He began formulating his thoughts in 1904. I would like to draw your attention towards his first article namely, "Qaumi Zindagi" (National life). It was written in 1904 and was published in *Makhsan*. Before presenting a quotation from this article, I would like to re-emphasise that Iqbal was very much influenced by the factor of change. I shall try to establish through this quotation that according to him, it was this strange factor of change that distinguished the present from the past. Commenting upon the progress made by the other nations, Iqbal describes Muslim societies thus (and I would urge you to tell me whether or not today any change has been accomplished):

I am sorry to say that, seen from this angle, the condition of the Muslims appears to be most deplorable. This unfortunate community has lost its political power, lost its craftsmanship, lost its commerce and trade, and now, unconcerned with the disease of poverty, it is leaning on the useless staff of vain hope. Let alone other things, until now their religious differences have not been resolved. Every other day a new sect pops up, proclaiming itself as the sole heir of paradise, denouncing the rest of the human species as the fuel for hell. In short, this form of sectarianism has shattered the unity of the best of the communities in such a way that it is impossible to reunite it as a single community... The condition of our Maulvis (Preachers) is such that if two of them happen to be present in the same

town, they would exchange messages to meet and hold a discussion on the life of Jesus Christ or the revelation and cancellation of the Quranic verses. And if the discussion commences, as it often does, it leads to the exchange of such abuses that one has to seek refuge in God. The vastness of knowledge, tolerance and understanding which were the characteristics of the old savants of Islam exist not even in name... There is however, a list of Muslim *Kafirs* (non-believers) which goes on increasing as more names are being added to it with the vicious hand of our preachers. The story of the decadent Muslim affluent class is different. By the Grace of God, he already has four daughters and two sons and yet the gentleman is in search of a third wife, and keeps on secretly sending word here and there, taking every care that the existing two wives should not come to know of it. Sometimes, if he gets a respite from domestic quarrels, he ventures to have a little fun with a prostitute in the street... to say nothing of the Muslim masses—some would spend their life's earnings on the ritual of a child's circumcision; another would withdraw his pampered child from school because of the fear of the teacher; yet another one would spend his day's earnings in one evening and console himself by saying that God will take care of tomorrow. Elsewhere, a fortune is being wasted on litigation over a petty matter, while properties are being destroyed in property-related quarrels... The portrait of Muslim culture briefly is that girls are uneducated, boys are ignorant and unemployed. They are afraid of industry and commerce, and are ashamed of learning crafts. Divorce litigation is on the increase every day, and incidents of crime are going up. This is a very desperate situation and there seems to be no way out except that the entire community should make a endeavour united to set their minds and hearts in the direction of reform. No great task in this world can be completed without great effort. Even God does not change the condition of any community unless that community itself makes an effort for its betterment.

This is a very important quotation. It will give you some idea of the direction in which Iqbal's thought was moving since 1904. He was realising that the reformation of Muslim culture was necessary and this would be possible only if Islamic laws were reinterpreted. Iqbal kept writing time and

again on these topics. The extracts from his writings that I am reproducing were published during different periods, especially between 1904 and 1938. Let us examine the following quotation; but before I reproduce it I want to submit that an important aspect of Iqbal's thought is that he genuinely believed that the revival of Islam is not possible merely by the revival of religion unless it is accompanied by the revival of Muslim culture. I will explain what Iqbal meant by 'culture'. Let us first consider the quotation:

Among the Muslims, the question of reforming their culture is in fact a religious question, because Muslim culture actually is the practical form of the religion of Islam. There is no aspect of our cultural life which can be detached from our religion. It is not my intention to discuss this important matter from the religious standpoint. Nevertheless, I will not hesitate to point out that due to the great change in the condition of our lives, certain new cultural necessities have emerged, that the principles devised by our jurists (*Fuqaha*) the collection of which is generally known as Islamic Shari'ah, needs revision. It is not my contention that there is some inherent flaw in the basic principles of our religion due to which it is not possible for us to resolve our contemporary cultural problems. On the contrary, my contention is that most of the interpretations of the Holy Qur'an and Hadith (Traditions of the Prophet) advanced by our jurists from time to time are such as were relevant and suitable for specific periods of time, but do not conform to the modern needs and requirements of the Muslims...Taking into consideration the modern needs and requirements of the Muslim community, we need not only to follow a new theological approach (*Ilm-ul Kalaam*) in support of the principles of religion, but need also a great jurist who could reinterpret Islamic law, and grant such breadth to the rules, through his logic and implication, that they would fulfil all the possible demands and requirements of the present day Muslims. So far as I know, to date no such eminent jurist has been born in the Muslim world. If we are to consider the importance of this problem, it appears that more than one mind and a period of at least one century is required to complete this task.

In 1905, a revolution took place against the Shah of Iran. Iqbal carefully watched this period of Iranian history generally known as *Daur-e Istabdad-e Saghir* (The Era of Minor Tyranny). Mohammed Raza, who later became Raza Shah Pehlavi, was the leader of this revolution. In the early stages, he wanted to become the president of Iran following the Turkish example as he tried to convert Iran into a modern democratic state. But the Shi'a Ulema opposed this conversion and advised him to adopt the title of Shah (King). However, they retained the power of interpreting Islamic law as the successors of the Occult Imam (*Imam-e Gha'ib*). These moves made Iqbal arrive at the conclusion that gradually Iran was also heading towards elections, although according to the Shi'a theory of the Islamic state, there exists a separation between the temporal power headed by the Shah and the spiritual (juridical) power assumed by the Shi'a Ulema Council.

The 'method' referred to here by Iqbal requires some attention. What he meant is that a Muslim child should be identified as a Muslim and also as a modern individual. The 'method' which he mentions repeatedly is that, unlike the old system of education, the Islamic Dar-ul Uloom (study centre) must constitute an integral part of a modern university. There should be the subjects in which our preachers and missionaries should be well-versed. Iqbal insists upon their acquiring command over national literature, economics and sociology. Thus it is evident that he wanted to see the Muslims remaining Muslims and at the same time accepting modernity. Generally speaking, the dreams of Iqbal have not been realised so far. I would add here that when Iqbal went to Madras to deliver these Lectures, his host too subscribed to the same views. Seth Jamal Mohammed used to spend a large amount of money every year on such lectures. Before Iqbal, he had invited Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, who delivered lectures on Islam. Iqbal was the third in the series who was asked to deliver his lectures. Seth Jamal Mohammed wanted to create an environment wherein Muslims could retain a

strong faith and at the same time not hesitate to become modern.

The writings of Iqbal indicate that according to him the political order recommended by the Qur'an was based on elections, and the legal order was based on the interpretations of Islamic law advanced by the judges. The third important point is that he uses the expression 'Muslim Commonwealth' for the Islamic state.

Now we may turn to the question as to what Iqbal meant by the revival of Islamic culture? Why was it necessary and urgent? Iqbal felt that Muslim society, of which he was a member, was a sick society. He desired to bring about the creation of a new society and that is why he used to claim that his message or address was not meant for the intellectually disabled and the old because such people are incapable of changing. He called himself the 'poet of tomorrow'. For this reason he was more interested in, and directed his message to, the Muslim youth, who could create the new Muslim society of his dreams. In this context, carrying the discussion further, I would like to present another extract from his writings, particularly because whenever I have tried to express my views respecting Iqbal's thought, it has met with strong opposition from the conservative Ulema who now claim to own Iqbal and contend that I misrepresent him. This passage has been taken from Iqbal's lecture entitled 'Muslim Community'. This is his third important paper on the subject, and was translated into Urdu by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan as "Millat-e Bayza par ek Imrani Nazar", and read in the Strachey Hall of the Aligarh Muslim University in 1910. He states:²

The establishment of a Muslim University in India is essential also for another reason. Who does not know that the task of giving moral education to the masses of our community is being performed by Ulema and preachers who are not competent to perform this task? The reason is that the quantum of their knowledge about Islamic history and Islamic sciences are very limited. For the teaching of the main principles and offshoots of religion and morality the preacher of today, besides having an

understanding of history, economics and sociology, should also have a complete acquaintance with the literature and aspiration of his community. Al-Nadwa, Aligarh College, Madrasa Deoband and other similar institutions which are functioning separately cannot fulfil this great need. There should be established one central Dar-ul-Uloom of all these scattered educational entities where the members of the community should not only know that so long as the Muslim intellectuals remained under the influence of Greek thinkers they paid more attention to speculative sciences. However, when they turned their attention to the Quranic teachings, they discovered that the Qur'an laid emphasis on experimental methods, because in the Qur'an, God repeatedly commands man to apply reason, to think, to use his eyes and ears, etc. This meant that through their sense perception, Muslims should evolve empirical sciences. According to Iqbal, it was against this background that the Muslims developed the experimental method and laid the foundations of empirical sciences. Europe took these empirical sciences from the Muslims and further developed what is today known as modern science and technology. Thus Iqbal believed that Muslims were the original founders of science, and if they were to learn it afresh from the West, it would not amount to adoption of the sciences of an alien culture, but to taking back from the West what they originally gave to it in their times of glory. In this belief, Iqbal desired that the broken link between the Islamic sciences and the modern sciences should be re-forged. He was convinced that this was also a very important aspect of the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam and that the new Muslim society could not be created unless the Islamic sciences were recombined with the modern sciences. It is needless to mention here that a study of the history of science would reveal that in the early stages of the development of empirical sciences, the names of Muslim scientists frequently occur. Even today some of these sciences are still acknowledged and retain their Arabic name. For instance, Algebra, a branch of Mathematics, which was a Muslim invention, still retains the same name. So is the term (alchemy) chemistry which is derived from the Arabic *Al-Kimiya*. There are numerous other terms, particularly in the science of optics and physics which have been derived from Arabic and which are still in use.

There is another fact that is worth mentioning, and it is that although Iqbal was a critic of the western civilisation, he was never opposed to modernity. He always distinguished between modernity and westernization. To him westernization was imitating an alien culture, for which he criticised the Turks. But modernism to him was accepting the reality of change. According to Iqbal, the Qur'an commanded the acceptance of the reality of change for the progress of Muslims in all spheres and fields; otherwise they would be left behind. The Muslim could achieve *Shawkah* (Power) in the new Muslim society only when they re-established the link between Islamic and modern sciences; and recommenced the process of research, creativity, innovation and invention. You must have noted that Iqbal, in almost all his writings, particularly his poetry, is obsessed with 'the absolutely new'. He asks for a new world and a new universe because he is fed up with the old. Even his Satan pleads to God and begs for the creation of a new Adam since he is disgusted with the present one who cannot bear even his single flaw. He pleads that it is insulting for him that he is pitched against a very weak rival. So even Satan demands a new Adam.

Now what he means by a new man or a new Muslim society is that the creative potential of the Muslim community must be reviewed. In the context of creativity, Iqbal uses the expression 'innovation'. He regarded Hazrat Umar as the first innovator among the Muslims, because of the changes he had introduced, particularly his inclusion of *Istihsaan* (Equity) into the Islamic law of inheritance. Objections were raised against Hazrat Umar for introducing novelty into Islamic laws. But Hazrat Umar replied that 'novelty' is of two kinds— one is *Bid'at-e Hasna* (commendable novelty) and the other is *Bid'at-e saiyya* (condemnable novelty).³ Iqbal endorsed the former and considered it positive, or commendable innovation. Iqbal was of the view that the Muslims of today could progress only if they acquired the mentality of Hazrat Umar. He upheld that they should not become prisoners of the text of Qur'an; their interpretation must also be consistent with the spirit of the

Qur'an. Thus according to him *Bid'at-e Hasna* or commendable innovation is worthy of consideration and should be adopted as a methodology for modern day *Ijtihad* or interpretation of Islamic law.

Now I turn to the topic 'Iqbal and the Concept of the Islamic State in the Modern Age'. I have already explained that Iqbal gives priority to the principle of Muslim nationhood for the establishment of a modern Muslim society. His second principle is that Islam is unthinkable without 'power'. Without 'power' you may repeatedly claim to be Muslim but you would be Muslim only in name. Economic and technological freedom must be realised along with political freedom to constitute 'power'; otherwise you are nothing but a slave and in the state of slavery no task can be accomplished. Iqbal narrates that once a Turkish freedom-fighter accompanied him to offer prayers in the mosque and was perturbed to notice that the Indian Muslims while offering prayers remained for a long time in the position of prostration (*Sajda*). He asked Iqbal as to why it was so? Iqbal replied that there was no need to be surprised because the poor slaves have nothing else to do except 'prostration' (*Sajda*)*

After interpreting the two major principles of "Muslim nationhood" and 'Power' Iqbal has presented his concept of a modern Islamic state in his sixth lecture, 'The Principle of Movement in the Social Structure of Islam'. This lecture is not only important, but also controversial, as most of the objections raised against the Madras Lectures pertain particularly to this lecture. Its topic is *Ijtihad* (effort, struggle). I will discuss only that part of the lecture which relates to the construction of a state or rather the question of how Iqbal thinks a modern Islamic state can be created. In this connection, the first thing to be kept in mind is that whenever Iqbal speaks of modern Islamic state, he has before his eyes those traditional models of the Islamic state with which you may also be familiar. They are Khilafat, Imamate, Amirate or Monarchy in different forms. These are the

conventional types of states that we come across in the history of Islam. Iqbal does not recommend the revival of any of these models. His concept of modern Islamic state is based on three principles. But before discussing them, I would like to point out that Iqbal associates state with law-making. He wrote several letters to Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi and posed many questions in this regard. An examination of these questions, and the answers given by Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, provides very interesting and useful information. I have collected and studied these questions thoroughly in order to find out what was in his mind. In fact, his questions are the same which disturb the mind of the Muslim youth of today, and I suppose no satisfactory and convincing solution to these problems has been presented by our Ulema even today. For example a question asked by Iqbal to Syed Sulaiman Nadvi makes it abundantly clear why Iqbal gave so much importance to *Ijma'-i ummah*, (consensus of the community) and what its connection is with the democratic order of a modern Islamic state. He asks Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, "Can *Ijma'-i ummah* repeal *Nass-e Qur'ani* (text of the Qur'an having clear meaning)? For instance a mother can breast feed her child only for two years according to the *Nass-e Qur'ani*. Can this period be reduced or extended?" Then he asks: "Can consensus change the Quranic rules of inheritance? Some Hanafite and Mu'tazilite scholars (names of two schools of Islamic thought) believed that it was possible through *Ijma'-i ummah*. Does any such reference exist in the literature of *Fiqh* (Law)?" Such interesting questions could be asked only by Iqbal. He derives the principle of election in an Islamic state from the 38th verse of 42nd Surah of the Holy Qur'an in which it is stated that the Muslims are those who conduct their affairs by mutual consultation. In this verse, the word 'Shura' has been used which may either be interpreted as 'Advisory Assembly' or as 'Consultative Assembly'. If we take it as Advisory Body, then there will arise the problem of the absoluteness of the executive authority which would not be

bound by the opinion of the Advisory Body. (And this is what had been happening during the history of Islam and led to the establishment of the most perverse form of autocracy). But if it is to be considered and interpreted as 'Consultative Body' then it would be identical to an elected Assembly for the purpose of law-making. Iqbal terms this law-interpreting Assembly as the modern form of *Ijma*. In other words, the elected representatives are authorised to make or interpret law and their law-making process becomes a kind of *Ijma-i-Ummah*. But this interpretation of Iqbal has not been accepted by the Ulema. You may note that Iqbal wants to take away the right of *Ijtihad* (Interpretation of law) from the individual jurists (*Mujtahidin*) and hand it over to the elected Muslim Assembly. This is a kind of revolution which our conservative Ulema are not prepared to accept.

Before talking about the three foundational principles propounded by Iqbal on which a modern Islamic state can be built, I would like to refer to the last paragraph of his sixth lecture in which he defines the Islamic state as "spiritual democracy". He states:⁵

In view of the basic idea of Islam that there can be no further revelation binding on man, we (Muslims) ought to be spiritually one of the most emancipated peoples on earth. Early Muslims emerging out of the spiritual slavery of pre-Islamic Asia were not in a position to realise the true significance of this basic idea. Let the Muslim of today appreciate his position, reconstruct his social life in the light of ultimate principles and evolve, out of the hither partially revealed purpose of Islam, that spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam.

It is evident from this quotation that according to Iqbal the ultimate aim of Islam i.e., the establishment of "spiritual democracy," has not yet been realised and if at all, only partially.

Now I come to the three fundamental principles of a modern state from the Islamic standpoint propounded by Iqbal. They are: (1) human solidarity; (2) equality; and, (3) freedom. Iqbal is of the view that Muslims must aspire for and realise these great and ideal principles in space—time

forces us to do this, as these very principles constitute the essence of *Tawhid* (unity of God).

The question that invariably follows is as to why Iqbal refers to "human solidarity" and not to "Muslim solidarity"? The answer is that he had a vision of a modern Islamic state as a spiritual democracy. As for religious tolerance in this state, Iqbal points out that the Qur'an commands the Muslims to protect the places of worship of non-Muslims implying that it is a religious obligation of the Muslims. In this background when Iqbal talks about human solidarity, he means Muslim unity based on common spiritual aspiration and solidarity with non-Muslim citizens. On this basis it is possible to realise the ideal of human solidarity. Iqbal cites verse 40, of surah 22 of the Qur'an, which contains the Qur'anic command to protect places of worship of the non-Muslims. It states:

If God had not created a group (of Muslims) to ward off others from aggression, then churches, synagogues, oratories and mosques where God is worshipped most, would have been destroyed.

In this verse, the term *masajid* (mosques) occurs at the end in a descending order. First the churches of the Christians are mentioned, then the synagogues of the Jews, followed by the monasteries or oratories of the hermits, and lastly the mosques of the Muslims. How did the jurists interpret this Qur'anic verse? The early *Fuqaha* (jurists) thought that only the people of the Book (Jews and Christians) came under this protective clause. But, when Iran was conquered, Parsis or Zoroastrians were also included under it based on the reasoning that they were *Kamithl-e abl-e Kitab* (similar to the people of the Book) and that this also bound the Mughal state to protect the places of worship and culture of their Hindu subjects.

To conclude, when the Muslims had self-confidence and were powerful, their jurists could 'extend' a Qur'anic rule of law if the conditions so demanded, and when there was an apprehension that it could lead to some problem they

'restricted' its application by temporarily suspending it. These processes of 'extension' (*Tawsi*) and 'restriction' (*Tehdid*) are acknowledged principles in Islamic jurisprudence. Iqbal is of the view that in accordance with the needs and requirements of present times the Qur'anic rules of law pertaining to worldly affairs (*Mu'amalaat*) can be 'extended' or 'restricted' although this Power cannot be exercised by an individual or a dictator. He desires that this power be given to the elected representatives of the Muslims in the form of *Ijma'* (Consensus).

While discussing these principles, I do not want to be misunderstood. I am not arguing that a modern Islamic state can be regarded as a secular state. No, this is not my thesis, although I am inclined to put the word 'ideal' before it. If according to Iqbal the ultimate aim of Islam is to establish a spiritual democracy and not a theocracy, then how can it be defined, except as an ideal secular state? I do not call it a secular state because there exists no genuine secular state anywhere in the world. The existing so-called secular states are practically based on hypocrisy. Is the U.S. a secular state where there still exists discrimination between blacks and whites? Are Britain, France and Germany truly secular states? Is India, where the Muslims are periodically massacred for one excuse or another, really a secular state? In reality no secular state exists anywhere in the world, but there are several types of hypocritical states. For example, the secular state of the former Soviet Russia was established on the basis of atheism. It was an anti-religious state. Similarly, Western capitalist secular democracies are indifferent to religion, as they are essentially market societies interested in selling their merchandise. But if there exists a state which respects every religion or whose aim is to establish a genuine spiritual democracy, what name could be given to such a state? I once met a Hindu scholar at a conference. He explained to me that a secular state does not mean a state which is indifferent to religion, in the sense in which it is called *la deen riyasat* or 'non-religious state'/secular state. He said that India is not such a

secular state, but every religion is given full respect in it. I replied that if that was really followed then India would have been an Islamic state as contemplated by Iqbal. There would have been no periodic massacres of the Muslim minority and that in that case there would have been no need to make Pakistan.

Now let us turn to the second principle of Iqbal, i.e., the principle of equality in the modern Islamic state. To grasp it we have to consider Iqbal's social and economic ideas. For example, he believed that the Qur'an has prescribed the best remedy for all economic ills of mankind in general. He opposed capitalism with the same vigour with which he opposed socialism as economic systems. But he did not approve of the total expulsion of the forces of capital from the economic order, rather he wanted to confine it within certain specific limits. As for the Muslims, he recommended strict implementation of the Islamic Law of Inheritance and the taking of zakat, *'ushr* and *sadqa* (various taxes) by the state. Furthermore, through *ijtihad*, he desired the reinterpretation of other Qur'anic laws pertaining to taxation. For example, there is the Qur'anic command of *qul al-'afw*, i.e., give away all that you have earned above your needs for the benefit of the community. But no one will be inclined to give away his surplus wealth voluntarily for public benefit unless the state compels him to do so. In his poem on the Russian Revolution, Iqbal therefore insists that the Muslims must delve deep into the Qur'an in an attempt to discover the Wisdom of Allah regarding *qul al-'afw*. On the basis of this Qur'anic command, he expects the modern Islamic state to improve taxation laws in order to make the state essentially a welfare state and thus realise the ideal of equality. In this connection he has also some other suggestions pertaining to the distribution of land. According to him a landlord, under Islamic law, can only hold as much land as he is able to bring under self-cultivation and surrender the surplus to the state for distribution to the landless tenants. Iqbal also recommends the imposition of agricultural tax on land

holdings in parity with the proportion of income tax. Moreover, he wants the implementation of other laws to prohibit the practice of hoarding wealth by ignoring collective rights, accumulating wealth through illegal and illegitimate economic sources, taking interest and indulging in gambling. Iqbal's concept of equality in a modern Islamic state is more or less identical to the economic ideal of a modern mixed economy. It implies that the state should invest in important industries in the public sector and at the same time accept free economy to a certain extent, by encouraging individual investment in the private sector. But the state must not nationalise industries.

Now, we can consider Iqbal's third principle of the Islamic state, i.e., the principle of 'freedom' (*Hurriyat*). I have already said that he regards 'elections' of legislative assemblies in Muslim states as a return to the original purity of Islam. So what does Iqbal mean by the term democracy? By democracy he obviously means representative or elected assemblies, because such assemblies came into existence through electoral contest among different political parties. Iqbal states that political parties emerged during the times of *Khulafa'-i-Rashidin* (Caliphs in the early period of Islam). One political group consisted of the Ansar whose candidate contested against Abu Bakr. Similarly, another political faction was that of the Muhajirin (immigrants) who, for the first time, advanced the argument that the Arabs should refuse to accept the leadership of any person who did not belong to the tribe of Quraish. This reasoning is said to have silenced the Ansar. The Ansar's claim to the leadership was that they had constituted the armies of Islam, therefore, the Caliph should be elected from among them. The Muhajirin argued that their candidate would not be acceptable to all the tribes of the Arabs because they did not belong to the tribe of Quraish. Hence, the Caliph must be chosen from the Quraish tribe. The third political faction was that of Banu Hashim. They believed that the Caliph must hail only from the descendants of Prophet Muhammad and, therefore, strongly supported

Ali. Thus, it is evident that there were three positions existing after the death of the Holy Prophet.

It is interesting to note that during the electoral confrontation (or rather competition) no party sought the support of the Qur'an or the Hadith (Traditions of the Holy Prophet). The appointment of a successor (Caliph) of the Holy Prophet was a political matter to be resolved in a political manner. Their approach was pragmatic and republican as well as flexible, since it did not rigidly follow any set precedent. It is against this background that Iqbal gives priority to *Ijma'* (consensus), the present form of which is an elected Muslim Assembly. *Ijma'* is one of the fundamental principles of *Ijtihad*, the others being the Qur'an, Hadith and *Qiyas*. Iqbal opines that the right to reinterpretation of Islamic laws and giving them the shape of modern legislation must be vested in the elected Muslim Assembly. He is also of the view that a body of Ulema could also be nominated to assist the Assembly as the Assembly may face difficulties in understanding the intricate points of Fiqh. However, he does not give the right of veto to the Ulema considering that their mutual differences could lead to a legislative crisis. His solution to the problem is that members of the Assembly should be acquainted with *Fiqh* and modern jurisprudence. In other words, the candidates for the Assembly in a modern Islamic state must preferably be lawyers and jurists with a command over *Fiqh*, because only such a person can perform the task of reinterpreting Islamic laws and their legislation.

Iqbal's concept of legislation is based on his philosophy of "permanence-in-change". He explains that only *Ibadaat* (religious obligations) are permanent and cannot be changed. On the other hand, *Mu'amalaat* (worldly affairs) are subject to the law of change. For instance, the timings of prayer cannot be changed, nor can the fasting period of Ramadan. But all laws pertaining to *Mu'amalaat* (civil and criminal matters) which fall into the category of worldly *Mu'amalaat* can be subjected to the law of change and may be reinterpreted in

accordance with changed condition and needs, as well as with the requirements of the Muslim community. Iqbal wants to give this right to the popularly elected Assembly, Parliament or Majlis-e Shura. The task of this new Majlis-e Shura is not to advise the ruler, but to rule. It may make laws in three fields:

1. To amend existing laws so that these should conform to the injunctions of Islam.
2. To implement those Islamic laws which have not yet been enforced and
3. To legislate those laws which are not repugnant to the injunctions of Islam.

The third field is the most important because it is most extensive. Iqbal contends that the Muslims of today ought to follow Hazrat Umar in achieving their objectives of comprehending the spirit of the Qur'an and the real message of Islam for humanity.

Although Iqbal insists on transferring the right of *Ijtihad* from an individual Ulema to an elected Assembly which should be the sole law making body, he notes that in spite of the conservativeness of the Ulema, the Muslims of the subcontinent are moving forward and it is the Shari'ah which has been made static or is lagging behind. What he meant to highlight is that whenever the Muslims have raised their voices for reconstruction or-reinterpretation of Islamic law to suit the needs and requirements of the community, the Ulema opposed them tooth and nail. As a result, despite their opposition, Muslims have proceeded ahead whereas the Ulema have been left behind. Here I want to point out that whenever Iqbal proclaims that we are marching forward while the Shari'ah is static, he means that we are not taking the Shari'ah along with us.

Iqbal is convinced that Islam contains a dynamic spirit within itself and no one can hinder its progress with artificially imposed restrictions. He, therefore, categorically points out:

"The claim of the present generation of Muslim liberals to

reinterpret the fundamental legal principles in the light of their own experience and the altered conditions of modern life is, in my opinion, perfectly justified. The teaching of the Qur'an that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided but unhampered by the works of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems."⁶

Who are the 'Muslim Liberals'? It appears that according to Iqbal, these are those Muslims who have a 'reformist' approach towards the evolution of Islamic law. Anyway, all that Iqbal has stated in this passage is unacceptable to any Alim who has a conventional approach towards Islamic law. Therefore, the way Iqbal is showing to us for the freedom of *Ijtihad* in the form of '*Ijma*' and the dissemination of an enlightened or dynamic outlook in our legislative assemblies is neither acceptable to our Ulema at this stage, nor to the members of our law-making bodies, nor to the Muslim masses. The Muslims of the subcontinent may have attained political freedom but their mentalities are still enslaved by their past. They are hostages of the needs and requirements of the Muslim community of bygone centuries. When I proclaim that Imam Abu Hanifa has stated thus regarding a legal issue, it means that I need not think any further as he had already pondered the matter for all of us and for all times. But if we assert that we must exert ourselves, reconsider and reinterpret a law because it is a problem specific to our age, we are confronted with a deluge of objections. Although we claim that we are devoted to Islam, our community is surviving on double standards, the reason being that we are not courageous enough to pull ourselves out of the pit into which we have fallen, yet, at the same time we do not like to be considered cowards. Nations do not achieve emancipation through merely attaining political freedom. Real emancipation is achieved through freedom of the mind and that is the secret behind the progress of nations.

Notes and References

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- 1 Najmuddin Islahi, *Maktubaat-e Sheikh-ul Islam*, Lahore 1944, Third Volume p.141.
 - 2 Latif A. Sherwani, *Speeches, Statements and Writings of Iqbal*, 1974, pp 104-120.
 - 3 See Iqbal's poem "Nala-e Iblees", *Javid Nama, Kulliyat i Iqbal* (Persian), Lahore 1981, p 725.
 - 4 "Ghulamun ki Namaz," *Zarb -e Kaleem, Kulliyat i Iqbal* (Urdu), Lahore, 1984, pp 61-62.
 - 5 *Reconstruction*, pp 179-180.
 - 6 *Reconstruction*, p. 168.

IQBAL AND TURKEY

Muslim India's interest in Turkey grew shortly after the fall of Sultan Tippu in 1799 as this was the period when the sub-continent was being transformed to British India. One of the questions, which was being debated by the Muslim jurists regarding the political status of Muslims at that time, was: How were Muslims of the sub-continent or those living outside the Turkish empire related to the Turkish Caliphate? After the loss of political power, Muslims constituted a large minority in the sub-continent and they had refused to merge with Hindus. Therefore, they took a keen interest in the Turkish Caliphate which, at that stage, commanded sufficient prestige or was considered an important factor in international affairs. Thus, by becoming their rallying point, the Turkish Caliphate awakened among new Muslims a new sense of solidarity. However, a clash of loyalties did not occur, because in those days the British sided with Turkey against Russia and they did not object to the mentioning of the name of the Turkish Sultan-Caliph in *khutba* in Muslim India. In 1877 while Turks fought against the Russians, funds were collected by Muslims of the sub-continent in aid of the wounded and disabled Turks and those were forwarded to Turkey. In 1892 Muhammad Shibli (1857-1914), poet-scholar, visited Constantinople and stayed there for about three months. He was awarded the Majidi medal for his scholarly activities.

But the British attitude towards Turkey changed in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Egypt was occupied by the British in 1882, and the Greeks rebelled against Turkey in 1897 at the instigation of the British. The defeat of the Greek rebels at the hands of Turks was hailed by Muslim India and for the first time the British were alarmed by the extra-territorial sympathies of Muslims of the sub-continent. Consequently, Shibli on his return to India was suspected by the British Government as an agent of Turkey and he was forbidden to wear his Turkish decoration. Shibli published an account of his travels in Turkey and wrote numerous articles about the Turks. His real force, however, lay in the poems he wrote on the misfortunes of Turkey, and through these writings Shibli brought Turkey closer to Muslim India.

In 1911 Italy attacked Tripoli and the Balkan war which deprived Turkey of her European provinces followed in 1912. On these occasions Iqbal, following Shibli, wrote three of his famous poems which stirred Muslim India. One of his famous poems, namely, *Jawab-i-Shikwa* (Answer to the Complaint) was recited in the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore in 1912 in order to raise funds in aid of the Turks wounded in the Balkan war. There were many other eminent Muslim leaders such as Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Muhammad Ali and Zaffar Ali Khan, who supporting the Turkish cause watched the fate of Turkey in the Balkan war with mournful indignation. During 1912 a Red Cross mission was organized by Muslims which was sent to Turkey under the leadership of Dr. Ansari.

Then followed 1914-18 war in which Turkey sided with the Central Powers. Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Zaffar Ali Khan and many others were interned and their pro-Turkish periodicals suppressed. Meanwhile some of the Ulema of Muslim India, who had issued circulars declaring *Jihad* against the British from Mecca, Kabul and elsewhere fell into the hands of the British and were interned at Malta. In the British organized Indian Army fighting against the Turks in the Middle East, Muslims frequently deserted. Some of

them were mercilessly shot down and many of those, who managed to escape, joined the Turks and fought side by side with their Turkish brethren against the British.

Between 1920-21 the Khilafat movement for the preservation of Turkish Caliphate and against dismemberment of Turkey swept over the subcontinent. During this movement, almost the same number of Muslims lost their lives or were uprooted as subsequently in 1946-47 when the struggle for the establishment of Pakistan was on.

In the summer of 1920 the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* gave *Fatwa* to the effect that since the Allies were enforcing the Treaty of Sevres upon Turkey, India became *Darul-Harb* (country of war) and it became obligatory on Muslims either to fight against the British or to migrate from the subcontinent. As a result, the inhabitants of the territories which now constitute Pakistan, the peasants of Sind, the Frontier Province and the Punjab sold their belongings and proceeded towards Afghanistan. Rushbrook Williams observes: "Hundreds of families sold their land and property for a mere song; settled up their worldly affairs, placed their wives and children on carts, surrendered the Government rifles entrusted to them for protection against marauders, and departed in the direction of Khyber Pass." Rushbrook Williams further comments: "The *Hijrat* or migration from one country to another for religious reasons has played a considerable part in Muslim history but its revival in the present year of grace (1920) presented to the student of politics a phenomenon at once remarkable and tragic."

The total number of emigrants is estimated between five hundred thousand and two million. The mass exodus brought misery in North-West region of the subcontinent. The already poor and downtrodden Muslims were completely uprooted. Afghanistan, a poor country, was in no position to accommodate emigrants. Therefore, Afghan authorities forbade their admission. The emigrants were forced to get back and their individual sufferings were indeed very great. In the words of Rushbrook Williams: "The road from Peshawar

to Kabul was strewn with graves of old men, women and children who had succumbed to the difficulties of the journey. The unhappy emigrants, when they returned, found themselves homeless and penniless, with their property in the hands of those to whom they had sold it for a tithe of its value."

Sentiment in favour of Turkey was expressed violently by the Moplahs (Muslims of mixed Arab and Indian descent) whose uprising followed in 1921. They seized two, *taluks* of Southern Malabar within a few weeks, established Muslim rule and for one complete year successfully resisted the British troops which were sent to subdue them. Moplahs were a peasant community numbering about one million. The suppression of the Khilafat movement in Malabar had stimulated revolutionary activity among them. But the end in store for Moplahs was far worse than that of the emigrants. Ten thousand had been considered a conservative estimate of those who were either hunted down or died of starvation in the hills. One hundred were suffocated to death in a luggage van by a British sergeant. Thousands were given long sentences of imprisonment or transported for life to the Andamans.

Most of the leaders of the Khilafat movement were arrested and some of the eminent ones like Maulana Muhammad Ali were tried at Karachi for sedition and were convicted or sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Apart from the sufferings of emigrants and the destruction, almost annihilation of the Moplahs, thousands of Muslims resigned from the hardly secured council memberships and Government services. Educational institutions were deserted and British manufactured goods were boycotted. The agitation continued. It reached its climax in 1922 when the Turk nationalists defeated the Greeks in Asia Minor and the British were ousted from Constantinople.

Iqbal was deeply involved with the Turkish cause. He had agreed with Khilafatists to the extent that Muslims of the subcontinent must support the Turkish cause so that through

this association they could rediscover their own national identity, and – to the sending of the Khilafat delegation to England for the preservation of Turkish Caliphate on the ground that even if the Ottoman Caliphate was retained, it would mean a Caliphate under the suzerainty of England or other European powers, and therefore, of no benefit to Turkey or Muslims. Similarly, Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah both opposed Muslims joining hands with Hindus in a non-cooperation movement or agitation the object of which was not only to compel a revision of the Turkish Treaty but also to secure self-rule for India without determining the terms of collaboration. Iqbal was definite that from such an agitation Hindus were likely to gain at the cost of Muslims.

The subsequent events proved the soundness of Iqbal's reasoning. The Khilafatists were not in touch with actualities. While they put forth a mighty effort presumably to help Turkey and an old world order in which they had once participated, that order ceased to be real, and Turkey herself was struggling to move successfully in an entirely different direction. Thus, with the abolition of Caliphate in 1924, the Khilafat movement came to an end. But irrespective of its disastrous after-effects, this magnificent sacrificial movement clearly indicates the deep-rooted love of Muslims of the subcontinent for their Turkish brethren. There is no parallel in contemporary history of sacrifice of a people on such a large scale for another people.

Iqbal genuinely believed that the Khilafat movement had made Muslims politically conscious for the first time in the subcontinent. According to him, the experiment proved that Islam had potentialities of becoming a nation-building force and that, therefore, this self-consciousness of Muslim India could be made to yield positive results.

The abolition of Caliphate had stunned the Khilafatists as well as Ulema of the subcontinent and none of them had anything to say for modern Turkey. At that stage, Iqbal alone raised his voice in defence of the new legal order in Turkey.

He maintained that the abolition of Caliphate was a perfectly sound decision as the Caliphate could be vested in a body of persons or an elected Assembly. According to him, the Caliphate necessitated an empire. Since such an empire had ceased to exist and numerous independent or semi-independent states had arisen from it, the universal Caliphate became a thing of the past, and if retained in the present, would interfere in the possible reunion of those states. He welcomed the growth of a republican spirit in Turkey as a return to the original purity of Islam. He was likewise pleased with the growth of nationalism in Turkey, although he attacked nationalism in the Western sense, as he was of the view that the Muslim attitude towards the West should be critical and not that of blind imitation. He even justified the initial isolation of Turkey by maintaining that for the time being, each and every Muslim nation must concentrate on herself only, until all were strong enough to constitute a living family of republics by eventually adjusting their mutual rivalries through the unifying bond of Islam, their common spiritual aspiration.

In the last phase of Iqbal's life, Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru, while participating in the controversy on the 'Ahmadia' issue, wrote a series of articles in order to persuade Muslims to adopt a secular attitude and join the Indian nationalist movement. He cited the example of Turkey maintaining that Turkey had ceased to be Muslim by adoption of nationalism, development of pragmatic outlook, change to Latin script and European dress, abolition of polygamy, curtailment of religious privileges by licentiating Ulema, separation of the department of religion from other departments of state, and replacement of Muslim personal law by European codes of civil law.

Even on his death bed, Iqbal reasoned that each and every reform promulgated in modern Turkey was in conformity with and not repugnant to Islam. Ever since the Muslim revival in the present century, Iqbal wrote that reformers had fought against the forces of disintegration in the world of

Islam. These forces, in his opinion, were Mullatism that resulted from intellectual stagnation among the Ulema of Islam; Sufism that led to the deterioration of the will to act among Muslims; and Sultanate that safeguarded its own interests at the expense of the subjects.

Whether Turkey, by adopting nationalism, has ceased to be Muslim, Iqbal wrote that so long as Turks believe in *Tawhid* and the Finality of Muhammad's Prophethood, they do not step out of the fold of Islam, whatever may be their interpretation of the Law. The development of pragmatic outlook is not against Islam but in perfect harmony with it, for, unlike Christianity, matter, according to Islam, is spirit realizing itself in space and time. Similarly, change to European dress or Latin script does not imply renunciation of Islam, for as Islam as a religion has no territorial attachment, and as a culture has neither any specific mode of dress nor any particular script nor language. The reforms such as abolition of polygamy, are, in no way, anti-Islamic, for according to Islamic law, the head of a Muslim state is empowered to suspend a legal 'sanction' if the social conditions so demand. As for the licentiate Ulema, Iqbal pointed out that according to a reliable Tradition, only the head of a Muslim state or those whom he appoints have the right to preach or give an opinion on law. He was of the view that a reform to the same effect ought to be accomplished in Muslim India to protect ignorant Muslims from the exploitation of an uneducated and self-appointed priestly class.

Was then the separation of the department of religion from other departments of state against Islam? Iqbal maintained that the concept is not new to Islamic history. The distribution of departments into religious and civil in a Muslim state must not be confounded with the European conception of the separation of the Church from the State. The former is only a division of departments whereas the latter is founded on a fundamental duality of spirit and matter. The separation of the department of religion,

therefore, would never imply the exclusion of Islam from the life of modern Turkey.

As for the adoption of European civil codes by modern Turkey, Iqbal argued that it has arisen out of the youthful zeal for reform excusable in a people furiously desiring to go ahead. In his opinion Muslims are spiritually living in a prisonhouse of thoughts and emotions which during the course of centuries they have woven round themselves. This state of affairs, according to him, raises the question of the revision of old Muslim institutions in the light of modern experience, and necessitates the accomplishment of a reform in the system of Muslim legal instruction. He insisted on the opening of the gates of *Ijtihad* and the study of Islamic law in the light of modern Jurisprudence, so that it can be interpreted to suit the needs and requirements of each and every Muslim generation which, in the conditions of progressive change, according to him, is not bound by the decision of its predecessors.

In his opinion the problem of nationalism cannot arise in Turkey because it is overwhelmingly Muslim. The problem of nationalism, according to him, arises for Muslims only in those countries where they constitute a minority or where nationalism demands that they should merge themselves into the majority. In countries like Turkey where Muslims predominate nationalism and Islam means one and the same thing. But in those countries where Muslims form a minority, they are justified in striving for self-determination as cultural units wherever it is politically or economically possible to specify themselves territorially so as to establish independent states in their homelands.

Iqbal advanced this politico-philosophical justification because in his own words, he had been in touch with the spirit of Islamic history and culture for a number of years, and that had given him a sort of insight into the future destiny of Muslims. Evidently, it was this contact which made Iqbal realize that Islam cannot be conceived without *Shawka* (political power). Therefore, Muslims cannot remain in a state

of political subjugation or bondage of non-Muslims and must constantly strive for the attainment of *Shawka*. Thus, he visualized the emergence of a multiplicity of Muslim national states and it was in this background that he emphasized the fact that since India was numerically the largest Muslim country in the world, it was necessary to particularize Islam as a cultural unit in a specified territory.

Hence in the Allahabad Address, 1930, Iqbal laid down a principle when he suggested the establishment of an amalgamated Muslim state as a national homeland for Muslims in the north-west of the subcontinent. Iqbal's letters to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah reveal that he applied the same principle for Muslims in the east of the subcontinent when he talked about the creation of a state or states, keeping in view the geographical contiguity and non-contiguity of the regions involved. Consequently it can be safely said that Iqbal would have been satisfied if instead of one-Pakistan, two Pakistans were established as national homelands for Muslims in the north-west and east of the subcontinent.

But the Address has a wider perspective. It lays down a principle which can be applied wherever Muslims constitute a minority and it is politically or economically possible for them to strive for self-determination as cultural units so as to establish viable independent states in their homelands, whether it is Cyprus, Palestine or the Philippines.

Iqbal did not only envisage the coming into being of a multiplicity of Muslim national states when he emphasized that each Muslim nation for the time being must concentrate on herself only, his object was that each and every Muslim nation should endeavour to realize her collective ego by becoming powerful individually so as to participate in the formation of a living and a more powerful family of republics. It is in this context that he proclaimed that Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a commonwealth of nations.

From the above discussion it is evident that Iqbal was very much influenced by the developments in modern Turkey. He

evolved the concepts of Islam as a nation-building force for Muslim minorities, the carving out of viable independent states in their homelands, the opening of the doors of *Ijtihad*, and finally the assimilation of Muslim states as a thriving and powerful family of republics, by observing the experiences of the Turkish nation.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MUSLIM UNITY IN THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MUHAMMAD IQBAL

Introductory:

The foundation of Islamic polity had been originally laid on the concepts of *Ummah* (community), *Shariah* (law) and *Khilafa* (succession to the Prophet).

Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, after migrating from Mecca, founded a community at Medina consisting of the *Muhajirin* (immigrants) and the *Ansar* (helpers) who were bound together by ties of brotherhood. This community was created on the basis of Islamic teachings and it transcended tribal, racial or territorial barriers, for in the Quran whenever people had been invited to come within the fold of Islam, the term *Ummah* or *Milla* in the sense of 'Community of Faith' was used instead of *Qawm* (tribe or race). Further, it is stated in the Quran: 'Verily we have made you into tribes and sub-tribes so that you may be identified; but the best among you in the eye of God is he who is the purest in life.' (49:13). Thus the Muslim community was based on a common spiritual aspiration, unity of mankind, and piety, and its outlook was universal. It was governed by *Shariah*, the revealed Code of Law, and the entire life of the community, religious as well as secular, was organized in conformity with that Code. Islam had brought about primarily a social change through religious

belief in monotheism in a tribal society and those who came within its fold were given new symbols of unity, a fraternity, as well as a uniform way of life.

The meaning of the expression 'nation' as it is understood today, strictly speaking, does not have an appropriate Arabic equivalent. For instance, in the context of the Quran, the word *qawm* does not connote 'nation' in its modern sense; it only means a group and has been used at times interchangeably with *ummah*. Nevertheless the term *ummah* has been generally used in the Quran in the restricted sense as 'Community of Faith'. W. Montgomery Watt has rightly observed:-

"The fundamental pre-Islamic conception was that of tribe or kinship for which the commonest word was *qawm*. Towards the end of the Meccan period, however, the word *ummah* makes its appearance in the Quran. At first it is equivalent to *qawm*, and it is regarded as possible for an *ummah* to oppose and reject the messenger sent to it by God. Mostly, however, the *ummah* is the community formed by those who accept the messenger and his message. This development in the meaning of *ummah* is doubtless bound up with the rejection of Mohammad by the majority of the Meccans and his plan to move to Medina. The first article of the Constitution of Medina is that the Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib (Medina) and their associates constitute a single *ummah*. As the Muslim community in Medina prospered, the word *ummah* came to be more and more restricted to a community with a religious basis." (*Ideal Factors in the Origin of Islam*, The Islamic Quarterly, II No: 3 (Oct, 1955), pp. 161-174).

The enforcement of the *Shariah* code in the community led to the establishment of a rudimentary governmental machinery under the leadership of the Prophet. However, the immediate object of Islam was not the creation of any political order. The Prophet was mainly concerned with forming the Muslim community and permeating it with the spirit of Islam. In his Last Sermon on the Mount of Arafat, he proclaimed:

"O Men! No doubt your God is one and your father is one. All of you sprang from Adam, and Adam sprang from dust. Of a

truth, the most noble of you, in God's sight is the most pious. Verily Allah is all-knowing and well informed. And no Arab has any privilege over non-Arab except that based on piety. O Men! The Muslims are but brethern.So you do not turn unbelievers after me, striking the necks of each other. Understand my words, O Men, for I have told you. I have left with you something which if you will hold fast to it you will never fall into error - a plain indication, the Book of Allah and the *Sunnah* of His Prophet." (*Sermon on the Mount*, Trans. by Dr. S. M. Yusuf).

Thus the Prophet was not interested in evolving any definite political structure or organizing a state. The pre-political community he had created remained unpolitical and stateless during his times. But it could not remain so for long when it started endeavouring consciously to define and attain its political objectives. As it expanded territorially, it attained a kind of sovereign status and developed into something which may be described as a state.

The Quran does not frame any specific constitutional theory, although it emphasizes the obedience of the community towards God, His Apostle and those among them who command authority over the community (4: 59). The Prophet himself had not proposed any definite successor and the Tradition likewise did not lay down any rule about the method of constituting or deposing the successor, i. e., the supreme head of Muslim community. Nevertheless it stated that *Imams* (leaders) shall be from the Quraysh, and although the later jurists doubted the authenticity of this Tradition, the first four 'Rightly Guided' Caliphs, the Umayyads, the Abbasids, and the Fatimids belonged to the tribe of Quraysh.

The silence of the Quran and the Tradition on the question of constitution or the form of governmental authority is not without significance. Such structures could be evolved in the light of the good sense of the community. These were not meant to be permanent but were subject to the law of change in accordance with the needs of the community. The real object of Islam was to establish a Community of Faith, governed by the *Shariah* law, and for its

application or enforcement, the community was at liberty to evolve any mode of constitutional structure which suited its requirements. Thus the need for a *khalifah* (Caliph or successor) arose only on the death of the Prophet (632) because the preservation of a young social organism like early Muslim community, demanded the establishment of a directing head. Consequently, it appears that the Caliphate came into being because the conditions had so demanded, and in due course, its maintenance as an institution, came to be regarded as a rational necessity for the unity and solidarity of the expanding Muslim community. As it is evident, in the process of transformation of the pre-political community into a potentially state-community, human reason was pressed into service. But the Caliphate was only a mode of government. It was not state in the modern sense. The Caliph was essentially the executive head of the Muslim community and theoretically speaking, had no legislative authority. His functions included defence of the religion of Islam by suppressing the growth of heresy within the Muslim community; ordering the affairs of the Muslim community, both religious and secular, in accordance with the *Shariah* Law; guarding the frontiers in order to protect the territories of Islam from external aggression; championing the cause of Islam; levying and collecting the Quranic taxes; appointing or removing ministers, governors, judges, tax-collectors, generals, and other officials and fixing their salaries from the Treasury; and supervising all the administrative and judicial departments. As it has already been pointed out, the Caliph had no absolute right of legislation, for he himself, like the rest of the community was governed by the *Shariah* law. He could only issue ordinances in the interest of good government provided that he did not transgress the *Shariah* law. On the other hand, jurists were mainly concerned with the interpretation, codification and systematization of *Shariah* law in the light of the Quran, the Tradition (*Sunnah*), Consensus (*Ijma*), and Analogy (*Qiyas*).

Mediaeval Islamic History

The first phase of the Caliphate (632-661) came to an end with the assassination of Ali. The first four Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Umar, Othman, and Ali - also called the 'Rightly Guided', were devoted to the Prophet and Islam, and although the territories of Islam (*Dar-ul-Islam*) were vast, as most of what now constitutes the core of the Muslim world was conquered by the Muslims and annexed into *Dar-ul-Islam* during the Caliphate of Umar, these four Caliphs, like the Prophet, administered the affairs of the Muslim community in the humble town of Medina in consultation with the eminent Companions of the Prophet who composed an informal Senate, and the world of Islam was a single religious-political unit headed by a single Caliph.

With the proclamation of Muawiyah as Caliph in 661, the Caliphate entered the second phase and thus began the period which has frequently been described as the imperial Caliphate, Muawiyah made a departure from the original republican practice by nominating his son Yazid as the heir apparent. The example thus set was followed throughout the later history. During this period more emphasis was laid on sceptre and seal, and the Caliph came to acquire kingly prerogatives. Nevertheless although the republic had been transformed into a hereditary or dynastic monarchy, the executive and judicial institutions of Islam were not much affected by this change and continued to develop. Similarly the unity of the Muslim world remained a political reality under the Umayyads (661-750).

The Battle of Zab (750) brought about the replacement of the Umayyad rule by the Abbasid rule, and the passing of the Caliphate from the second to the third phase. Within six years the unity of the Caliphate was broken by the establishment of an Umayyad kingdom in Spain. Under the Abbasids, the Caliphate was transformed into a monarchy on the Persian model. Meanwhile the Amirs (hereditary governors) of the dominions of Islam, who had been kept in check by the

Umayyads, came to acquire enormous political power under the Abbasids. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the dominions of Islam came under the yoke of the Amirs and a state of warfare prevailed among them. North Africa first saw the establishment of the Adrisid dynasty at Fez (in 785), then the Aghlabite dynasty (in 801) and finally the Fatimid dynasty (in 909). The Fatimids occupied Egypt and gradually built up an empire extending over the lands of North Africa, Syria, Yeman and even the Hedjaz. They did not acknowledge the authority of the Abbasid Caliph at Baghdad. When the Holy Cities passed into the hands of the Fatimids, Abdur Rehman III, the Umayyad ruler of Spain adopted the title of Caliph and was acknowledged as such in his own dominions. Thus in the tenth century, three antagonistic Caliphates at Baghdad, Cairo, and Cordova had been established in the world of Islam. Although the Umayyad power declined in Spain by 1037, and the Fatimid empire was recovered for the Abbasids by Salah-ud-Din in 1171, the Abbasid Caliphate survived at Baghdad until 1258.

The tenth and eleventh centuries saw the rise and fall of numerous dynasties in Eastern Islam. But even in this period of weakness, the Caliphate symbolized the unity of Muslim community and even a usurper solicited the confirmation of the Caliph on the condition that he would rule in his territories in accordance with the *Shariah* law and maintain the unity of the Muslim community, for only such confirmation gave legitimacy to his rule. However the struggle for political supremacy between the Caliph and the Amirs continued and resulted in the development of Sultanate in Islam. Tughril Beg, the Suljuqid, received the title of 'Sultan' from the Caliph to 1055.

The moral philosophers of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries either found a place for the Sultanate within the Caliphate or justified its existence in its own right. Anyway the practice of issuing deeds of investiture to individual rulers by the Caliph at Baghdad continued in the later part of the twelfth century as well as the beginning of

the thirteenth century. For instance, the Indian Sultan Shams-ud-Din Iltumish received confirmation from Caliph Mustansir in 1210. The conflict for political supremacy between the Sultanate and the Caliphate eventually resulted in the ruin of Muslims. In the middle of the thirteenth century the Mongols sacked Baghdad (1258). Caliph Mustasim was put to death and for the three years that followed the Muslim world remained without a Caliph, Thus ended the third phase of the Caliphate (750-1258).

The revival of the Caliphate at Cairo in 1261, meant its passing into the fourth phase (1261-1517). During this phase the Caliph had nothing to do with temporal affairs. Nevertheless he was regarded as the sole authority for validating the rule of the Sultans and accordingly bestowed deeds of investiture. From among the pre-Mughal Sultans in India, deeds of investiture were obtained from the Caliph at Cairo by Muhammad Tughliq and Feroz Tughliq, the Mongol rulers, having embraced Islam during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, adopted the title 'Sultan', but they did not acknowledge the Cairo Caliphate. In 1517 the Ottoman Sultan Selim I conquered Egypt and annexed it into the Ottoman empire. Caliph Mutawakkil III was taken to Constantinople where he formally transferred the Caliphate to Selim I. Thus during the course of roughly nine hundred years (632-1517), the Caliphate, which once included the Sultanate as its part (632-1055), first emancipated the Sultanate which came to occupy a rival position against the Caliphate (1055-1258), then it came under the protection of the Sultanate (1261-1517), and eventually was absorbed into the Sultanate (1517).

The claim of the Ottoman Sultans to the Caliphate rested on: (a) by right of power; (b) nomination and election; and (c) the guardianship of the Holy Cities. The Ottomans were not from the Quraysh, accordingly the jurists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not attach any importance to Qurayshite lineage as a qualification for holding the office of Caliph, The Ottoman Caliphate was acknowledged

throughout the Ottoman empire. The Shia Iran and the Mughal India however, did not recognise the Ottoman Caliphate owing to religious and dynastic rivalries.

From the above survey it is evident that the Caliphate had undergone changes in substance as well as form due to different socio-political conditions. But the role of Islamic political thinking had throughout been to bridge the gulf between the ideal and real or the theory and practice by providing an Islamic rationale to every change in order to maintain the continuity of the Islamic character of the community. Thus if the period of the first four Caliphs had provided the ideal Islamic polity, the development of later political thought represented the rational justification of the formal and substantial departures from the ideal under the pressure of circumstances. It may further be noted that the rise and fall of dynasties or change in the political conditions left the concept of oneness of the Muslim community unimpaired. Although the community, preferring tyranny to anarchy for centuries, had submitted to autocracy or suffered under the despotic regimes of one Sultan after the other, all its rulers had professed that they governed in the territories under their control in accordance with the *Shariah* law. The division of the world of Islam into a number of petty principalities or the emergence of antagonistic territorial empires, did not come about on any kind of racial or national basis, as we understand these terms today. Broadly speaking, there might have existed sectarian, tribal, racial or linguistic prejudices and rivalries, but the division was not founded on these lines. On the contrary, there is evidence that despite the dynastic rivalries of rulers the individual Muslims could freely migrate or settle down anywhere in the world of Islam and they were not only accepted but were frequently offered to hold positions of respect and honour.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the decline of the Sultanate in the world of Islam, Mughal India fell into the hands of the British although the Ottoman empire lasted a

little longer. The impact of the West let loose new forces in the world of Islam.

Islamic Revival in the Eighteenth Century

The revival of Islam in the middle of eighteenth century was linked with the puritanic reform movement of Ibn Abd-ul-Wahhab (1703-1787). The movement had been regarded as a protest against the religious, moral, social and political decadence of Muslims. Its main targets were the arbitrary Sultanate, corrupt Sufism, and degraded Mullaism. It influenced Sunni Islam everywhere. But the movement remained essentially internal in character, although the followers of Ibn Abd-ul-Wahhab in Arabia, Syed Ahmad of Bareilly in India and Muhammad Al-Sanusi in the Sudan were violently anti-Western. The puritanic beginning of the Muslim revival, within a generation or two, broadened into what has been termed 'liberalism', and 'liberalism' in turn developed into 'Pan-Islamism', and finally 'Muslim nationalism'. Liberalism, Pan-Islamism and Muslim nationalism were movements stimulated by external European pressure. The Islamic world held a strategic position not only between Europe and Russia but also between Europe and Africa, India, the Far East and the Pacific. By the close of the eighteenth century, the economic interests of the European colonial powers demanded the opening of new lines of communication which were to traverse the world of Islam. Thus the economic penetration of the world of Islam by the European colonial powers resulted, in some cases, in the occupation of, and in other, the economic exploitation of Muslim countries. It brought along with it such new ideas as nationalism and constitutionalism. By the time Muslims abandoned their passive role, the outer 'fringe' of the Islamic world had either fallen into the hands of or was absorbed by the great powers. The Muslims of Russia, India, Malaya, East Indies, China and Tropical Africa did offer resistance but since they constituted scattered minorities, particularly in Russia, India, China and Tropical Africa, they were eventually

reduced to submission. Between 1876 and 1882, Bosnia - Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia, part of Transcaucasian territories, Egypt as well as Tunisia of the Ottoman dominions had fallen under the sway of non-Muslim governments. Other Muslim states were gradually being extinguished. The Mughal Emperor was deposed and exiled by the British in 1858 and India was transformed into the British colonial empire. Russia absorbed the Southern Muslim state within her empire. Control of the foreign affairs of Afghanistan was taken over by the British in 1879. The Muslims of South Western and North Western China who had been struggling to retain their independence were eventually crushed by the Chinese Imperial Government between 1856 and 1878. These events stimulated new sense of solidarity among the Muslims and their interest in the Ottoman Caliphate revived. Egypt and Tunisia, where Muslims predominated, were carrying on their struggle for national independence against the European powers. But the Ottoman Caliphate was much more important to the Muslims of India, Russia and China. In these countries they constituted large minorities and were fully aware that the growth of nationalism in such countries meant the extinction of their communal existence. They, therefore, took a keen interest in the Ottoman Caliphate.

It has already been pointed out that Muslim puritanism of the mid-eighteenth century was anti-Western. But the liberals such as Medhat Pasha in Turkey, Mufti Alam Jan in Russia, Syed Ahmad Khan in India and Sheikh Muhammad Abduh in Egypt endeavoured to reconcile the new Western ideas with Islam. For some time it appeared that the 'puritans' and the 'liberals' would develop as two separate groups in opposition to one another. But since both the groups were apprehensive of external European threat, they contributed equally towards the religious and territorial defence of the Muslim community. In connection with the reconciliation of the trends of puritanism and liberalism within modern Islam, the name of Jamal-ud-Din Afghani (1838-1897), the founder of

the so-called 'Pan-Islamic' movement has been frequently mentioned.

'Pan-Islamism' and 'Muslim Nationalism'

According to Zafar Ali Khan, 'Pan-Islamism' was an expression coined by the Christian diplomacy of Europe to serve as a pretext for the spoliation of the Muslim states. To the man in the street in Europe, this expression was synonymous with a gigantic union of the Muslims of the world, having for its cherished object the extermination of Christianity as a living political force. (*Nationality and Empire* by B. C. Pal, pp. 374, 375). E. G. Browne regards the 'Pan-Islamic' movement as essentially defensive and based on the more rational ground of a common faith. According to him the threatened spoliation of the few remaining independent Muslim states had awakened the Muslims generally to a sense of their common danger and was gradually but inevitably leading them towards a certain solidarity. (*Persian Revolution*, p. 1). W. W. Cash regards the 'Pan-Islamic' movement as a union of Muslims to defy and resist Christian powers and to undertake re-generation of Muslim community upon Islamic lines. According to him it aspired to create a league of Muslim nations under the leadership of the Ottoman Caliphate for the defence of Muslim power. (*The Muslim World in Revolution*, p. 26).

There is no agreement on the question as to who was the founder, or when and where this movement was originally founded. Some maintain that Sultan Abdul Hamid founded the movement in Turkey in 1876 in order to restore his despotic rule. (*Pan-Islamism* by V. Chirol, pp. 1, 2). Others believe that the movement was organized in 1870 at Bokhara (Russia) by Khandayar Khan, but was subsequently taken over by Sultan Abdul Hamid who through his chief agent Jamal-ud-Din Afghani carried it to the remote parts of the Muslim world, (*The Khilafat Agitation in India* by E. Sell, p. 42). B. C. Pal is of the view that the 'Pan-Islamic' movement originated in India when Jamal-ud-Din Afghani visited that

country in 1880-81. He states that Jamal-ud-Din Afghani inoculated the Indian Muslim leaders 'with the virus of his Pan-Islamism'. (*Memories of My Life and Time*, p. 417). G. N. Singh considers the Punjab as the home of the 'Pan-Islamic' movement. (*Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development*, p. 486). Those who associate the movement with Jamal-ud-Din Afghani maintain that he founded a 'Pan-Islamic Society' in Egypt in 1871 which subsequently led to his expulsion from Egypt in 1879; But Jamal-ud-Din Afghani carried on propaganda for Muslim unity in the journals he started in Paris and London. (*Lectures on Pan-Islamism* by Jalal-ud-Din, pp. 5, 10, 11, 12).

From these discordant notes, it can be easily surmised that 'Pan-Islamism' did not exist as an organized movement. E. G. Browne doubts its existence as such. (*The Persian Revolution*, pp. 1, 2). However, the anxiety on the part of Muslims for the establishment of constitutional rule internally instead of being exploited by an arbitrary Sultanate, as well as the external threat of an anti-Islamic Europe, had resulted in the establishment of the movement at least in spirit. Jamal-ud-Din Afghani wrote a lot about it. In the light of his writings 'Pan-Islamism' as opposed to European imperialism could be interpreted as a union of Muslim nations in the form of a confederation under the constitutional leadership of the Ottoman Sultan - Caliph. But Sultan Abdul Hamid seemed to have exploited the Muslim desire for solidarity for the establishment of his own autocratic rule.

Zafar Ali Khan was right in observing that 'Pan-Islamism' was not a new force but was as old as Islam itself. (*Nationality and Empire*, by B. C. Pal, p. 375). The bond that binds the Muslim peoples was extra-racial, extra-territorial and extra-political. Although the Muslims had fought bitterly among themselves in their past history, the conception of Islamic fraternity had survived unimpaired and in the face of external European threat came to acquire a vital importance. (*The New World of Islam*, by L. Stoddard, p. 38). The Muslim political theorists of the nineteenth century were primarily concerned

with the accomplishment of unity of the Muslim community under an already existing Ottoman Caliphate. Jamal-ud-Din Afghani had been the cause of nationalist revolution in Egypt. The constitutional movement in Iran was organized at his instigation. He was the supporter of constitutional movement in Turkey. In addition, he endeavoured to bring about a unification of Muslim states in the form of a confederation under the constitutional headship of Ottoman Sultan-Caliph. He also aimed at healing the ancient breach between Sunni and Shia Muslims by recommending that the Shah of Iran should acknowledge the Ottoman Sultan as the Caliph and at the same time advising the Sultan to accept the Shah as the Head of the Shia Muslims. (*The Persian Revolution* by E. G. Browne, p. 12; *The Khilafat Agitation in India* by E. Sell, p. 43).

Egypt had already been under the British occupation since 1882. In 1911 Italy attacked Tripoli. The Balkan war, which bereft Ottoman Turkey of her European provinces followed in 1912. In the same year Russia bombarded Meshd, which led to the occupation of Iran by the Russians and the British. At the same time France tightened her hold on Morocco. Then followed the 1914-18 war in which Ottoman Turkey sided with the Central Powers. The British diplomacy triumphed in holding back the Arabs from joining Ottoman Turkey. The British themselves invaded Iraq, which was occupied in 1917. In the same year their troops entered Jerusalem. The war ended in the defeat of the Central Powers and Ottoman Turkey. Parts of Turkey were handed over to the Greeks and the British captured Constantinople. They also retained Iraq and occupied Palestine. Syria however was given over to France. The Treaty of Sevres, 1920, which meant the partition of Turkey was accepted by the Sultan at Constantinople.

The foreign occupation of specific Muslim territories resulted in the struggle for independence on national lines. The Turks under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal fought for the preservation of Turkish homelands. They fought against

the Greeks and the British in 1919 and threw them out of Turkey. In 1922 the Sultanate was abolished. In 1923 Turkey was declared a Republic and in 1924 Caliphate was abolished. Thus in Turkey were laid the foundations of a national state on territorial basis. Struggle for independence continued on national lines in Egypt, Morocco, Tripoli, Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Dutch East Indies. Afghanistan attacked British India in 1919 and eventually succeeded in resuming control over her own foreign affairs. The British and Russian hold over Iran loosened after 1918. Iran passed through a revolution under the leadership of Riza Shah Pahlavi and a national state was also created in Iran in 1926. The Hedjaz came under the control of Ibn Saud. The British left Mesopotamia after carving out the territories of Transjordan and Iraq and handing them over to the descendents of ex-King Hussain. Thus 'Pan-Islamism' under the pressure of circumstances was replaced by 'Muslim nationalism'.

It may be pointed out at this stage that the development of nationalism in different parts of the Muslim world resulted from the struggle for independence of Muslim peoples in specific territories which had fallen into the hands of numerous European powers. The emergence of Muslim states on national lines, unlike European states, was neither the result of national rivalries nor did it mean that one Muslim state in order to advance her national interests intended to attack another Muslim state. In other words, if 'Pan-Islamism' had implied that Muslims all over the world should collectively defend themselves against external aggression, 'Muslim nationalism' meant that Muslim states should individually fight for regaining their independence from the European colonial powers. Thus 'Pan-Islamism' and 'Muslim nationalism' were complementary and not opposed to each other. These movements reflected the Muslim reaction to two different situations in which they were placed in their modern history.

The picture, which the first decade of the twentieth century presented was that the then existing independent

Muslim states had been founded on national lines, whereas the remaining semi-independent or subjugated Muslim states continued their struggle for national independence.

Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938)

Iqbal was essentially a religious poet who expressed the religious aspirations of his age in a philosophic manner. It is difficult to enter into the spirit or grasp the significance of his great poems without an understanding of the theology and cultural history of Islam on the one hand, and a comprehensive knowledge of the development of modern philosophy in Europe on the other. In the chronological order he came after Altaf Hussain Hali, an Urdu poet who wrote exclusively on the plight of the Muslim community, and before a communist group of poets and writers known as the Progressive Writers. But in terms of the accuracy of his insight into the problems of modern Islam, Iqbal ought to be placed much later.

When he grew up, initiative had been taken away from the hands of Islam which, like an old man, lived in the past and was perpetually on the defensive. Iqbal started his career as a pantheist, Indian nationalist and territorial patriot. However, his sensitive Muslim conscience could not help being moved by the plight of Muslims of India and the Middle East who were involved in their bitter struggle for independence. He went to Europe in 1905 and stayed there until 1908 studying philosophy and law at the universities of Cambridge, London, Munich and Heidelberg. At that time, Europe was intellectually under the spell of Hegelianism, and the emphasis on rationalism and automatic progress through science had resulted in the development of materialistic or atheistic trends. It is a tribute to the quality of Iqbal's mind that it remained uninfluenced by the materialistic and atheistic trends in the European thought of the early twentieth century. Actually it was during his stay in Europe that Iqbal discarded pantheism, secular nationalism and territorial patriotism. He had seen these forces active in Europe and his

perception had revealed that the development of materialistic and atheistic trends in Europe had trampled over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity; whereas the forces it had engendered (nationalism, patriotism, imperialism etc.) resulted in the formation of mutually ill-adjusted states, dominated by interests, not human but national. These mutually ill-adjusted European states had been frequently dragged into internecine wars and were involved in a dangerous competition, which would eventually lead to their destruction. He, therefore, arrived at the conclusion that the construction of human unity on the foundations of race, language and territory, or fighting and dying for it was not only inhuman but contrary to the universally accepted moral values of equality and brotherhood of man. (*Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* ed. by S. A. Vahid, pp. 163, 164, 165). He felt that secular nationalism and territorial patriotism were idols with which European Christianity had made a compromise at the cost of itself receding into the background of private opinion. But Islam never compromised with idolatry. It destroyed this adversary altogether. (*Stray Reflections - A Note-Book of Allama Iqbal* ed. by Javid Iqbal, p.99). Since Islam was complete in itself, it could never tolerate nationalism or any ism sundered from it.

It was during his stay in Europe that Iqbal realized that the imperialist considerations of European powers demanded the breaking up of the unity of Muslim community, and this objective was achieved, to a considerable extent, after first world war, through the propagation of the Western concept of 'nationalism' in the world of Islam. (*Urdu Collection of Papers of Iqbal* ed. by S. A. Vahid, p. 222). During this period Iqbal was profoundly influenced by Jamal-ud-Din Afghani's vision of Islamic solidarity. He returned from Europe in the later part of 1908. One of his letters written in March, 1909, reflects the change that had taken place in him:

"I have myself been of the view that religious differences should disappear from this country (i.e. India), and even now, act on this principle in my private life. But now I think that the

preservation of their separate national entities is desirable for both the Hindus and the Muslims. The vision of a common nationhood for India is a beautiful ideal, and has a poetic appeal, but looking at the present conditions and the unconscious trends in the two communities, appears incapable of fulfilment”.

(*Safina-i-Hayat* by G. Q. Farrukh, p. 23).

His disillusionment with European culture made Iqbal feel the need of seeking inspiration exclusively from his own religio-cultural tradition. He, therefore, returned from Europe with an awareness that for the Muslims the realization of Islam was the only destiny.

Survey of Iqbal's Metaphysical and Ethical Ideas

The metaphysical ideas of Iqbal can be summarised as follows: The existence of God cannot be established by reason but by intuition. God is a personality, vigorously alive and constantly willing. He is the Ultimate Ego whose infinity is intensive and not extensive. He is continuously creative, goes on adding to His creation, and is capable of changing His mind. From God conceived as the Ultimate Ego only egos proceed. Therefore, the universe, from the mechanical movement of the atom of matter to the free movement of thought in human ego is a self-revelation of the 'Great I am'. Thus the universe is one continuous act of God and there is no distinction between mind and matter except that of the degree of egohood. Man is distinguishable from the universe because in the process of creation, he, as an act of God, has become self-conscious. He, as a finite ego and as a personality is unique and distinct from God. He is free. His desires and aspirations, pains and pleasures, hates and loves, judgments and resolutions, are exclusively his, and even God cannot feel, judge, or choose for him when more than one course of actions are open to him. He is potentially a creative activity and has a capability of becoming co-worker with God in the process of progressive change, if he takes the initiative. Life after death cannot be claimed by man as of right. He has to

earn it through the fortification of his ego or personality. Hell is not a pit of everlasting torture, nor is Heaven a holiday. These are merely corrective experiences. There is no end to his activity. Man always marches onward to receive ever fresh illumination from the Ultimate Ego. Each and every act of man creates a new situation and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding. Man and God are highly dynamic personalities, distinct from each other and yet together. The example of the submergence of the drops of water into the Ocean only applies to those egos which fail to fortify themselves and cannot stand the shock of death. But those personalities, which can fortify themselves, move and have their being like pearls in the perpetual flow of the Divine Sea. Their existence is not obliterated but they are held by the All-Embracing Ultimate Ego within itself just as the flames of candles retain their separate and distinct existence in the over-powering light of the sun. Life, therefore, is a constant struggle for the candle to keep its flame continuously burning, or for the drop to attain pearlhood, because the destination of man is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality, but a more precise definition of it. The creative activity of God may appear outwardly as a process of change in serial time, but in reality the change is a continuous act in durational time. Thus the universe continues to be in a state of 'permanence-in-change'. The relativity or objectivity of atomic time has been deliberately created by God as a device to test or measure the creative activity of man. Human acts, if performed by a fortified personality, are creative and live as permanent forces unaffected by serial time. All other human efforts ultimately perish by the remorseless rolling on of time. Consequently man is essentially a spiritual being realizing himself in space-time. He can be properly perceived as a living force possessing rights and duties only in the social organism to which he belongs. Unique individuals must constitute a unique society, a society which possesses a well-defined creed and has a capability to enlarge its limits by example and

persuasion. In the opinion of Iqbal Islam succeeded in establishing such a society in the form of Muslim community. Hence his ideas on the Individual and Collective Ego were based on the Quranic conceptions of a perfect Muslim individual and the Islamic society.

The ethical values, which can be derived from the metaphysics of Iqbal are such attributes as love, freedom, courage and supreme indifference towards the acquisition of material comforts. The cultivation of these attributes results in the fortification of man's personality. The acts of such a man are creative and ever-lasting for he is co-worker with God. The factors, which destroy man's personality arise from stagnation, the opposite of creative activity. Stagnation gives birth to passive virtues such as humility, submission and obedience as well as to fear, corruption, cowardice, begging or asking not only for the means of livelihood but also for ideas from the others, imitating and finally servitude. Servitude annihilates individuals and societies and the blind as well as cynically indifferent rolling on of time obliterates even their trace in history.

Assessment of Iqbal's Political Philosophy

From the above survey of Iqbal's religio-philosophical ideas, it can be gathered that he had a vision of the ideal Muslim and the Islamic society of tomorrow. But the realization of his vision meant the reconstruction of Islamic society, which was not possible without a struggle for the political, cultural, and social emancipation of the Muslim peoples. According to Iqbal, Islam constructed nationality out of a purely abstract idea i. e. a common spiritual aspiration. The conception of nationality in Islam had no material basis like territory, race, colour, language, script, or mode of dress, because the sense of belonging to one another among the Muslim peoples really depended on 'like-mindedness' or a sort of mental agreement in a certain view of the world and a desire to lay down their lives in defence of it. Hence, for a Muslim, Islam was by itself nationalism as well as patriotism.

Iqbal approved of the Turks' decision to abolish the Caliphate. (*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 157), and welcomed the growth of Muslim nationalism in the world of Islam, himself becoming an enthusiastic advocate of the same in India. Iqbal maintained that the idea of amalgamating all the Muslims into a single state might have occurred to Sultan Abdul Hamid for his personal political ends, but Jamal-ud-Din Afghani or his followers did not conceive of such a state (*Harfi-Iqbal*, pb. by Al-Minar Academy, pp. 228, 229). Ever since the Muslim revival, reformers had fought against the forces of disintegration in the world of Islam. One of such forces was the decadent Sultanate that safeguarded its interests at the cost of the people. (*Islam and Ahmadism* by Muhammad Iqbal, pp. 31-33). The Caliphate necessitated an empire. Since such an empire had ceased to exist and numerous independent or semi-independent Muslim states had arisen from it, the universal Caliphate became a thing of the past, and if retained in the present, would interfere in the reunion of these states. (*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* by Muhammad Iqbal, p. 158).

Islam transcended all blood-relationship and all earth-rootedness. It demanded loyalty to God and not to kings. (*Islam and Ahmadism*, p. 41; *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 147). The abolition of Caliphate and the subsequent growth of a republican spirit in the Muslim countries, according to Iqbal, was a return to the original purity of Islam. He envisaged an international Islam when he preached that Islam was neither nationalism nor imperialism but a common-wealth of nations, which accepted the racial diversity and the ever changing geographical demarcations only for the facility of reference and not for limiting the social horizon of its members. However, he believed that for the time being, each and every Muslim nation, should concentrate on herself only, until all were strong enough to constitute a living family of republics by adjusting their mutual rivalries through the unifying bond of Islam, their common spiritual

aspiration. (*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 158, 159, 173). Iqbal was, therefore, pleased with the growth of nationalism in Turkey, Iran, etc. so long as it was not sundered from Islam.

But he attacked nationalism in the Western sense, as in his opinion the acceptance of nationalism as understood in the West, would affect the original structure and character of Islam. He has remarked:

I am opposed to nationalism as it is understood in Europe, not because, if it is allowed to develop in India, it is likely to bring less material gain to Muslims. I am opposed to it because I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity". (*The Indian Annual Register 1932*, Volume I, ed. by N. N. Mitra p. 301).

Iqbal argued that the history of religions indicated that religion was tribal or national in ancient times, as among the ancient Egyptians, Greeks or Indians; later on it was considered racial, as in the case of the Jews. Christianity, however, taught that religion was a personal or private affair. Christianity was founded, not as a civil unit, but as a monastic order in a profane world. It obeyed the Roman authority in civil matters. When the state came within the fold of Christianity, a dispute arose between the jurisdiction of the church and the state. Luther's revolt, which was directed against the church had far-reaching consequences. The church was separated off as being a personal affair and the state came to represent the collective life of the individuals. Accordingly ethico-legal systems were evolved on national lines, recognizing race, language and territory as the principles of human unity. Thus the separation of the spiritual from the temporal resulted firstly in the formation of a set of mutually ill-adjusted states and secondly, in the exclusion of religion from the life at those states. (*Islam and Nationalism* by Muhammad Iqbal, *The Daily Ehsan*, March 9, 1938; *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 153, 163; *The Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, ed; by S. A. Vahid, pp. 162-166).

Islam however, emphasized Iqbal, brought home that religion was neither national nor racial nor personal but purely human. (*Islam and Nationalism*, *The Daily Ehsan*, March 9, 1938). Islam, unlike Christianity, from the very beginning, was founded as a civil society. The legal principles laid down in the Quran, like the Twelve Tables of the Romans, carried potentialities of evolution through interpretation. There was no duality of spirit and matter in Islam. Its religious ideal and social order were organic to each other. (*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 155). In his opinion the greatest enemy of Islam was nationalism in the Western sense. (*Ibid*, p. 154). Spiritual life ought to form the basis of all political expression. Territorial patriotism was innate in man, yet his belief, traditions and culture had a greater significance. It was for these that man should live or lay down his life rather than for that portion of earth with which he had developed a kind of temporary attachment. (*Islam and Nationalism*, *The Daily Ehsan*, March 9, 1938; *Islam and Ahmadism*, p. 43; *Harf-i-Iqbal*, pp. 60, 61). However, there was nothing wrong, he wrote, in saying that the nations were usually associated with the territories they occupied. Indians were called Indians because they inhabited that part of earth which was called India. Territory as a geographical concept did not come into conflict with Islam because in that sense its boundaries were changeable. The people of Burma, for instance, were considered Indians but since the inauguration of the Government of India Act 1935 which separated Burma from India, became Burmese. Thus nationalism came into conflict with Islam only when as a political ideal it demanded that Islam should cease to exist as a living factor in the national life. Muslims could not forsake their communal unity for any narrower system based exclusively on race, language or territory. In the Quran were used the terms *Ummah* or *Milla* for the Muslim community instead of *Qawm* (nation), for the reason that whereas many nations could belong to a community of faith, a nation did not necessarily include a community. A nation was a group of people formed on the

lines of tribe, race, colour, language or territory. Such a group could appear in numerous forms and in a variety of places. The Muslim community on the other hand assimilated this multiplicity of groups and transformed their aggregate into a single people possessing a self-consciousness of their own. Islam drew its followers from mutually repellent tribes and races and was, to a great extent, successful in creating a conscience and a collective will in this heterogeneous mass. Being non-racial, non-linguistic and non-territorial, Islam furnished a model for human unity. (*Islam and Nationalism; Islam and Ahmadism*, p. 43; *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 167).

In the opinion of Iqbal, by accepting nationalism, the Muslim states could never cease to be Islamic because so long as the Muslims believed in *Tawhid* (Unity of God) and the Prophethood of Muhammad, they could not step out of the fold of Islam, howsoever faulty might be their interpretation of the Quran or the *Shariah* law. Islam as a religion had no territorial attachment and as a culture had neither any mode of dress nor any language or script. Consequently, the adoption of any specific mode of dress or script in the Muslim states could not imply renunciation of Islam. (*Islam and Ahmadism*, pp. 35, 36. Iqbal however, observes that the adoption of the Swiss Code by Turkey with its rule of inheritance was an error which had arisen out of the youthful zeal for reform excusable in a people furiously desiring to go ahead, p. 37).

In his opinion the problem of nationalism could not arise in Turkey, Iran, Egypt or other Muslim countries because those countries were overwhelmingly Muslim and their minorities belonged to the 'People of the Book'. There existed no social barriers between the Muslims and the 'People of the Book', for a Jew or a Christian did not pollute the food of a Muslim by touching it and moreover, the law of Islam permitted social connections with them. The problem of nationalism arose for the Muslims only in such countries where they constituted a minority or where nationalism

demanding that they should merge themselves into the majority. In the countries where Muslims predominated, Islam assimilated nationalism; but in those countries where Muslims formed a minority, they would be justified in seeking self-determination as a cultural unit. (*Islam and Ahmadism*, pp. 43, 44, 45). It was with this background that Iqbal emphasized the fact that since India was numerically the largest Muslim country in the world, it was necessary to centralize Islam as a cultural unit in a specified territory. Consequently in 1930 he suggested the creation of an amalgamated Muslim state as a national homeland for the Muslims of North-West and East India. Islam was thus utilized by Iqbal as a nation-building force and it was on the basis of Muslim nationalism that Islam seceded from India through the carving out of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. (*Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 171, 172; *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, p. 22). He had stated earlier in 1910 that 'nations are born in the hearts of poets; they prosper and die in the hands of politicians.' (*Stray Reflections*, p. 125).

Iqbal pointed out that the uniform spiritual atmosphere in the world of Islam could facilitate the 'political combination' of Muslim states. Such combination could assume the form either of a confederal international state, or a league of Muslim nations, or a multiplicity of independent Muslim states inter-linked with one another through treaties, pacts or alliances. Politically, the solidarity or unity of Muslim community would break up if the Muslim states were to go to war against one another, and religiously it would break up if the Muslims rebelled against the foundational principles of Islam. (*Islam and Ahmadism*, p. 45).

Iqbal felt that the 'political combination' of Muslim states was necessary for the realization of his meta-physical and moral ideal i. e. the perfect Muslim individual and the perfect Islamic society.

Conclusion

It has already been shown that the retention of unity of Muslim community is above all other considerations in Islam. Governmental or constitutional structures have a secondary importance for these are only means for realizing the objective i. e. the governance of Muslim community in accordance with the Quran and *Sunnab*. We have noted that the Prophet did not nominate any successor and that if the institution of Caliphate was created in the republican form, at least in early Islam, it was on the basis of human reason. The principle, therefore, which can be deduced from the original practice is that governmental structure in Islam ought to be laid on the republican foundation and that the head of the Muslim community is only the mandatory of the community for his authority is limited by the will of the community. The institution of Caliphate passed through changes in substance as well as form, but it was never considered a religious office for it signified, like other forms of rulership known to Islam, only the temporal authority. In mediaeval Islam the appointment of Caliph was considered an exclusive right of the Muslim community because under the conditions prevalent at that time this was the only method by which the jurists could emphasize the Islamic character of Muslim community. After the abolition of Caliphate in Turkey and the emergence of Muslim states on national lines, it was argued that the Muslim community in its respective countries could govern itself through its elected representatives in assemblies. This was not a novel view as it had been held already by the Mutazillite jurists in mediaeval Islam who regarded the universal Caliphate only as a matter of expediency. Consequently the modernist position in Islam is that it was not obligatory on the part of Muslims to institute the Caliphate, They were free to evolve any form of constitutional structure suited to their needs and requirements provided that their choice of form of government was in conformity with the concept of

community which Islam intended to establish. It has already been pointed out that the development of nationalism in the Muslim world was a part of defensive mechanism and had resulted from the struggle for independence of Muslims in specific territories which had fallen into the hands of European colonial powers. The growth of nationalism, therefore, was not a product of national rivalries among Muslims. Consequently in the countries of the Middle East, generally speaking, nationalism was not sundered from Islam.

The position of Muslims of the Indian subcontinent was somewhat different. They constituted majorities in specific areas, viz. North West and East India, and had shared a common history of struggle for independence from the British as well as the Hindu majority. Although Muslims of the East and the West of the subcontinent were geographically non-contiguous, they voluntarily decided through their elected representatives to secede from India and to join the federation of Pakistan. Hence Pakistan came into being purely on the basis of Muslim nationalism. However, the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan came about due to the growth of regional nationalism as opposed to Muslim nationalism, the armed intervention of India, and the geographical non-contiguity of that region. But who can tell about the continuance of such state Iqbal's main object was to integrate his philosophy of Individual and Collective Ego with the traditional concept of Muslim community. The problem of relationship between individual and society was resolved by him through co-relating his concept of individualism with the Islamic concept of community. He, therefore, found the philosophic basis of Islamic polity in the idea of *Tawhid* (Unity of God). It was with this background that he preached that Islam was itself a nation-building force and suggested that the Muslim states, for the time being, should concentrate on themselves, so that they could become strong individually, in order to form a living family of republics by adjusting their mutual rivalries through the unifying bond of Islam.

The accuracy of insight of Iqbal can be judged in terms of the conditions prevailing at present in the world of Islam. Almost all the former semi-independent or subjugated Muslim states, have regained their political independence and sovereign status. Alliances like the Baghdad Pact, CENTO or RCD have cemented the relations among Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. The holding of Islamic Summit Conferences, the creation of Islamic Secretariat, the establishment of Islamic Bank etc. were significant steps in the direction of bringing about the political unification of Muslim states. Even for the resolution of mutual disputes between two Muslim states, the mediation of a third Muslim state has proved successful in experience. The dispute between Pakistan and Bangladesh about the recognition of Bangladesh was resolved at Lahore through the mediation of President Sadat of Egypt. The reconciliation between Iran and Iraq respecting the Kurds was achieved at Algiers through the mediation of President Boumedienne. It is apparently in the same spirit that the Shah of Iran has recently offered his services for mediation in the dispute between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

These lines indicate the trend of modern Islam. True and living unity cannot be achieved by merely a symbolical overlordship. In this respect it is relevant to quote Iqbal:-

"It (i. e. unity) is truly manifested in a multiplicity of free independent units whose racial rivalries are adjusted and harmonised by the unifying bond of a common spiritual aspiration. It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations which recognises artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only and not for restricting the social horizon of its members". (*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 159).

IQBAL AND THE DIALOGUE OF CIVILIZATIONS

Some political analysts of the US have propounded theories the conclusion of which is that after collapse of the Soviet Union, Islam is the next ideology of hate and that the world is likely to witness a clash of cultures of Islam and the West in the 21st century. The main issue in this debate in the West is that in the future a united Islamic World will pose a threat to the interests of the Western civilization.

Among these experts, Bernard Lewis is of the view that there would be a clash between Islam and Christianity because the two civilizations are incompatible, they present rival modes of life, have confronted each other since the past 1300 years and that what is unacceptable to Islam is Western secularism and modernity (*Roots of the Muslim Rage*). John Esposito thinks that while the Western leaders are proceeding to establish the New World Order, transnational Islam is generally being regarded as the new global monolithic enemy of the West (*Islamic Threat-Myth or Reality*). Huntington believes that Islamic and Confucian (Chinese) civilizations could join together against the West because of their basically different beliefs and value systems. He maintains that Western ideas of individualism, liberalism, constitutionalism, human rights, equality, liberty, the rule of law, free markets, and the separation of church from the state are not found in Islamic and Confucian cultures. Therefore a clash between

the Western civilization, with its universalist vocation and global attraction, and the Islamic and Confucian cultures is inevitable (*The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*).

According to Fukuyama, their Japanese counterpart, history of mankind has been generated as a result of tension and conflict between ideas. Every idea endeavors to establish itself as the universal principle and constructs a society and a political order in conformity with the model set up by it. In this struggle only the superior ideas survive and the inferior ones are destroyed. The West, by vanquishing the socialist creed of the Soviet Union, has established superiority of its ideas. Therefore, history has now ceased to move forward and has been brought to a halt (*The End of History and the Last Man*).

It is difficult to reconcile the theories of Lewis and Huntington with that of Fukuyama. If the clash of civilizations amounts to a continuous battle of beliefs and values then history, even after the collapse of the socialist order, is bound to be moving along instead of becoming static and immobile. Some of the Chinese scholars reject the Fukuyama theory on the ground that it smacks of the cultural hegemonies of the West. They also repudiate the view that one civilization is superior to the other or that the Western model should be considered as a universal standard for the entire world to follow after the end of the cold war.

As for the views of Huntington respecting the collaboration of Islamic and Confucian civilizations for the extermination of the Western civilization, one is reminded of the nineteenth century propaganda in Europe under which terms like "Pan-Islamism" and "Yellow Peril" were evolved. The term "Yellow Peril" was coined in order to make the West conscious of the Japanese threat. The Japanese had started competing with the West by throwing cheaper goods in the so-called free markets established by the West for economically exploiting Asia and Africa. However, "yellow Peril" has now been replaced by the "Confucian" threat

probably because the Chinese (also considered as a "Yellow" race in Western terms) are likely to emerge as a great economic power by the next century.

"Pan-Islamism" was an expression used by the journalists and policymakers of Europe to emphasize that Islam contemplated the union of its forces against Christian Europe. The underlying purpose of Western diplomacy during those times was to revive the old Christian hatred against a fundamentally aggressive Islam. Therefore, if there was a desire on the part of weak Muslim countries to offer a joint front against the penetration of European Colonial Powers, it was interpreted as the old Muslim plot to blow up Europe.

Thus the term "Pan-Islamism" was coined in the nineteenth century by the Western diplomacy to serve as a scurvy pretext for the spoiling of the fast decaying Muslim states. According to Zafar Ali Khan, "To the man in the street (in Europe) Pan-Islamism was synonymous with a gigantic union of the Moslems of the World, having for its cherished object the extermination of Christianity as a living political force. As long as Morocco, a Tripoli!, Persia, or a Macedonia had to be grabbed, the bogey of Pan-Islamism was a most useful adjunct. It helped the stalwarts of Christendom to constantly confront their fanatical dupes with an imaginary peril, the bare possibility of which was to be removed by depriving the Moslem of his hearth and home. (*Nationality and Empire* by B. C. Pal). So when the Western theoreticians maintain that Islam is the future enemy, the Muslims, by their past experience, are left with no other alternative except to interpret this statement as another move on the part of the West for economic or political exploitation of the Muslim lands.

It is interesting to note how the Chinese have reacted to the Huntington thesis of the Confucian civilization's clash with the West. Chinese scholars hold that the history of mankind reveals that different civilizations have always clashed and merged with each other at the same time. China

absorbed Buddhism, and the Western civilization. They think that in the light of modern scientific developments it is possible to construct a universal civilization of the West-willing to learn from other. There are also thinkers who are opposed to the concept of fusion and believe in the diversity of civilization. However, they too reject the theory of Huntington holding that cultural diversity does not necessarily lead to conflict but different cultures have coexisted and can co-exist. Some of them feel that the clash theory is being advanced for diverting attention from the real issue, which is the clash of economic interests.

When the European Colonial Powers penetrated the Islamic world, the Muslims' reaction to the new ideas imported from the West was:

- (i) of total rejection;
- (ii) of acceptance and adaptation; and
- (iii) of reconciling the new ideas with Islam.

The Muslim belonging to the first category, consisting mostly of religious zealots, was considered as "conservative". The second category was called "westernized", and the "conservatives" also designated the third category that came to be known as "liberals" or "reformists" as "westernized" Muslims. Ever since Islam entered modern history the "Westernized" have usually sided with the "liberal-reformists" as against the "conservatives". Therefore, there exists an inter-civilizational conflict between the "conventionalists" and "reformists", and this divide within Muslim societies cannot be considered as a clash between two different civilizations but a clash within a single culture.

The resistance on the part of the "conservatives" could not stop the advance of the European Colonial Powers into the Muslim world because they were totally unaware of the progress made by human knowledge as well as science and technology in the West. They fought against the long-ranged guns of the imperialists with time-worn rifles and swords. Subsequently when the pragmatic reformers like Syed Jamal uddin Afghani etc. preached that in order to know the secret of

Western power, the Muslims must acquire the new knowledge, they opposed them as "Westernized" Muslims. The problem of "conservatism" was handled in two ways in Turkey and Muslim India. In Turkey Kamal Ata-turk eliminated the Ulema completely from the religious life of the Turks: But in Muslim India reformers like Syed Ahmed Khan and Iqbal tried their best during their life time to educate and train the Ulema so as to create among them a group of new Ulema to provide a new enlightened motivation for Islam to the new Muslim society which they thought of bringing into being.

The former "conventional" or "conservative" Muslims, who are now being categorized as "fundamentalist", "radical", "militant" or "political" by the West, do not accept the new Western ideas. They regard "change" as an "innovation", therefore they reject "modernity". Furthermore, since the Western notions of individualism, liberalism constitutionalism, human rights, the rule of law, nation-state etc. stem from "secularism", which, according to them amounts to "Godlessness". All these are also repudiated. "Secularism" is denounced since it is defined as "not sacred", temporal or "profane". It is an ideology that aims at the destruction of the very foundation of religion. The Western concept of "nation state" is likewise unacceptable as it divides humanity into groups, establishes barriers between man and man, and therefore conflicts with the Islamic notion of "Ummah" (oneness of the Muslim community). According to them the Muslims' constitution is the Quran; their concept of the "rule of law" is the "supremacy of the Shari'ah": "individualism" and "liberalism" have no equivalent in Islam, as every Muslim is to act in accordance with the injunctions of Islam. Islam has its own system of "rights of God", "rights of human beings" and "rights which are common to both God and human beings". This system is superior to the man-made system of "human rights". Islam is founded on the principles of equality and liberty of Muslims. It does not tolerate separation of church from the state as there is no "church" or clergy in Islam. The

free-markets are permitted to function so long as they abide by the rules of the Shari'ah. Finally, the "new world order" of the West must be repudiated because every Muslim is enjoined to impose the "Divine Order" (*Nizam-i-Islami*) in the whole world. Briefly this is the manner how the so-called "fundamentalist" Muslims confront the Western ideas. But this confrontational posture towards the West of some individuals in different Muslim societies does not represent the views of the entire community that believes in peaceful co-existence with the other communities.

At this stage three relevant questions may be raised: First, why does the West regard the Muslim world as its new enemy? Second, why are the so-called "fundamentalist" Muslims opposed to the West? And third, how have the 'reformist' Muslim thinkers, particularly of South Asian Islam reconciled the Western ideas with Islam and, as a result, stand for peaceful co-existence with the West and other civilizations?

The West's antagonism against Islam dates back to the times of the Crusades. The memories of Muslim rule over Spain, the fall of Constantinople, the siege of Vienna, the defeat of Gallipolis and numerous other such recollections, make Westerners feel threatened by Islam, particularly when new challenges come forth from its "militant" factions. Generally speaking the three major events in the recent past that have raised the Western apprehensions of a new Islamic resurgence are Khomeini's revolution in Iran, Sadat's assassination, and the victory of the Mujahidin in Afghanistan over a "super power". The image of an aggressive and revolutionary Islam, which believes in a fusion of the spiritual and the temporal, recognizes no territorial boundaries, cuts across continents, nations and races, and besides Christianity, is the only other global religion, could be a matter of concern. As a proselytizing faith Islam is convinced of its ultimate triumph and universal prevalence. Therefore, as a rival ideology, this by itself is a challenge to the West's arrogance of its own civilizational superiority claimed on the basis of secular humanism, and the belief in its ultimate victory. In this

background, according to Shireen Hunter, "Islam is the ideal candidate for the new enemy figure that will fill the gap created by the fall of communism (*The Future of Islam and the West*).

As for the Muslims' opposition to the West, their memories of Western domination are more recent and fresh. Generally speaking, the roots of their rage are to be found in the past three centuries of humiliation under the expansion of Western imperialism from Africa to South East Asia. The situation was aggravated by the creation of Israel and humiliation of the Arab Muslims because of the Western military support of Israel. The support to anti-people rulers like the Shah of Iran, pushing Sadat to the Camp David for a gun-marriage with Israel, the Gulf War, continuous blockade of Iraq and the denial of democracy to "Islamists" in Algeria are some of the many irritants. The continuing genocide of the Muslims in Bosnia, Kashmir, Chechnya and Kosovo and a large number of Muslim refugees leaving their homes in these countries have been completely ignored by the West. They are convinced that the U. S. and her allies in the West have no moral standards where Muslims are involved. They lower their standards of human rights and the rule of law when dealing with Muslims. For instance, the resolutions of the U.N. against Israel are always ignored whereas those against Iraq are immediately complied with, leading to the Gulf War and Muslim casualties. In short, the false promises and fork-tongued diplomacy of the West, particularly the U.S. is responsible for engendering aggressive extremism in some Muslim circles.

As it has been pointed out, a large number of members of the Muslim community in the world who stand for peaceful co-existence with the West and other civilizations, have either accepted the new Western ideas or have reconciled them with Islam. The "liberal-reformist" Muslim thinkers differentiate between "modernity" and "Westernization". According to them "modernity" is the acknowledgement of "change" as a normal process in the life of a society. But "Westernization" is the adaptation of an alien culture. It is possible to remain

tyed up with one's own cultural traditions and yet welcome "change" or "modernity".

Muslim "liberal" thinkers in South Asia, e.g., Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, Syed Ahmed Khan, Shibli and Iqbal successfully reconciled the new ideas imported from the West with Islam. Syed Jamaluddin Afghani exhorted the Muslims to acquire the new scientific and technological knowledge in order to discover the secret of Western power. Syed Ahmed Khan disseminated modern education among the Muslims and made them realize that there were two nations in the Indian subcontinent, and in this way, reconciling the Western concept of territorial nationalism with Islam, paved the way for the development of religious (or cultural) nationalism among Muslims. This consciousness was further reinforced by Iqbal's philosophy of "Individual and Collective Ego", led Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah to establish the state of Pakistan, as homeland for the Muslim nation in South Asia. Thus Pakistan is a product of the fusion of new Western ideas with Islam.

Iqbal believes that Islam as a religion is neither national, nor racial, nor personal but purely human; and as a culture, it has no specific country, no specific language, no specific script and no specific mode of dress. His perception of Islam is humanistic and egalitarian. He creates a bridge between Islam and the West when he argues that in the sphere of knowledge the Western civilization is a prolongation of Islamic civilization.

Iqbal regards the establishment of democratically elected legislative assemblies in some Muslim countries as a return to the original purity of Islam. The Islamic state, according to him, is founded on the ideals of human equality, human solidarity and human freedom. He thinks that to consider secular as profane is a Christian way of thinking and not Islamic. He is of the opinion that modern science has revealed that the merely material or secular has no substance until we discover it rooted in the spirit. Therefore there is no such thing as a profane world. He rejects the Western idea of separation of church from the state as based on the metaphysical dualism

of spirit and matter. But upholds the separation of religious and the temporal functions of the Islamic state as merely a division of functions. He subscribes to the view that the state should manage and control religious matters.

He is also of the view that "*Ijtihad*" (independent inquiry) should be adopted as a legislative process by modern times in the Muslim legislative assemblies. He supports the claim of Muslim "liberals" to reinterpret the foundational Shari'ah principles in the light of their own experience and altered conditions of modern life. He is convinced that the world of Islam is confronted and affected by new forces set free by the extraordinary development of human knowledge in all its directions. Therefore he suggests that each and every generation of Muslims, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems.

In short, Iqbal maintains that the real object of Islam is to establish a "spiritual democracy". He was the first Muslim in the Indian subcontinent to define the state in Islam as a "spiritual democracy". In other words, he considers that state as genuinely Islamic in which all faiths, sects and creeds are equally free, authentically tolerated, respected and accepted (*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*). Thus in his view the state contemplated by Islam is superior to the different varieties of states evolved by the Western civilization on the basis of secular humanism.

The clash theories seem to be based on fantasies rather than facts. The theoreticians have not cared to study the recent past or contemporary history of the Muslim world. The world of Islam is composed of different nation-states, governed by different political systems, guided by different political interests, and although it is rich in resources, it is not united. Therefore it cannot pose any threat to the West. Two Muslim states, Iran and Iraq have recently fought against one another, and in the inter-Arab war between Iran and Kuwait, some Arab Muslim states made defense alliances with the Western powers under the leadership of the U. S. against Iraq. However, the main concern of the West in the Muslim

Middle East is the preservation of Israel at all costs. Therefore the West feels threatened if any weak Muslim state acquires military strength.

Pakistan's nuclear device has been named "Islamic bomb" merely because there is an apprehension on the part of the West that if the bomb is transmitted to any other Muslim state like Iran, Iraq or Libya, it may be dropped on Israel. It is conceded that Israel owns more than a hundred nuclear bombs which she can drop on all the big cities of the Muslim world if such a need arises, but her own territorial entity being small, not more than five or six such bombs may be required to cause complete annihilation.

Apparently there exists no possibility of a general clash between Islam and the West. But if the "terrorist" activities of some Muslim militants against power-drunk and arrogant U.S. goads her to retaliate by throwing missiles on sovereign Muslim state instead of picking up the culprits through other means, then the Muslim "liberal" governments in the Islamic world are likely to be affected by the spill-over and their liquidation under public pressure may lead to their replacement by extremist elements.